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CONTROVERSY ON THE PRAIRIES:
ISSUES
IN THE
GENERAL PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS
OF
MANITOBA 1870 - 1969

by

© LARRY JOHN FISK

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT ....Political Science....

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING, 1975

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Controversy on the Prairies: Issues in the General Provincial Elections of Manitoba 1870-1969 submitted by Larry John Fisk in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

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Date March 20, 1975

DEDICATION

To Joanne.

ABSTRACT

The study of campaign issues in twenty-nine provincial general elections from 1870 to 1969 constitutes a unique political history of the province of Manitoba. Primarily through the use of newspaper microfilm an attempt has been made to describe as many of the issues as provide a well-rounded picture of each campaign. Both major and minor, province-wide and local issues are set forth with every attempt to provide the most cogent arguments on each issue with ample illustration from the actual candidates and other spokesmen in each campaign.

The issues are classified in categories of area, extent and scope; nature, kind or style; and "time." A summary of the issues in each election campaign is listed following each campaign description.

Each campaign history is also accompanied by supplementary data previously unavailable in any other single source, and includes names of parties, party leaders, number of candidates competing, and complete election returns including seats won, and popular vote figures. Occasional regional, ethnic and urban-rural comparisons of election results are also interspersed throughout the study.

In a concluding section a modest attempt is made to indicate some patterns emerging from the sweep of Manitoba provincial election issues. The concluding comments describe the nature of both short-lived and perennial issues in Manitoba. A series of graphs portray the interrelationships of major perennial issues and other campaign issues and social conditions. The importance of election issues to the development of party ideologies and the "Red Tory" phenomenon is also discussed as well as the utility of the study for future theoretical research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Keith Crawford claimed he was one of only two or three political scientists in the whole of Canada giving full-time attention to provincial politics when he first suggested to me that no one had ever studied systematically the election issues in any of the Canadian provinces.

Dick Baird took over the supervision of a very lengthy study being put together thousands of miles away from Edmonton. His criticisms were thorough and always extremely helpful and useful. His encouragement and our sharing of the same "wave-length" were indispensable to getting a major task completed.

Joanne, my wife, shared the pain and anguish which accompanies the months and years that go into a study like this one and the many exhausting hours at the electric portable.

How feeble is the phrase "thank you."

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INTRODUCTION

Manitoba became a province of Canada on July 15, 1870, but what most Canadians don't know, and what many scholars have forgotten, is that for many weeks after the above date the infant province remained almost entirely in the hands of Louis Riel's "rebels." It was a colorful beginning to the political history of a province which is usually considered sober and stolid. It would be gratifying, indeed, if the following examination of the election issues of provincial campaigns in Manitoba, which began with the very question of "loyalty" to Canada, were to capture something of the romance and upheavals of the province's electoral story and so reshape this myth of uneventful sobriety.

The Nature of the Study and Its Context.

This dissertation is an attempt to carefully collect, examine, and to some extent classify, the election issues in each of twenty-nine provincial general elections in Manitoba, from its inception as a province, through 1969. The study investigates an area of political phenomena which, rather ironically, has not often, if ever, been separated for any Canadian province in as complete a manner as will be attempted here. The dissertation is an attempt at original political history. It is not designed to be an analysis of issue formulation or causality, and it is only incidentally and peripherally concerned with tracing patterns in various controversies, and forms of voting behavior because of them. Essentially, the study attempts to pool together as much information about each and every one of the Manitoba provincial general elections as will provide an accurate portrait of the issues involved in each campaign.

To be specific, the study explicates the major issues at the time of each election (i. e. generally, from the date of dissolution of the legislative assembly to the date of the election). In addition to a careful documentation and description of each campaign and its issues, considerable care has been taken to augment the description with a compilation of the following supplementary data not presently obtainable from any other single source.

(1) Dates of the campaign (dissolution of the house to election day).

(2) Names of contesting political parties, party leaders, and numbers of competing candidates in each election.

(3) Number and nature of constituencies to be contested.

(4) Number of seats and percentage of total seats won by each party.

(5) Total popular vote and percentage of popular vote obtained by each party.

(6) Urban-rural and occasional regional differences in support of government and opposition parties by popular vote and seat totals and percentages.

(7) Complete results for all provincial general elections.

Many Canadian studies have taken up the discussion of election campaigns without concentrating on the *issues per se* of the campaign.[1] In the case of Manitoba several smaller and lesser known studies have discussed the province's elections from the point of view of complementing a complete history of the social and/or political life of the region. [2]

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[1] The best known studies in Canada are likely those of John Meisel, *The Canadian General Election of 1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); "The June 1962 Election: Break Up of our Party System?" *Queen's Quarterly*, LXIX (Autumn, 1962); and ed. *Papers on the 1962 Election* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964). The interest in such studies has expanded enormously in the last decade so that not an election goes by without its analysis. For example: D. Peacock, *Journey to Power: The Story of a Canadian Election, 1968* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968) and M. Sullivan, *Mandate '68, The Year of Pierre Elliott Trudeau* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1968). John Meisel continues to conduct the most ambitious analyses, for example his "Some Bases of Party Support in the 1968 Election," in *Party Politics in Canada* ed. by Hugh G. Thorburn (3rd ed.: Scarborough, Ont: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1972), pp. 36-77; and "Howe, Hubris and 72: An Essay on Poli-

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tical Elitism," in *The Canadian Political Process*, ed. by Orest M. Kruhlak, Richard Schultz, and Sidney J. Pobihushchy (Rev. ed.; Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), pp. 201-225. There is a similar literature on various provincial campaigns although the bulk of such study still has to do with *federal* campaigns, not provincial. Furthermore, most of these discussions are attempts to analyze all aspects of the campaign, and especially party platforms and voting behavior. Meisel's latest work does include his own candid interpretation of Trudeau "boldness and bungling," but once again it is not meant as a careful recording of issues as they were seen by the participants at the time of the election.

[2] The most helpful studies (aside from general histories of the province) have been R. O. MacFarlane, "Manitoba Politics and Parties After Confederation," *Canadian Historical Association Report, 1940*, pp. 45-55; and Chester Martin, "Political History of Manitoba, 1870-1912" in *The Prairie Provinces*, Vol. XIX of *Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions, by One Hundred Associates*, ed. by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (23 vols.; Toronto: Glasgow Brook and Co., 1914), pp. 97-143. These two studies are, once again, political histories which move beyond campaigns and issues *per se*. They are also limited in terms of being only early history. However, they do offer accurate portrayals of many aspects of early campaign and election issue history.

M. S. Donnelly, "The Story of the Manitoba Legislature," *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Papers*, Series III, No. 12 (1957), 29-38 is helpful along the same line although moving more towards general political history independent of election campaigns. M. S. Donnelly, *The Government of Manitoba* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963) is a basic source book for Manitoba politics. Its discussion of parties and issues constitutes several worthwhile chapters, particularly on the earlier "great issues": boundaries, disallowance of railway charters, separate schools, and the natural resources question. There is understandably no systematic presentation of the issues of later campaigns.

The most helpful general histories would include earlier works like Alexander Begg, *History of the North West* (3 vols.; Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1895). Begg is able to describe many of his contemporaries at the moment of their involvement in earlier campaigns, although, once again, there is little attempt to set forth systematically the actual issues at election time.

In a class by itself is William L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (2nd ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), which, although it makes no attempt to present each provincial election exhaustively, contains endless immeasurably helpful descriptions and reflections on various campaigns and important issues. Other very helpful general

Two unpublished theses have come closest to examining each election campaign in turn. John Holmes' master's thesis on the first ten provincial campaigns is, however, designed to explain how electorale laws and boundaries influenced Manitoba politics generally. Roger Turenne's examination of the Franco-Manitoban's role in Manitoba elections, while helpful on a number of issues, serves, essentially, as do so many contemporary studies, to focus principally on voting behavior.[3]

A recent and exhaustive study which comes closest to being comparable to the present one is J. Murray Beck's Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections published by Prentice-Hall in 1968. Beck admits that his book is not intended to be "sophisticated" or original in insight. What he wishes to do is to provide "a panoramic view" of the Canadian electoral process. He treats the formal campaign and important events preceding dissolution with a view to determining something of the "crucial factors in deciding...elections" while making some effort "to interpret the electoral behavior of each region or province, particularly Quebec."[4] Up to this point this dissertation

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histories include James A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1970) and Margaret McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1928).

[3] John L. Holmes, "Factors Affecting Politics in Manitoba: A Study of Provincial Elections 1870-1899" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936); and Roger Turenne, "The Minority and the Ballot Box: A Study of the Voting Behavior of the French-Canadians of Manitoba 1888-1967" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969).

[4] J. Murray Beck, Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1968). See preface. Beck's book is also similar to this study in that he has compiled the same items of information, i. e., the number of candidates for each party, seats and percentage of seats won, popular vote totals and percentages of popular vote achieved by each party. The present author had worked out the same system in 1967 in an unpublished study of election issues in Alberta and Saskatchewan, a year before the publication and appearance of Beck's book. It would appear our concerns are as similar as are our approaches. Larry J. Fisk, "The Provincial Election Issues of Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1967" (unpublished paper, Queen's University, 1967).

shares common goals with Beck save that it directs its attention to a particular region of the country and to its own provincial elections. The major point at variance is the treatment of issues instead of election campaigns _in toto_.

Beck attempts to classify the Canadian general election campaigns. In a brief concluding chapter he lists the campaigns which may have had a determinative effect on the outcome, and, in a second listing he classifies the campaigns in terms of whether they maintained basic electoral allegiances, deviated from them, or were part of a total realignment.[5] Hence, Beck concentrates his efforts on classifying _campaigns_, which include the issues, but may also include a complete historical background, descriptions of party politics, organization and funding, electoral behavior, personal or leadership styles, employment of media, etc. The present study covers the same terrain, albeit for different elections and in a well-defined region, but makes every effort to focus directly upon, and to classify, the political and social _issues in_ each campaign.

The tentative attempts to classify issues are also contained in summary form at the conclusion of the discussion to each campaign.

The Definition and Classification of Election Issues.

Before explaining further the approach to be followed in this study it might be appropriate to set forth some definitional or descriptive comment on election issues, and to suggest categories by which we might helpfully classify various issues.

Generally speaking we mean by an issue "a point, matter, or question to be disputed or decided."[6] In political life we speak of matters being "at issue," meaning that they are "at variance" or "in disagreement." The essential elements of an election issue in terms of standard definition might be delineated as:

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[5] Beck, _Pendulum of Power_, pp. 424 and 430. See tables I and II.

[6] _Webster's New World Dictionary_ (College ed.; 1962), p. 778.

(1) Contention or controversy--where one side affirms a point in question which another denies.

(2) The element of common search in that "a matter or point remains to be decided." [7]

Inasmuch as a matter or point remains to be decided election programs, methods, and promises can all be seen to be "at issue" or "at odds" at certain times. But such matters may imply not only question and difference of opinion, but doubt and uncertainty as well. Hence, while it is true that we generally speak of issues in the political context when we wish to point to controversy it is also true that we may often mean "shared concerns" or "unresolved problems." We will return to this second emphasis momentarily.

For the most part, we understand by election issues those controversies which arise at the time of an election, or although arising prior to an election are still contentious during the campaign. Furthermore, an election issue need not be specifically political in the sense that it must be confined to matters of government, policies, or questions of governmental power and political office. Election issues may be very largely questions of economics, social, cultural, educational or religious matters rather than quarrels over stated policy alternatives or charges and countercharges related to the behavior of alternative political parties. Hence, the economic order, the entire system of responsible government and concern for direct legislation, the use of French in the schools, or the immoral behavior of politicians have all become issues in Manitoba campaigns.

What then makes the broader social, religious or economic question an election issue? The question must be salient or "politically important" in the broadest sense. As one contemporary political scientist puts it:

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[7] The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (3rd ed., rev.; 1966) defines the word "issue" as it would apply in the electoral context, and as used above, as follows:

> Issue--The point in question, at the conclusion of the pleadings in an action, when one side affirms and the other denies; b. A point in the decision of which something depends or is made to rest; a point or matter in contention; the point at which a matter becomes ripe for decision; c. A matter or point which remains to be decided. p. 1051.

> A salient political issue has two major characteristics. First, it is an issue that large numbers of people are concerned about, something they consider important and feel involved with. Second, it is relevant politically. People associate it and the handling of it with the political process and political leaders. 8

The determining factors as to whether a particular question, concern, or problem will be treated as an election issue in any of the discussions to follow, are those two cited above, i. e., that a sizeable number of people are concerned and/or in some way involved with the question, and there is a sense that the government, or a future alternative to it, can or should do something about the problem.

What is being suggested here, then, is that we have two very important usages or understandings of election issues, given that we define both varieties by the criteria cited immediately above. Firstly, we have those matters called issues because different parties (at least two) disagree; and the parties (groups or individuals) may disagree not only on how it is to be tackled, but perhaps even how it is to be defined, or whether it should in fact be recognized as a problem. The important characteristic, to hark back to the original definition of "issue," is that this first usage denotes disagreement and controversy.

The second usage implies recognition of a problem, question or concern, quite aside from dispute. A "plank" in a party platform, for example, might call for a particular innovation without disputing past performance. In fact, we often speak of election issues when we refer to the program of any party or campaigner. It is as if one "makes an issue" out of particular suggestions, proposals, programs or achievements. This usage is that which we employ when we call various problems or unresolved difficulties "issues." Pollution or poverty may be called social issues because they are existing problems, and not necessarily because politicians have taken contrary stands on the matters. They only enter the first usage when they are disputed. Hence, pollution becomes an election issue at two levels: (1) when there exists disa-

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8 Richard E. Dawson, Public Opinion and Contemporary Disarray (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 53.

greement over its nature, importance, or means of abatement and (2) when it becomes part of a program of abatement, is talked about or there is simply a recognition that "society" or "government" must do something about it.

By holding to both the above popular usages in this study we are better able to recognize all varieties of concerns and sources of disagreement and political factions.

It is of course the first usage or understanding which has the greatest utility to a study of this kind. This first meaning (those questions about which there is distinct difference of opinion) gets to the heart of the political history to be considered. Such controversy epitomizes the on-going political life of Manitoba. In many instances one side or another of a particular question may constitute the difference between electoral victory or defeat.

There is another reason for emphasizing the contentious nature of election issues in this study. One might be prompted to ask why some election issues arise and others do not. Or, one might ask what events or institutions cause certain election issues to arise, for example, do political parties cause certain issues to come to the fore? Part of the answer to the problem of issue causality is that almost all political parties attempt to define what they believe the election issues are, or ought to be. All too often a political party will attempt to equate the campaign issues with the planks in its platform. A record of achievement is made the issue by a governing party, proposed changes in policy are made the issue by the opposition, with those proposals taken directly from a convention platform. Often times, of course, dispute does arise on all these matters, but that is just the point. If we were to accept party *concerns*, *platforms* or *statements* at face value we would have no measure of intensity, degree of dispute, or gauge of interest on the part of the electorate. A simple study of party platforms and definitions of issues will not suffice. We have the great advantage of historical hindsight and we must use it to determine which of these proposals and declarations, if any, caught fire during the period of the election campaign. We are able to determine what people really talked about in spite of all the pushing by particular political parties.

So it is that this study tends to emphasize the first meaning or usage of "election issues," those matters which were in fact disputed during each election campaign.

However, we cannot neglect entirely the second definition of the meaning of election issues, for many of the same reasons. That is, we are always unable truly to say what the important or decisive issues were in any given election campaign, or why they existed. As a political scientist reviewing the campaign from the comfortable distance of his study removed in all of location, spirit and time, one is certainly limited. The passing of time and history makes any clarity in the categorization of isssues difficult. Not only do political parties attempt to "make issues" but newspaper editors and contemporary historians do the same. Our study makes it abundantly clear, for example, how the Eastern journalists _cum_ editors of early Manitoba papers (C. R. Tuttle and Amos Rowe of the _Winnipeg Daily Times_, Charles Cliffe of the _Brandon Mail_ and W. J. Luxton of the _Manitoba Free Press_), promoted the establishment of federal _party_ politics in a province hitherto devoid of such organized partisanship.

The point is that we cannot content ourselves with our knowledge of the issues from any one source which attempts to "define," "make," or "create" issues. But neither can we ignore the fact that even when the opposite views are known to us (via an opposing political party or newspaper editor) that we must keep an ear tuned to questions which may not be fully expressed by either side.

To some extent these may be "underlying" problems or issues, but involving immense concern, feeling, or importance.

It might also be observed that such important or underlying concerns, questions, or problems are always potential sources of disagreement. And needless to say the first sign of disagreement is often at the point where contenders attempt to define the nature and seriousness of the problem, and find themselves disagreeing almost immediately over definitions and degrees of seriousness.

The dissertation operates, therefore, with two notions of "election issues," albeit they are very much interrelated when we analyse them. Any social, political, and socio-personal questions, problems, programs, suggestions, directions or purposes about which it is felt that "government" has some scope for activity and which (1) is merely; cited or known to some portion of an electorate, and (2) is viewed *differently* by some portions of the electorate at election time; are classed as election issues in the study to follow.

. . . .

I have indicated above the considerable absence of studies which focus on election issues in the manner of this dissertation. Obviously many volumes have been written on any one election issue, and we have only to consider the various analyses of the conscription crisis in Canada or the Manitoba school question to appreciate this fact.[9] But in an attempt to document and describe the countless election issues in twenty-nine different campaigns some means of labelling, understanding, or classifying the many issues seems almost necessary, if only to show how very different some issues are from others, or to show similar or identical issues which arise in more than one campaign. The language used to describe classifications is, like so much of this study, an attempt to both contain precision in meaning (the concern of the scholar) and yet be useful and meaningful, if not familiar, to the elector (the concern of the layman).

Under no circumstances should the classifications outlined below be misconstrued as tight categorizations which may be universally applied. I am convinced we ought not, and I believe we cannot so label election issues that they tend to be seen by all future students of political history as permanently and unalterably limited by some prior "pigeon-holing." It is only in the most tentative manner that the following classifications are offered, classifications which have already aided this author in setting down the many issues examined, and consequently might be of some use to future scholars and their own comparisons of issues.

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[9] I am thinking of studies like J. S. Ewart, *The Manitoba School Question* (Toronto: Copp Clark Co., 1894); W. L. Norton, "The Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationalism, 1890-1916," *Canadian Historical Association Report, 1950-51*, pp. 51-59; G. R. Cook, "Church, Schools and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXIX (March, 1958); and R. M. Dawson, *The Conscription Crisis of 1944* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961).

I now perceive two broad categories within which I will place fifteen classifications: Firstly, the subject area or extent of the issue, or the "who, what, and where" dimension of election issues contains seven classifications. Secondly, those classifications having to do with the very nature or kind of issue, the "how" and "why," as against area or extent, constitute an additional seven classifications. The two groups are linked by the category of "time": "perennial issues," "new issues," "temporary issues," "dead issues," which seem to touch on both the major categories cited above.

Classifications of Area, Extent or Scope.

(1) The first and most obvious classification within the broad framework of area or extent is the specific problem area or subject matter. Inevitably as one sets out to write about the election issues in a particular region there is a division of issues on the basis of the question: does it have to do with education, health and welfare, labor, railway legislation, the parliamentary buildings steal, the flooding of South Indian Lake, etc. We do, unavoidably, divide all issues on the basis of "the name of the problem" or "the subject matter," and hence we clearly distinguish one issue from another simply by naming its content in either general (subject area) or in a more precise (name of the problem) manner.

(2) The second classification is a matter of geographical extent. An issue may well be confined to a local area. Party "A" says the new county offices should be placed at Milkweed Junction because it serves as an important communications center. Party "B" says no, the county

offices should be placed at Upper Milkweed, which is more centrally located in the county even if communication networks are not yet quite as efficient as at the Junction. Both parties want provincial government action along the lines of their own arguments. Such an issue, and save for the ficticious names there were such in Manitoba, is of a strictly local nature. No city dweller in Winnipeg or Brandon could care less which "bump in the road" gets the county post office or which party espouses which view. But it may be a question of total stagnation or new economic life to the two Milkweeds.

On the other hand, a question like the disallowance of seven railway bills as occurred in Manitoba in 1882 brings "indignation-at-disallowance meetings" across the entire province. Hence, we might employ two opposites on a scale like "widespread issues versus local," or "universal as against regional." For purposes of this particular study, and for obvious reasons, I have preferred to use the distinctions *province-wide and local*.

Geographical extent may also include "federal issues" which in a manner of speaking might be considered *ultra vires* to the prerogative of the provincial government, but which in practice are inevitably tied into provincial questions either because of concurrent jurisdictions or because the activities of political parties and election results will influence federal politics. To have set up a separate classification for federal issues which enter provincial campaigns would simply have added to an already lengthy list. They are essentially a further extension of widespread concern geographically.

(3) The third classification is a matter of *social extent*, i. e., that many issues have to do with all citizens(government record, hydro development) whereas others have to do with a particular class or minority (labor legislation, senior citizens' accommodation, relocation of Indians and Métis at South Indian Lake). Once again we might employ a set of opposing poles assuming always that in reality issues may be somewhere on a scale between the two alternates. In this case we can speak of *general versus sectional* issues. Richard E. Dawson uses the phrase "general issue" to indicate a question like "public order," which is

exactly what we have in mind.[10] When John Meisel in one of his latest works talks about "ethnically relevant public issues,"[11] these would best be incorporated under the "sectional" classification above having to do with both particular classes and ethnic minorities.[12] A sectional issue is distinguished by its content. There is no reason why it could not become a question taken up by many other sections of the public, as for example in 1969 when many areas of the province did concern themselves with the relocation of six hundred Indians and Metis living on the shores of Southern Indian Lake.

(4) Most election issues are related to questions of existing or future public policy. Yet there are those issues which simply have to do with the character, role, or activities of a particular political actor. Thus, our next pair of classifications separates public or public program from personal or personality issues. As an example H. J. Clarke as Attorney-General around 1878 had allegedly overcharged for court indictments (in an era when direct fees were still paid to Attorneys-General). Mr. Clarke was also criticized for his stands against Ontario settlers, and was excommunicated from his church for allegedly leaving his wife and children in favor of a friend's wife.

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[10] Dawson, Public Opinion, p. 49.

[11] John Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), p. 159.

[12] I am aware that Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell use the pair of opposites "general" and "particular" in classifying styles of interest articulation, and where "general" may imply class or associational group and "particular" refers to "demands...couched in individual or family terms." The point is that interest articulation can be expressed by indivduals and families, but it is much more difficult to assign categories of election issues to a single person or family. Issues, as we attempted to say earlier, demand the interest and involvement of many people, almost by definition. I have, therefore, used the term "general" in the sense that Robert Dawson uses it above, and substituted the more appropriate "sectional" opposite which better describes classes and groups of people. Something of Almond and Powell's concern for individuals is incorporated in the next classification. See Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Comparative Government: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), p. 87.

Criticisms were made of the government of which H. J. Clarke had been a part. These were questions of government record, inflated expenditures, etc., and so entered the realm we have dubbed public: questions of public policy. However, those questions which flew about Mr. Clarke's own role must be considered separately. His conduct in office did become a separate issue in the 1878 election campaign. His private life also became a matter of wide discussion. The distinguishing element, then, is not limited to the private character of the candidate, as evidenced by the variety of questions associated with H. J. Clarke, only one of which (leaving his family) could be described as private. The distinction is intended to focus on those issues which have to do with persons rather than programs and general policy. All of the questions about Mr. Clarke constitute personal or personality issues.

It is of course true, as John Meisel points out, that private values like religious piety, ethnic and religious toleration, attitudes towards other groups, and moral values generally, will be operative at this level.[13] However, the issue for our purposes may be a personal one, having to do with a particular personality, with or without emphasis on the private life of the personage. Personal qualities are at issue in every election and in every constituency to the extent that the electorate weigh the characteristics, record, and intentions of one candidate against another. There comes a point, however, when a high degree of consciousness or controversy allows us to classify as significant the candidacy or role of a given person.

(5) Our fifth classification attempts to describe the extent to which an issue has to do with the political or governmental arena as such, or whether it is better defined as a broad social issue, not exclusively political in nature. Redistribution, franchise, organization of government or parties and their reponsibilities can all be defined as political issues in contradistinction to a matter like fluoridation, or a herd law to control the movement of cattle, which we might wish to

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[13] Meisel, Working Papers, pp. 139-153. Meisel employs the rather ambiguous term "religiosity" to include both individual piety and "the more social and societal aspects of religion."

call social issues.

Admittedly, there can be some confusion in the use of the notion "political" issues since we often use the phrase in as general a sense as "election" issues. However, even in the most popular usage the adjective "political" tends to imply those issues which have to do with politics, power and government as distinct from, let us say, religious or economic matters. [14] It also seems safe to say that the term "social issues" implies a broad category of problems, quite beyond any particular political arena, even if politics were to be tangential or involved to some lesser degree. [15]

(6) We might also wish to classify election issues on the basis of their left-wing pro-change character as against those issues which are supported or raised by governments or parties concerned with either upholding the established ways of doing things or even supporting policies of retrenchment which would cut back on change or expenditure. The commonly employed words left and right serve as our next scale of issues, therefore, where left issues imply efforts by a party or government to foster an equality of condition for those who are more powerless or less well-off in the economic or political order. We have in mind, for example, unskilled laborers, the poor, unemployed, ethnic minorities, women, farmers, northerners, the aged, the incarcerated, etc. Leftist issues are those which demand progressive measures of human development even in the face of fomenting degrees of radical change in economic and political structures in order to achieve that development. In fact, the "left" is usually associated with some degree of "socialism" which often

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[14] It is somewhat comforting to find John Meisel using the phrase "political issues" as a description of those questions related to "party images" or how the electorate view the activities of political parties including their performance while in office. His usage tends to support the one suggested above. See especially Meisel, Working Papers, pp. 114-116.

[15] Scammon and Wattenberg describe the growth of "social issues" in America, meaning matters like public order, crime and lawlessness and racial questions. While they are wont to distinguish such issues from such older economic issues as security, prosperity, industrial regulation and various welfare issues; both areas would be incorporated in the sense of "social issue" set forth above. Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg, The Real Majority (New York: Coward-McCann, 1970).

demands state or public control over economic and political institutions. A more "liberal left" would stop short of such controls or change of social institutions while still calling for political and economic freedom--the equality of opportunity.

The "Right" or "conservative" side of this particular scale describes those issues or positions espoused by parties and governments which are protective of existing social standing and structures. Often a "right-wing" position would stand in favor of economic retrenchment, for example, after a liberal-left government had expended large monies for the social welfare of formerly less advanced minorities. To some extent, therefore, the issue described as "right" may involve elements of reaction but it may also include the various conservative elements of the priority of economic development, equal economic opportunity, the conservation of existing political and economic institutions, a less optimistic view of man than common in the "left" view and much more concern for the values of the past and the preservation of the present than the achievement of a new future. Just as the "left" end of this scale might include the socialist and liberal degrees, so the "right" might include issues which appear part of old, traditional, aristocratic-like conservatism with its emphasis on traditional institutions, status and economic and political controls and the organic-corporate nature of society. Young or middle class conservatism sits closer to the middle of the left-right continuum by its emphasis on equality of economic opportunity--the conservation of laissez-faire economics--economic development and the protection of "new wealth."

As our discussion of Manitoba issues and parties should make abundantly clear--any one party may be "left" on some issues and "right" on others. Nor do the names of parties ensure consistency in their promotion of "left" or "right" issues. As will be seen the Liberal Party under Douglas Campbell was considerably more "right" certainly in its economic policies than the Conservative Party of Duff Roblin.

"Left" issues incorporate the progressive, reformist, "radical policy innovations"[16] common to, but not exclusively the prerogative of third, pro-labor, or left parties. "Right" issues are characterized by elements of passivity, reaction and/or retrenchment, but again, as noted above are not necessarily the prerogative of any one party, let alone a Conservative Party.

(7) The last of the seven classifications which are descriptive of problem area or extent are those issues given the very particular names: roorbacks, dodges, and charges of corruption.

Most elections have their specific charges of corruption levelled against a particular party or government, whether those charges have to do with nepotism or stuffing the ballot boxes. Roorbacks and dodges have even more precise definitions. A roorback has been defined as "the putting into circulation during the last few days of the campaign of scandalous stories."[17] We cannot often measure the truth or falsity of such stories but we can acknowledge their late arrival and classify them as roorback issues. Traditionally the use of the roorback was so that the opposing side had no time to properly respond to charges before votes were cast.

Election or political dodges involve the attempt by one party to focus blame and attention on the opposing party in order to "dodge" their own weaknesses and shortcomings.[18]

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[16] The phrase is used by John T. McLeod, "Explanations of Our Party System," in Politics: Canada, ed. by Paul W. Fox (3rd ed.; Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. of Canada Ltd., 1970), p. 220. McLeod notes the important role played by third parties as the vehicle for protest when major parties move toward stagnation and sameness of policy. In Manitoba such a role is not so clearly limited to third parties, and at any rate it is the reformist leftist questions versus policies of reaction and retrenchments of the right which we wish to classify, rather than the parties which espouse them.

I have chosen to exclude a partisan versus non-partisan scale of issues for reasons similar to those cited above, i. e. such phrases often describe more about the source of issues than they serve as descriptions of the issues per se.

[17] Manitoba Free Press (Winnipeg), August 2, 1915, p. 9.

[18] The 1910 Manitoba election carries discussions of both roorbacks and dodges. The latter involves the delivery of a keg of beer to

The "Time" Classification of Issues.

(8) The seven classifications of issues on the basis of range, extent, area or scope having been set forth, we move on to seven additional classifications having to do with nature and style. As previously indicated the two large groupings are linked by a classification which might be said to fit either larger group, i. e., time. We can speak of issues which have some element of perpetuity associated with them; they reoccur in one campaign after another. Other issues are less permanent. Many may not even last the full length of a campaign. It is common to speak thus: "Medicare was largely a dead issue by the time of the 1968 election," [19] or to make reference to "new issues and conflicts ...new tensions and cleavages." [20] In the many issues to be described in the case of Manitoba constant reference will be made to perennial issues, those like the development of the railways or control of liquor traffic which have long lives, campaign after campaign. [21] Such issues are to be distinguished from all of temporary questions of shorter life, or from new issues or even dead issues. There are not two distinct opposite poles in this category since all three of past, present and anticipations for the future are to some extent involved. The classification is nevertheless clearly circumscribed since it is quite simply a measure of longevity or time.

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a leading Liberal's committee rooms allegedly to embarrass that party and this particular candidate at a time when discussion of prohibition was a major issue and when the opposing party's performance was under heavy criticism. Once again we don't know who ordered the dray to bring the keg of beer. We only know it was a matter of much discussion. Manitoba Free Press, June 28, 1910, p. 5; and see chapter to follow on the 1910 campaign.

[19] So says Meisel, Working Papers, pp. 17-18. (Emphasis added).

[20] Dawson, Public Opinion, p. 50. Dawson has in mind "current problems and issues...especially the newer type issues such as race, involvement in Vietnam, and public order..."

[21] Courtney and Smith use the phrase to describe further examples in Saskatchewan which are equally perennial in Manitoba, for example, general attacks on partisanship and demands for provincial control of resources. John C. Courtney and David E. Smith, "Saskatchewan: Parties in a Politically Competitive Province," in Canadian Provincial Politics, ed. by Martin Robin (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1972), pp. 290-295 and see footnote 9.

Classifications of Nature, Kind or Style.

(9) The first classification in the second group of seven marks the distinction made much earlier between the two usages of the word "issue." Thus the first pair of opposites might be termed issues of concern or contention. Other descriptions of the pair of differences we have in mind might have been suggested, for example, "question versus disagreement" or "problems versus dispute" but the original pair seem more inclusive of the shades of meaning desired. A "concern" may or may not incorporate problems, questions or disagreements. Occasionally concern-type issues may be difficult to portray accurately in terms of social questions or policy alternatives. Such issues might on occasion simply reflect affective mood: that which we are concerned about even though we may not be able to formulate the question so as to fit party platforms. General consensus often exists on many problems in Manitoba's election history, and at such times some politicians are quick to say no issue exists when that agreement prevails. The concern classification enables us to appreciate such issues and avoid discarding what almost inevitably become major issues, often on the disagreement or contention end of the pole.

(10) We have already alluded to the difficulties in determining which issues were of genuine importance in each campaign (supra, page 9). However, in preparing this study the simple classification of centrality or importance of one issue over another was quite unavoidable. Certain issues are simply talked about much more than others. Certain issues are described by candidates, newspaper editors, letters to editors and even by later historians as being much more important or widely discussed and on the minds of people than others. The common manner of speech major issues and minor issues, therefore, constitutes our second classification of this grouping. We use other terminology to express the centrality or importance of issues as well. We speak of "gut" issues, "key" issues, the "basic" or "fundamental" issues. We also speak of "side" issues or issues of lesser importance. As much as possible our classification of major and minor issues is based on judgements made by whatever political actors and commentators are available to us rather than our own retrospective judgments of importance. It should be noted that lasting significance or importance to the more powerless segments of the community may not be accu-

rately reflected in these judgments of importance. An issue is more likely to be a major one, herein, if it is province-wide in geographical extent, general in social scope and a public rather than personality question.

(11) John Meisel makes a distinction between *prompted and unprompted issues* which constitutes our next classification and seems not to subtract from our measure of importance above. Whether issues are prompted (by parties and their platforms or newspaper editors or Meisel's surveys) or unprompted, arising seemingly out of independent needs of electors, we can still employ the additional classification above having to do with their relative importance and central place in any given campaign.[22] The prompted or unprompted nature of issues is certainly interesting enough in itself to offer yet another classification, although there may be some degree of difficulty about such classes, since the *origin* of issues is always extremely uncertain.

(12) The fourth classification in this second grouping comes closest to being a measurement of voter involvement: in this case awareness and concern. Some issues are obvious, conscious, known, everywhere talked about, and so abundantly *evident*. Others go relatively unrecognized or

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[22] John Meisel asks two sets of questions in a recent survey (1) calling respondents to cite what they believe to be the most important issues (unprompted) and (2) asking respondents how important certain *stated* issues were to them (prompted). His conclusion is interesting for our own purposes: "It is...possible to consider the first question as an open-ended invitation to the respondent to indicate what public issues seemed to be most important to him at the time of the election and the series of itemized issues [the second question] as a focused probe into their importance to the voting decision. The great similarity in the responses to the questions thus assessing the importance of 'prompted' and 'unprompted' issues supports our conclusion that the two classes of questions are closely related." Meisel, *Working Papers*, pp. 14-15. Meisel's statement supports our own contention that we can focus attention on major and minor issues via whatever means seems to help (amount of discussion at meetings or in the press, for example) and have a reasonably accurate measurement, without attempting analyses of intensity of feeling or some other categories of political behavior. The latter studies are only of tangential importance to the classification of issues. If Meisel can intelligently guess what the important issues in an election seem to be (the second question or prompted issues) by whatever traditional and reasonable assumptions, why of course so can other intelligent and alert students. Some attempt to consider voter behavior is incorporated in the prompted-unprompted classification and also in the evident-speculative pair, to follow.

fail of as much consideration as they might deserve, particularly by candidates and parties. Occasionally one confronts a perceptive politician, elector, or newspaper editor who expresses, risks, or speculates on, the "real" or "underlying" issues. There is always some element of doubt even with the historical hindsight of a study of this kind as to what constituted the real issues, or the important and decisive ones. The alternative classifications evident as against speculative[23] or underlying issues are designed to categorize issues as to the degree to which they are obvious and accepted by the electorate or by spokesmen and observers in a campaign. We only really speak of "underlying" issues because we have a sense that they are being submerged under some other questions. This understanding does not exclude the possibility that in any given campaign an "underlying issue" may be expressed by large numbers of people. An uneasiness about the official languages bill was so described in Manitoba's 1969 campaign. Party spokesmen were reluctant to address themselves to the question whereas villages and towns buzzed with consternation about bi-lingualism, so much so that candidates were often prompted to at least acknowledge what they called a widespread "underlying" issue.[24]

(13) The next pair of classifications is one borrowed from Almond and Powell, that is, a measure of the clarity and precision of an issue. Almond and Powell employ the alternates specific and diffuse and give

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[23] I am using the word "speculative" in the following full sense: "of, characterized by, or having the nature of, speculation, or meditation, contemplation, conjecture, etc...,risky." *Webster's New World Dictionary* (College ed., 1962), p. 1400. (Emphasis adde).

[24] Almond and Powell's classification of interest articulation as "manifest" and "latent": the former being "an explicit formulation of a claim or a demand," and the latter "behavioral or mood cues" is, once again, a measurement designed for political behavior. The notion of latency indicated above in the text has more to do with latent reality than it has to do with latent expresssion. Our use of "evident and speculative" points to what is "obvious" on the one hand but it does not deny, on the other hand, that what is speculative and underlying can be clearly and forthrightly expressed. In point of fact the "speculative" or "underlying" issue most often provides another perspective on what is altogether too evident, hence creating issues by that very process. See Almond and Powell, *Comparative Government*, p. 86.

examples of interests which could almost as readily be election issues:

> Such diffuse statements as "We need change," "Politics is too corrupt," and "Wipe out Communism" may be manifest; [or evident issues] but they seldom provide accurate cues for decision-making policy. They indicate dissatisfaction, but not the desired means of correction. Specific requests for legislation, such as for a two-dollar minimum wage, represent the other extreme and are more simply handled. [25]

As it happens, each of the examples used in the above quotation were issues in Manitoba campaigns at one time or another. In the case of election issues as over against interest articulation we would also incorporate another of Almond and Powell's classifications into the "diffuse--specific" pair of issue classification, i. e., we would incorporate the instrumental and affective categories which the writers talk about. The former implies bargaining with the "consequences realistically spelled out" and the latter denotes expressions "of gratitude, anger, disappointment or hope." [26] Since our attention is less on expression it is easy for us to attach it to the degree of specificity of the issue.

Diffuse issues might also include those questions which some political scientists call "status issues" or "symbolic issues." [27] In the case of Manitoba: the social status of old settlers as against the new, or the symbolic issue: how loyal are members of these two groups to Canada.

(14) Political philosophers often speak of substantive and instrumental values, where the latter are employed for the achievement of the former. We can use the same adjectives to describe the degree to which an issue has to do with goals, ends, purposes, basic values and alternative programs (substantive issues) or with policies, means, organization, administration or technique (instrumental issues). The former might include the pros and cons of partyism; the direction of the economy;

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[25] Almond and Powell, Comparative Government, p. 87.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Joyce M. Mitchell and William C. Mitchell, Politics: Problems and Outcomes (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1971), chapter 4. The authors admit (p. 144) that such issues "may be best assessed subjectively, by psychological and attitudinal measures" which supports our contention that as issues they would be best viewed as diffuse.

socialist or capitalist, or a variety of religious and moral issues. Examples of the latter might include the means of raising municipal taxes, or the debate on the tactics to be used in approaching Sir John A. Macdonald on the question of disallowance, with bended knee or clenched fist.

Contemporary politics has been described as largely instrumental in practice, and students of politics tend to make distinctions like programmatic as against pragmatic, or religious and moral issues (which incorporate basic values and ends) as against allocative, distributive or bargaining issues.[28]

Two parties may in fact agree on platforms, programs or directions and yet find that an election issue can be waged on the basis of the instrumentalities untilized in achieving commonly accepted goals. Even the issue itself may be used as an instrument to avoid more substantive matters.

(15) Finally, issues can be described in terms of their complexity and interrelatedness. Some issues are as jelly-like as octupuses, oozing in all directions with each arm becoming yet another issue. Hence, I have made repeated reference throughout this dissertation to issue clusters. Railway issues in 1886, for example, may include not only the question of disallowance, but of monopoly, grain transportation,

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[28] John Meisel, as we have noted, treats moral and religious values as independent entities as do the Mitchells who speak of "such absolutely basic moral and ethical matters as religion, marriage and family, or one's survival and status in a system." They compare what we have chosen to call instrumental and substantive issues:

> "Issues which involve something less than basic values, especially those which are recurrent, quantifiable and inconclusive, provide excellent issues for competitors and bargainers. Questions of 'more or less', 'now or later,' 'possibly next time' can be resolved through trades, compromises or partial wins and losses. Budgetary battles are often histrionic and exciting but they are always resolved; a budget is produced; resources are allocated and benefits destributed. The politician is at his best on these questions and issues. If they were the only kind of political issue, the bargainers would rule mankind. But great symbolic issues and fundamental dilemmas also find their way into politics. The politician engages in another kind of behavior on these issues."

Joyce M. Mitchell and William C. Mitchell, Policy-Making and Human Welfare (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1971), p. 658.

development of new towns and/or the means of funding new lines. Other issues exist in splendid isolation; we often speak of "separate issues," but some of the issues to be examined are extremely difficult to isolate and can only be accurately described in relation to their original cluster.

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It is important to state that the classifications offered above are designed only to suggest some of the ways by which we might classify election issues in Manitoba. They are not meant to be definitive. All one has to do is to consider that if we were studying American federal issues we would likely make use of the very popular pair of classifications domestic as against international or foreign issues. But such a classification does not fit Manitoba.

We might also have included a separate classification called "referendum and plebiscite issues." We didn't employ such a category because the issues so involved, like prohibition, were so much a part of election campaigns quite beyond the precise questions asked in a referendum. But, still the issues might readily have lent themselves to this separate classification.[29] With little difficulty one could cite other possibilities. Those that have been suggested have already been found to be useful and for that reason they have been set forward here.

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[29] Such a division has been employed at a municipal level for purposes of analysis by Harlan Hahn, "Voting in Canadian Communities: A Taxonomy of Referendum Issues," Canadian Journal of Political Science, I (December, 1968), 462-469.

CLASSIFICATION OF PROVINCIAL GENERAL ELECTION ISSUES IN MANITOBA

Area, Extent or Scope.

...who, where or what

1. Subject or problem area.
2. Geographical extent:
   ...province-wide
   ...local
   ...federal
3. Social scope:
   ...General...Sectional
4. Public (Program)...
   ...Personal (Personality)
5. Social...Political.
6. Left...Right.
7. Roorbacks,
   Dodges, and
   Charges of
   Corruption

T i m e .

...when

8. Perennial...
   ...Temporary
   ...New
   ..."Dead"

Nature, Kind or Style.

...how or why

9. Concern...Contention.
10. Major ("Gut," "Key")...
    ...Minor ("Side").
11. Prompted...Unprompted.
12. Evident (Obvious)...
    ...Speculative
    (Underlying)
13. Diffuse...Specific.
14. Substantive (Moral)...
    ...Instrumental
    (Material)
    (Bargaining).
15. Cluster...
    ...Separate (Isolate).

A Comment on Approach and Format.

Why, it might be asked, does this study examine each election campaign in historical chronology? If we take the trouble to devise classifications of issues why not make use of those classifications as the means of presentation of the provincial issues in Manitoba's general elections? There is much to be said for such an approach since it demands a considerable degree of analysis and prior reflection which can produce an interesting and systematic manuscript.

The disadvantages of such an approach are many, however. In the first place one of the major purposes of this study is to pool together various sources and pieces of information so that the material constitutes a reasonably accurate historical record which can be utilized by future scholars. It just has not been done before. Our purpose is enhanced by presenting the elections in chronological order where any student can readily select the election or elections he or she wishes to reexamine.

A second reason for employing this historically descriptive and chronological approach is that it preserves something of the sense of history and the changing movement of events, persons and parties. And so, perhaps, the study carries more life and interest with this historical approach than with the more analytic one. The approach to be followed will allow for reflective and analytic comments and sections without destroying the historical context and flow. Hence, in truth, we have the best of both worlds, the analytic and descriptive.

There is a further argument for the approach used for this study. The historical and chronological presentation, while seemingly repetitive and never-ending, remains ever open to new analysis, interpretation, comparisons and classifications of issues and campaigns. It would be difficult for a future student of this area to do much more with this study than consider the accurateness of the analytic classifications and appropriateness of various placements of issues were we to follow the non-chronological format. However, with the approach employed herein, the future student may still consider the above problems (since we have in fact suggested classifications and will indicate examples of each in summaries at the conclusions of each campaign description) and yet be enabled to formulate his or her own classifications, taking the raw data outlined herein to support new contentions beyond the ken of the present writer.

I am convinced, therefore, that nothing is lost by the approach followed here. It still demands reflection, since we will search for patterns emerging throughout the various Manitoba campaigns and make some tentative comparisons with Alberta and Saskatchewan. Our classifications are stated clearly yet they do not hypostatize or concretize the political reality we are examining so as to exclude other alternative interpretations. Nothing is lost in the way of interesting reading since we are able to intersperse the record with analytic sections as well as including vignettes of the times in describing the issues as they took place. Everything is gained by compiling the material in such a way that any interested layman, historical scholar, or student of politics may readily select the election campaigns or statistical information which he or she requires in making future studies and comparisons, either among various of the campaigns discussed here, or in comparison with other governmental units and the campaigns integral to them.

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I have leaned heavily throughout this study on local newspaper accounts of the campaign and their interpretations as to what constituted the major election issues.

Keeping in mind some of the qualifications already cited, particularly the speculative as opposed to evident nature of many issues as proffered in newspaper editorials, we have an excellent and vibrant source of information.

Earlier newspapers are surprisingly clever and articulate. What they lack because of onesidedness and a propensity to print only that correspondence which supports their own editorial position, is made up for by a willingness to analyze opposition editorials with lengthy quotations reprinted. Their partisan spirit (which is an excellent feast for the student of election issues) is employed in piecing together a balanced view of the campaign only by reading its equally partisan opposing number. Hence, we balance our description of the election of 1870 in Manitoba by employing both The Manitoban, which W. L. Morton has called the official organ of the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and the Manitoba Newletter which speaks clearly against The Manitoban and for John Schultz and the new settlers or "Canadian Party."

In 1878 it is The Manitoba Free Press against the Manitoba Gazette, in 1879 the Grit Free Press against the Tory Winnipeg Daily Times. In the years of early partisanship we can weigh the Conservative Brandon Mail against the Liberal Brandon Sun. In later years one can often pick up a more complete description of both sides of various election issues in but one journal since most major newspapers like the Winnipeg Free Press carry commentaries and correspondance which disagree vehemently with their editorial policies. Oftentimes newspapers that this author would like to have employed were not available--they have been lost in the decaying dust of history with no precious files protected by men of foresight. Often, too, it was simply difficult to obtain certain sources because they are held by private companies or individuals and are not on loan. The cost of travel to make use of such sources was prohibitive to the author. All things considered, however, this study is greatly enriched by the facility with which microfilm copies of newspapers were made available. In a number of instances the careful examination of alternative sources is an original departure and as the author I must confess to some exhilaration at the task of cutting a previously non-existent swath through the seldom traversed terrain of campaign history.

Over the period 1901 to 1938 the Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs (CAR) is an invaluable source of information since the editor J. Castell Hopkins took great pains to describe the election issues in all the provincial campaigns as no scholar before or since has done. The same format has been picked up again under John Saywell's present editorship since 1960 of the renewed Canadian Annual Review. However, the constantly changing format of CAR means that some campaigns are covered with tremendous thoroughness and others not. Our study, therefore, will lean heavily on the Review where it is strong and attempt to significantly augment it where it is not.

Occasionally an interpretive article, historical paper or text carries helpful information or insight into a given campaign and its issues, for example, a book like W. L. Morton's Manitoba: A History, or many of Alexander Begg's personal accounts of Manitoba history 1870 to 1890 of which he was a part. The somewhat more interpretive work of a political scientist like Tom Peterson is both helpful in describing and interpreting campaigns, and as a theretical milestone. One can then pit one's self against such an approach or attempt to take a new measure of the terrain which has been charted.

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The appendixes which indicate the kind of participation by political parties (number of candidates, etc.) and results of elections, enable us to make use of additional objective data as to the mood of the electorate from one campaign to the next. Many issues cannot be properly understood without reference to past results, the entrenchment of governments, and the growth of opposition parties and coalitions.

Figures on the percentage of popular vote and seats won by each party may allow us to see not only the disproportion operative between the two, but also the source of many concerns and issues related to representation and opposition in legislative assemblies. In Manitoba such issues have been particularly associated with a division between urban Winnipeg representation as against rural non-Winnipeg superiority in the assembly. The rural-urban voting patterns therefore will be examined periodically throughout the course of the dissertation.

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This dissertation may be judged as being considerably lengthy. It is deliberately so. Perhaps the advantage of an unpublished study of this kind is that it can be unduly lengthy without cost to anyone. It is difficult to describe twenty-nine different election campaigns without the finished product totalling a large number of pages. It would also defeat the whole purpose of the study if it were to be shortened by the omission of what might appear to be minor issues. The intention of the author has been to provide as complete a picture as possible of the rich variety of issues, avoiding unnecessary detail on minor issues, to be sure, but at least setting forth the most cogent arguments on the most important or interesting questions. It has seemed proper to list the most talked about local and minor issues in order to round out an accurate picture of the issues contained in each campaign.

Oftentimes arguments may not appear sophisticated. Nevertheless they must be reported as they were. Illustrations of the kind of arguments made have been employed with considerable abundance. Once again, the intent has been to capture the nuances and spirit of those who made up the various sides of the dispute.

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But now to the "Manitobah" of 1870 and the election controversies which so epitomize the life and history of this keystone province.

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MANITOBA'S FIRST PROVINCIAL ELECTION:

A QUESTION OF LOYALTY

OCTOBER, 1870 TO DECEMBER 27, 1870

POLITICAL FACTIONS, CANDIDATES, LEADERSHIP AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

Forty-two candidates competed for twenty-four seats. Each seat represented a parish (see map on page 32) there being twelve French and twelve English parishes or constituencies. There were no organised political parties. Candidates ran almost entirely as non-partisan independents dissociating themselves from Federal parties. Some candidates did associate themselves with the work of the new Lieutenant-Governor - the "Government Party," and others were critical of him because of alleged sympathy to old settlers and "rebels" - the "Loyalist" or "Canadian Party." Chief spokesman for the "Loyalist" faction was John Schultz. Alfred Boyd was considered the leader of the "Government Party."

Elections were held for both the Provincial Legislature and House of Commons with some candidates competing for both positions.

The political upheaval of the winter of 1869-1870 which preceded Manitoba's provincial status saw: the exclusion of the Lieutenant-Governor-designate William McDougall from the territory by the people of the Red River country in the hopes that they themselves could negotiate with the Canadian Government; the formation of Louis Riel's Metis-controlled Provisional Government; and the execution by the so-called "rebels" of the vituperative Ontario-Canadian, Thomas Scott.

The Hudson's Bay Company-controlled area was bargained away to the Canadian Government with no attempt to consult the settlers of the land about any matters whatsoever. "One of the greatest transfers of territory and sovereignty in history was conducted as a mere transaction in real estate," says W.L. Morton in his incomparable Manitoba: A History.[1]

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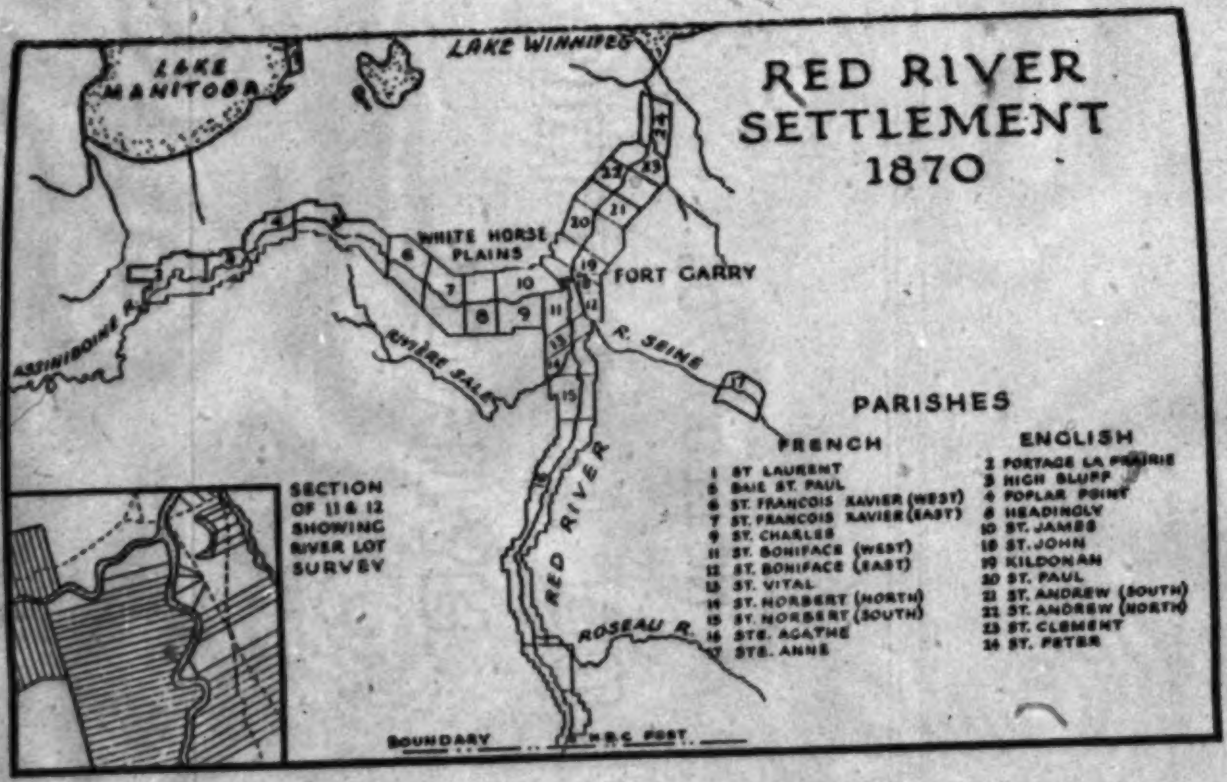
[1] (2nd ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 117.


RED RIVER
SETTLEMENT
1870
LAKE MANITOBA
LAKE WINNIPEG
WHITE HORSE PLAINS
FORT GARRY
ASSINIBOINE R.
RIVIÈRE SALE
R. SEINE
RED RIVER
ROSEAU R.
BOUNDARY
H.B.C. POST
SECTION OF 11 & 12 SHOWING RIVER LOT SURVEY
PARISHES
FRENCH
1 ST LAURENT
5 BAIE ST. PAUL
6 ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER (WEST)
7 ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER (EAST)
9 ST. CHARLES
11 ST. BONIFACE (WEST)
12 ST. BONIFACE (EAST)
13 ST. VITAL
14 ST. NORBERT (NORTH)
15 ST. NORBERT (SOUTH)
16 STE. AGATHE
17 STE. ANNE
ENGLISH
2 PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE
3 HIGH BLUFF
4 POPLAR POINT
8 HEADINGLY
10 ST. JAMES
18 ST. JOHN
19 KILDONAN
20 ST. PAUL
21 ST. ANDREW (SOUTH)
22 ST. ANDREW (NORTH)
23 ST. CLEMENT
24 ST. PETER
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George G. F. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1936), p. 15.

The area, even with provincial status, was still governed by the Metis-"renegades" from July 15 to August 24, 1870 when Colonel Wolseley's troops preceded Lieutenant-Governor Archibald and "legitimate" rule.

The Métis' concern to have the Government of Canada deal fairly and openly regarding Indian land claims and not lose control of governmental structures to the new Ontario settlers was interpreted by the ambitious latter newcomers as a sign of intended annexation to the United States. Hence, even after Lieutenant-Governor Archibald had taken office and had commenced his work at appeasing the factions, a fundamental division on the issue of loyalty had been created.

Autumn 1870 ushered in an election period par excellence. In addition to Senate appointments and those to the local upper house, the Legislative Council, candidates appeared for both the four House of Commons seats and the twenty-four Legislative Assembly seats, twelve designated to predominantly French parishes and twelve to English parishes. Both campaigns were conducted simultaneously often to the frustration of the electors who were called upon to sign requisitions for the same man in two different contests, one national, the other local.

By October 1870 it was apparent that the question of loyalty to Canada and/or to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald's new Executive Council was to be the matter uppermost in the minds of the male, property-holding electors. The new Ontario settlers (referred to by many as the Canadian Party) protested many of the appointments made by the new Lieutenant-Governor as they included men who had participated in the Provisional Government under Riel. Archibald's appointments included John Bruce, former president of that ill-fated "rebel-government". There seems little doubt that the newly-arrived Lieutenant-Governor was convinced of the limited amount of capable leadership in the new province and that he justified his action on this basis and on the premise that he intended to heal the former wounds without unnecessary vengeance.[2]

The "Canadian Party" protested the Lieutenant-Governor's appointments and sent petitions to him requesting permission to inter Thomas Scott's body. The Government replied unemotionally that it would not interfere but reminded the petitioners that not one of them had let his name stand for the local police force which would make civil government in the present and inquiries into the past, as they requested, possible. A letter to the pro-Canadian Manitoba Newsletter provides the flavour of the irate "Loyalist Party" as they called themselves. The letter points as well to the disillusionment with the "slow-coach" caution of old Metis settlers, the importance of the mass-meetings, of common fare in these early elections and of the ugly recriminations linking all French-Canadians with the "rebel element".

> All that about peace at any price, and letting bygones be bygones is simply bosh and arrant humbug. By some of the appointments to office you see that a premium is being given to rebellion and robbery, so the "bygone be bygone" business is merely used to tickle your weak minds, while the Jesuitical policy is to its fullest extent carried out in the appointment of their own creatures to perpetuate their rotten system. John Bruce, ex-president of the late rebel government! Gods and little fishes! Was ever imbecility stretched to such an extent. What an estimate they must have of your capacity for endurance.

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[2] There is correspondence to this effect, to Sir John A. MacDonald: see Sessional Papers of Canada 1874 and consider one such letter as cited in M. S. Donnelly, "The Story of the Manitoba Legislature," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 12 (1957). Archibald says of the members of the first elected assembly for example: "If you had seen some of the drafts prepared for my acceptance you would have felt somewhat as I did when I threw them aside and undertook the labour of drafting them myself." Both Archibald and Alexander Morris who succeeded him in 1872 acted in Prime Ministerial capacities even if unofficially. Archibald also wrote Ottawa as follows: "Was there ever before a responsible ministry resting in a House of whose constituents more than half were liable to be hanged or sent to penitentiary...are the electors to exercise their functions with ropes around their necks...you can hardly hope to carry on responsible government by inflicting death penalties on the leaders of a majority of the electors." Sessional Papers of Canada, 1874, p. 151 as cited in Donnelly p. 31

> ...men of Manitoba...will you submit to this injustice? If you do, blame yourselves; if the powers that be will be ruled by priests, with a leaven of the Hudson's Bay Company, you have the remedy in your own hands - so you had better bestir yourselves, - let your voices be heard in the thunder of the mass meetings. The elections are coming on. Throw off the supineness that has been your bane hitherto - appoint men in whom you have confidence to agitate for you - let the slow-coaches stand aside and give peace to men of different metal. Let none of the old influences get a foothold among you.[3]

By early November the election meetings had commenced in parish churches, schools and private dwellings. Very often one-half of a meeting would be devoted to national candidates and issues and the latter half to local candidates. More often than not the issues were identical for both halves of the meeting. That this was so is easily understood when one remembers that politics was more racial, concerned with loyal representation and the development of the new organs of government, than it was a well-developed partisanship concerned with the intricacies of administration.

Dr. Curtis J. Bird, in what may have been the first candidate's speech in Manitoba's history, reflected this non-partisan concern when he addressed himself to the cry of "reform".

> But, let me ask, what are we to reform? We are just entering on a system of representative government, and I think it will be quite time enough to "reform" when we have made some mistakes (laughter and cheers). Reform means something in the older Provinces, but with us it is meaningless.
>
> Do not, Gentlemen, let our cry be Reform, but let it be Progress (cheers).[4]

We face immediately the problem of perspective on the election issues in Manitoba. From Bird's perspective the major issue (concern not contention) is the development of the province and the governmental apparatus to go with it, i.e.: "progress." Talk of "reform" is totally inappropriate and premature. However, consider Edward Hay's statement in St. Andrew's South constituency in which he charges that the pro-Government newspaper The Manitoban lies about unity in the country.

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[3] The Manitoba Newsletter (Winnipeg), October 11, 1870.

[4] The Manitoban (Winnipeg), November 5, 1870.

> I never can unite with people who have been our enemies last winter (cheers). There are loyal men among the French whom we ought to respect. But there are men among them who deserve not even the respect of a dog (cheers). It is said there are no party lines. But I say there are, and there will be, irrespective either of the Government, or the affairs of last winter. Our party will be one of loyalists and our watchword Right, not Might (cheers). Might ruled us last winter, Right must rule in future.[5]

The Loyalty Issue Cluster.

From the perspective of the "Loyalist Party", therefore, there are issues of "reform" and not "progress" to be considered. As the observer we have no choice but to consider both perspectives. And there are in this context several distinct issues to be considered - the general concern regarding loyalty; the somewhat diffuse but contentious matter of the French influence; and the diffuse and ever present contention regarding the place of party politics in local issues.

The "Loyalist" elements are critical of the Government for three reasons that we have touched upon (1) what they considered to be an insulting reply concerning interment of Scott's body (2) the appointment of "rebels" to office and (3) the absence of action taken in regard to bringing "rebels and murderers" to justice. The "loyal Canadian Party" received these matters as evidence of a conspiratorial French onesidedness in the Government of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald.

While pro-Government supporters like James Ross and H. J. Clarke (a future premier) defended the "difficulty and delicacy" of the Lieutenant-Governor's calm impartiality, one Dr. Lynch saw things differently.

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[5] The Manitoban, November 19, 1870.

Archibald's impartiality is questioned throughout the election not only in regard to the favor shown to rebels but to former Hudson's Bay Company officials as well. Witness Lynch's argument:

> Talk of "representative - responsible Government" as Mr. Ross did! Where is it? The Governor has two irresponsible advisers, and even they are only figureheads - the real advisors being the Hudson's Bay Company, who were as deeply implicated in the rebellion as the worst of the Riel party. Then look at the appointments that have been made - especially that of John Bruce, the first president of the Provisional Government. Could anything be worse than that? Could anything show more clearly the Governor's lack of sympathy with the loyal party? As to the H. B. Co. they ought to be held as guilty until they prove themselves innocent. They were deeply and criminally implicated in the rebellion - and there can be no doubt of it. Rather than approve the course of the Government, we ought to condemn them. (Hear, Hear).[6]

The census of September 1870 had indicated 5,747 French Métis, 4,083 English half-breeds, 1515 whites and 558 Indians, the latter number representing only those of fixed residence and therefore a low estimate, living in the new province. Hence the old settlers were the skilled Métis or half-breeds who traded, hunted buffalo and drove ox-carts and barges. One such venerable half-breed James Tanner was found interpreting the statements of the above-cited meeting to native Indians. His comment is astute: "We are all 'loyal' in this country" he said, "and it is foolish and wrong for one section to claim a monopoly on that commodity". The comment indicates something of the nature of this central issue of loyalty that may have escaped us previously and that is the universality of that concern. It is an issue which lies, from the pro-Government perspective on the "concern" end of our concern-contention classification of issues. From the perspective of the "Canadian Party" it is clearly at the conten-

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[6] The Manitoban, December 10, 1870. Archibald's appointments did include D. A. Smith, (later Lord Strathcona) the leading H. B. Co. official who in fact governed the province from August 24 to Archibald's arrival in September 1870, and leading merchants and former members of the Provisional Government like Messrs. Bannatyne, Delorme and William Tait. The Manitoba Newsletter of October 11, 1870 carries a complete list of administrative and judicial appointments to confirm "Loyalist" charges.

tion end of the scale since this latter party is convinced that other segments of the community are disloyal. The scholar who pronounces on this matter by classifying the issue one way or another runs the danger of being said to be lacking in objectivity but it seems clear that a wider interpretation of events, given the advantage of time and distance, indicates that the loyalty issue was essentially a contentious matter. Even those who believed that all were loyal had reason to fear that too much emphasis by one section of the community (the "Loyalists") could disrupt the entire country. Another statement by James Ross is directed towards the supporters of the chief spokesman for the loyal Canadians, John Schultz, and gives clear evidence of this fear of the emphasis on loyalty.

> I understand very well the feeling in favor of Dr. Schultz. It is based very much on the feeling of vexation which animated the English people against the French last winter - a feeling in which I myself shared very largely. But we ought not to keep up that feeling. It can do no possible good, and will certainly do harm. No really patriotic man would encourage sectional jealousies and hatreds. That is generally the work of demagogues.

The Ross statement moves on to set forth the specific concerns he has about Schultz's brand of loyalty which includes opposition to the Government.

> Now though the Doctor is, so far as I am aware, a personal friend of mine, still I am opposed to him in politics; because, in the first place, I am afraid that he will work for the interests of the people coming into this country, and neglect those of the old settlers. I object to the Doctor, in the second place, because I am afraid that, on account of his strong feeling against the French, he may seek to retaliate upon them, and may even try to break up the Manitoba Act. If you think the Act ought to be broken up, then he is probably your man.[7]

Not all statements were as conciliatory as the above and as the elections drew nearer the sectional (old versus new settlers; Government Party versus Loyalist Party) and racial (French versus English) differences became the heated points at issue. Those who appealed to predominantly French electors like H. J. Clarke and M. A. Girard (also destined to be a premier) spoke against the "strangers coming here...to introduce the party feuds of the older provinces" with all its inherent "degradation and misery". "The man who dares to raise his voice in favor of introducing here the party feeling and religious feuds and distinctions of any other country - that man is a traitor to his God, to this country, and to her best interests. (cheers) If one party here, as elsewhere, have rights, so have all." "I am not aware", continued H. J. Clarke appealing to the English parish of St. James, "that two distinct, well-defined parties exist in this country. I sincerely hope they do not. (Hurrahs and Cheers)" With his well-known rhetorical flourish Clarke concluded:

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[7] The Manitoban, November 19, 1870.

> Let all good men and true, unite together, and by their example, stamp out the now but tiny flame, if flame it be, of biggotry and intolerance, which has recently been lighted in your midst. If you do not, the flame will grow and spread over this fair province, till the whole of your beautiful country will be reduced to a state of chaos, and the ashes of her hopes scattered to the winds by the demon of religious discord. (Loud and long continued cheers).[8]

The weekly Manitoban trumpeted Clarke's concerns regarding "religious prejudices" and "new settler" interests and cited Dr. Schultz as declaring to his constituents that in regard to local issues: "I will never forget for a moment that I represent a Protestant Community (cheers), and that I have, in addition, to guard the interests of a community who are neither manufacturers nor merchants, but whose prosperity depends on their fields and their flocks. (cheers)"[9]

The Land Question.

Perhaps the second most important issue in Manitoba's first provincial election and one that we can clearly separate from the cluster of sectional, racial or religious questions associated with the loyalty concern is the matter of land grants and titles in the new province.

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[8] The Manitoban, December 17, 1870.

[9] Ibid., November 19, 1870.

The Dominion Government had not granted ownership of public lands to the local Government as those who had supported provincial status had hoped. But the Government in Ottawa had promised 1,400,000acres to half-breed natives of Manitoba and what remained unresolved was the means of distributing that land. While this question was essentially a problem for Dominion policy it was to become, increasingly, a matter for provincial concern. The policy became one of offering "script" or any 160 acres of any quarter section of land open to sale in the settlement in place of a specific and outright grant of land. The result was to encourage half-breeds to sell for ready cash, hence fostering fierce speculation and the wealthy accumulation of choice lands on the part of a handful of speculaters. Alexander Begg, observing the situation at the time, wrote: "The granting of script in lieu of an actual land grant was a curse to the Province of Manitoba, an evil from the effect of which she is still suffering, and which it will take many years to wipe out."[10]

During the election of 1870, however, this land question was totally unresolved. Script remained a possibility but was not yet a reality. H. J. Clarke saw it as an issue to be avoided, supposedly in both Dominion and provincial elections. The land question he felt was "only to be properly ventilated at meetings held immediately after the elections - (so that outsiders cannot say it was made a question to influence the elections) - and before the sitting of the Legislature. It has only to be discussed in the proper spirit at meetings in every parish, and resolutions passed..."[11]

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[10] Alexander Begg, *History of the North-West*, II (Toronto: Hunt, Rose and Company, 1894), p. 90.

[11] *The Manitoban*, December 19, 1870. The meetings seem to have taken place and just how wrong Clarke's advice seems to have been is indicated by Begg's account of frustrated "bitter feelings", of mass meetings called by "indignant citizens", "burning in effigy, hooting and threatening members of the executive and other public functionaries of the states," "violent assaults on, and even murder of, peaceable half-breeds." The land question was central to, but not exclusively the cause of, these events during, and immediately following, the election of December, 1870. Begg, *History of the North-West*, II, 91-92.

Candidates like C. J. Bird and James Cunningham of Headingly warned the electorate that the new settlers under Schultz intended to do away with the land grants if possible. Bird promised to oppose a script system since its outcome, as witnessed in the United States, was to deprive those to whom the land was originally granted. Schultz on the other hand intended to support a script system and while the system itself would be a Dominion decision (Schultz was running for both House of Commons and local seats) the support of, or opposition to, script became an important consideration for local election. Schultz's support rested on the contention that there had been uncertainty in Ottawa regarding the land grants, that they ought not to be grants on a basis of particular class or religion, and that the fairest approach was not to force persons to settle the land.

M. A. Girard in his address in his French constituency of St. Boniface East saw the land question in somewhat broader terms, citing the importance of legislation locally to facilitate proper title to lands and to promote the interests of the farmer by seeing that the development of idle lands is promoted by government measures. Most talk about agriculture, therefore, centered around the ownership of land and the conflict of interests between old trading settlers and the new agriculturalists.

Immigration.

Further to the development of the agricultural sector The Manitoban called editorially for a "well-organized system of immigration... to supply the actual poverty of the labour market." The Manitoban had in mind encouraging large numbers of "poor boys and girls," bands of orphans from overseas, to engage in agricultural and other forms of labor.[12]

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[12] The Manitoban, December 17, 1870, p. 2.

Issues For the Future.

In all, very little was said regarding three matters which were to highlight the elections of the next twenty to forty years, i.e., railways, schools and boundaries. Several candidates noted the importance of developing railways in the province, and M. A. Girard promised to work towards cementing and securing "lasting and permanent educational institutions".[13]

The Electoral System.

Several minor issues arose as a result of the various electoral procedures. Angus McKay, belatedly resigned his candidature in St. Charles (he was however elected by acclamation in the Lake Manitoba parish of St. Laurent) as electors in that constituency (St. Charles) were opposed to the dual system of election, prefering to select a different candidate for the local legislature, other than McKay who was, as well, running for a Commons seat.[14] When McKay called on his former supporters, and even those who had opposed him because of the "dual question," to elect H. J. Clarke by acclamation, it was an example of a peculiar issue of every election in Manitoba's early history. Acclamation was viewed as a vote of confidence on the part of a community in a given candidate. For other electors to raise an opposing candidate became an important issue in these non-party elections since it reflected on the confidence of the electors and the character of the first candidate. In this first election many of the strongest personages were elected by acclamation. McKay, Clarke, Girard, Joseph Royal, Joseph Dubuc and three other candidates in French parishes were so elected. John Norquay was acclaimed in the lone English parish to so elect a candidate whereas, as we have seen, eight out of the twelve French parishes had elected their candidates by acclamation.

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[13] The Manitoban, November 19, 1870.

[14] Ibid., December 22, 1870. (Special Supplement)

Robert Cunningham of The Manitoban, speaking at an election meeting in Winnipeg and St. John's, claimed that universal suffrage, as advocated by many, leads, as in France, to "mob law and tyranny." He was raising an issue which was to become common fare in Manitoba and Cunningham's opposition to universal suffrage would be shared by many prominent figures including John Norquay. Cunningham declared: "In the States, manhood suffrage prevailed, but what did it amount to? Why to this, that party spirit and partisanship, and animosities and corruptions so obtained that to speak of freedom or individual opinion in connection with experience of the franchise was an absurdity. (cheers)"[15] Such comments pro and con were all a part of the concern to protect Manitoba from, or to introduce Manitoba to, the more developed political institutions south and east of her borders.

Through the medium of his weekly paper Cunningham editorialized in the last issue before the election calling on the electors to place competent men in the legislature, men with "opinions of their own" but not "prejudiced personal predilections". The concern had been a common one stressed throughout the campaign. The editorial went on to mention the many "important matters it will devolve upon the Local House to deal with" such as "social arrangements as to licences" and municipal organization.

Schultz Versus Smith: The First Personality Issue.

Throughout the winter campaign both John Schultz and Donald A. Smith, the two Winnipeg or St. John's parish candidates, were the subject of considerable debate. Dr. Schultz was much maligned by Cunningham's paper which reminded the electorate of Schultz's horsewhipping of one Thomas Spence, a former editor of the New Nation editorially in sympathy with the Provisional Government.[16] Dr. Schultz was also accused of being indirectly responsible for the death of James Tanner, who after speaking so eloquently at a political meeting, as we have noted above, had his horse and wagon chased by a group of men, presumably political opponents. Tanner's horse bolted, he was thrown to the ground and died, almost instantly, having had his "skull driven in". The Manitoba Newsletter made it a point to deny the many charges laid against Schultz and the war of words between Coldwell and Cunningham's Manitoban and P. G. Laurie's less prestigious Newsletter grew ever more heated as the campaign progressed.

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[15] The Manitoban, December 17, 1870.

The name of Donald A. Smith was equally anathema in opposition ranks because of his high office and lengthy association with the Hudson's Bay Company. A sizeable number of electors in Winnipeg and St. John's were concerned about Smith's H. B. Co. connections and thought it a detriment to have a close advisor to the Lieutenant-Governor. Others feared that Smith would use his influence to resist the appropriate taxation of the Company. Smith attempted to assure his electors that there would be no exceptional duties or taxation exemptions for the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Templeton Defection.

The only other contentious event was the series of letters attributed to Alexander Templeton, a former secretary in Schultz's party, who presumably dictated a letter announcing his defection to the Central Committee of Winnipeg Government supporters. The Manitoban produced sworn witnesses to that effect including H. J. Clarke but Templeton denied his change of heart if not his dictation.[17]

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[16] For a full account of this cruel practice see New Nation (Fort Garry), September 3, 1870 or the Montreal Gazette, September 24, 1870. Schultz entered Spence's bedroom before the latter's morning rising and proceeded to strike him with a horse or dog whip for criticising his wife in the New Nation during his (Schultz's) absence from Winnipeg.

[17] The Manitoban, December 24, 1870.

The Election and Its Aftermath.

The disruption of meetings and election fights carried on all during the winter of 1870-1871.[18]

Nominations closed on December 19 following which a series of election speeches were made as was to be the practice. On December 26, the eight hundred eligible voters, travelled some twenty to forty miles to voice their choice in those parishes where they were bona fide householders or property owners. "Before any elector is permitted to vote, he shall state his name and residence, and shall then state the candidate for whom he shall vote; and the clerk shall, under the direction of the Returning officer, enter the name on the Poll Book."[19]

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[18] The instances are many and colorful. On one occasion Dr. Schultz and his supporters beat Donald Smith and his followers to the latter 's own meeting place. Schultz and company requested the key to the school-house, locked the door from the inside, duly elected Schultz chairman, and proceeded to make the intended proceedings, apparently meant to include the nomination of Donald Smith in St. John's parish, an impossibility. (The Manitoban, December 17, 1870. p. 2)

On another occasion a meeting called by Dr. Bird in St. Andrews parish encountered Schultz supporters and an argument arose over the time of the meeting. One Joseph McDermott argued with Schultz's contention that the meeting was over according to his calculation of the time. A hubbub ensued and The Manitoban described the scene as follows: "They made at young McDermott and one of them, quite a giant, caught Joe by the threat and was pushing him to the door when the blood of the old Irish kings which flows in young McDermott's veins asserted itself and in an instant his gigantic antagonist was sprawling on the floor. After an invitation on Joe's part for the rest of them to 'come on', which was graciously declined, Schultz arose, and, in a style which his most constant attendants say he never equalled before, gave three cheers for the Queen. Dr. Bird and his friends met the dispursed electors within sixty yards of the school-house going home, but some of them on being asked to go back and resuscitate the meeting declined on the ground that it was not by any means safe." (The Manitoban, December 22, 1870. (Supplement)

[19] Part of the official proclamation as contained in The Manitoban, December 3, 1870.

When the poll clerks totalled up the names of electors listed under the names of the various candidates it was found that perhaps as many as nineteen of the twenty-four members of the new Local House could be expected to support the Lieutenant-Governor's policies and his Executive Council then headed by Alfred Boyd winning candidate in St. Andrew's North.[20] Smith defeated Schultz in Winnipeg but the infusionof property-owners into the electoral division in support of Smith was enough to call for a judicial inquiry.[21] A similar inquiry in Headingly reversed the decision there although only the winning candidate's ballots were re-examined by H. J. Clarke, at least if we are to believe The Manitoba Newsletter.[22]

If The Manitoban is to be believed, the press of Eastern Canada played an important role in the development of election issues in this first campaign. We must consider that almost all of Manitoba's pioneer journalists were transplanted Easterners, both French and English. Molyneux St. John, the Toronto Globe's Manitoba correspondent, became almost at the same time, a land agent for the Hudson's Bay Company, and a candidate in this first election. Distance seemed to have done little for Toronto and Montreal's objectivity. On November 5, 1870, The Daily Telegraph of Toronto, editoralised its concern regarding what it termed "French Law" - the humiliating art of appointing people sympathetic to French law to judicial positions in the new province. In an editorial on November 10, 1870, the Telegraph cited the Ottawa Times as speaking of a population in Manitoba two-thirds of which was English, in reply to the Telegraph's "French Law" editorial. The Times, as it attempted to play down the Telegraph's concern spoke of twelve English parishes to five French. Similarly the Toronto Globe was later forced to correct its estimate of the portion of French in various parishes as it worried itself about English representation in Manitoba Commons seats.

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[20] The Manitoba Newsletter of January 11, 1871 considered Hay, Norquay, Boyd, Bourke, Spence, and Sutherland, all of English parishes and Klyne of a French parish as opposition or Loyalist members. Since Boyd and Norquay both joined Government ranks,the latter to replace Boyd, the remaining five may well be the opposition members mentioned in other accounts. Opposition was never stable in this non-party arrangement.

[21] The Manitoba Newsletter of January 11, 1871 published a list of names of non-residents and monthly servants of the H. B. Co. without homes or houses - save that they were lodgers in other homes and all allegedly on Smith's list of voters. Such inquiries and alleged wrong-doing was to pursue Smith throughout his career, and perhaps justly so.

[22] April 5, 1871.

But perhaps the epitome of Eastern reaction and distortion was contained in an editorial which considered the results of the province's first election. After accusing Lieutenant-Governor Archibald of "snubbing the loyalists," and the former Eastern journalists like Cunningham and St. John of selling out and failing to support an oppressed minority, the Daily Telegraph of Toronto continued:

> The result was a union of the priest party, the Hudson's Bay Company party and the Government party, against the handful of loyal Canadians under Schultz and Lynch. Of course the Canadians were powerless against such a coalition. They were defeated at every point and Governor Archibald will now have the pleasure of calling around him, as his advisors, the colleagues or supporters of the rebels who opposed our authority a year ago, and whose hands are stained with the blood of Scott. We have gained a great deal by sending out that military expedition - have we not?

After examining the connections of various winning candidates with the "French and rebel cause" the editorial continued:

> The result of the elections shows that Archibald is in the hands of the priests and that the latter imported from Lower Canada and placed in the Local House men like Royal, Lemay and Clark, in whom they have confidence and upon whom they can rely, under any circumstances. The party who had control of the Province a year ago, have control of it today; and we suppose they will continue to have control of it unless we can send out within the next year or two, a few hundred settlers from the Province of Ontario to counteract the influence of the disloyal element.[23]

Yet W. L. Morton in a somewhat more objective and neutral vein maintains that: "Two things characterized Archibald's council and the legislature: the balance of French and English, Catholic and Protestant; and the exclusion, by both the Governor and the electors, of the two extremes in the late troubles, Schultz and the Canadian party, and Riel and the leaders of the Provisional Government.[24]

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[23] The Daily Telegraph (Toronto), January 19, 1871.

R E S U L T S (Numbers associated with constituencies identify them on map, page 32.)

French Parishes

1. ST. LAURENT or LAKE MANITOBA
Angus McKay........Acclamation.

5. BAIE ST. PAUL
Joseph Dubuc.......Acclamation.

6. ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER (WEST)
Joseph Royal.......Acclamation.

7. ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER (EAST)
Pascal Breland..............31.
John Bruce..................18.

9. ST. CHARLES
Henry Joseph Clarke..Acclamation.

11. ST. BONIFACE (WEST)
Louis Schmidt.......Acclamation.

12. ST. BONIFACE (EAST)
Marc Amable Girard......Acclamation.

13. ST. VITAL
Andre Beauchemin........Acclamation.

14. ST. NORBERT (NORTH)
Joseph Lemay....................35.
Joseph Genton................... 9.

15. ST. NORBERT (SOUTH)
Pierre DeLorme..................50.
Joseph Hamelin..................22.

16. STE. AGATHE
George Klyne....................19.
Alexander Morin.................14.

17. STE. ANNE and POINT DECHENE
John H. McTavish.........Acclamation.

English Parishes.

2. PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE
Frederick A. Bird..............37.
John James Setter..............36.
William J. Garrioch............ 3.

3. HIGH BLUFF
John Norquay, Jr......Acclamation.

4. POPLAR POINT
David Spence...................26.
M. Cook........................18.
George Gunn....................14.

8. HEADINGLY
James Cunningham................32.
James Taylor....................31.

10. ST. JAMES
Edwin Bourke....................35.
Molyneaux St. John..............21.

18. ST. JOHN and WINNIPEG
Donald A. Smith.................70.
John Christian Schultz..........63.

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[24] Morton, Manitoba - A History, p. 146

RESULTS - English Parishes - cont'd

19. KILDONAN

John Sutherland, Elder...........38.
Donald Matheson..................31.

20. ST. PAUL

Dr. Curtis J. Bird...............38.
Hugh Pritchard...................37.

21. ST. ANDREW (SOUTH)

Edward Henry George Gunter Hay...38.
Thomas Sinclair..................28.
John Gunn........................20.

22. ST. ANDREW (NORTH)

Hon. Alfred Boyd.............58.
Donald Gunn..................28.

23. ST. CLEMENT

Thomas Bunn.................39.
Charles Begg................32.

24. ST. PETER

Capt. Thomas Howard..........75.
Joseph Monkman...............11.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Government Supporters.......19 Leader - Alfred Boyd.

Oppositionists.............. 5 Leader - E. H. G. G. Hay

Source: The Manitoban, January 4, 1871. (Supplement). E. H. G. G. Hay became the first official Leader of the Opposition and Alfred Boyd continued as Premier for another year. The names of those in opposition are cited in footnote 20, and the balance of the winners supported the Boyd Government.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1870.

The summary list of issues at the conclusion of this and each following chapter is designed as a ready reference and comparison for the reader. Wherever possible the issues are ranked by number according to their importance or their intensity of interest to numbers of people. Issues will generally be classified under the major, province-wide categories on the one hand, and local and/or minor on the other. Whenever an issue is an excellent example of one of the other classifications it will be so noted in parentheses, or occasionally listed separately.

Major, Province-wide.

1. The Loyalty Cluster.
    (a) Leadership and the use of the rebels - "French Influence."
    (b) "Government Party" versus "Loyalist or Canadian Party."
    (c) Old settlers versus new settlers.

The Loyalty Cluster - cont'd.

(d) The Lieutenant-Governor's favoritism - e.g.: Hudson's Bay Company - French versus English.

(e) Progress versus reform.

(f) The interrment of Thomas Scott.

(g) The place of party politics in local issues.

2. Land Grants, Titles and Script.

3. The Electoral System. (Political).

(a) Dual system of elections.

(b) Acclamations.

(c) Universal suffrage.

4. Personalities and connections of Schultz and Smith. (Personal).

Minor and Diffuse.

Immigration.

Railways - need for development.

Schools - need for development.

Need for municipal organization.

Local and Specific.

The defection of Alex Templeton. (Personal).

Fights and disruptions of election meetings.

LANDS, LANGUAGE, SCHOOLS AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT: WHO IS IN CONTROL HERE?

THE ELECTION OF DECEMBER 30, 1874

POLITICAL FACTIONS, CANDIDATES, LEADERS AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

Forty-eight candidates contested the 24 parish-constituencies, now 14 English and 10 French. Candidates continued to run as independents divorced from organised party politics. Political factions grew around ability to administer effectively and over sympathy to old or new, French or English factions, a racial and sectarian politics and government. Leaders were R. A. Davis, Premier and Capt. Thomas Scott, Oppositionist. Candidates could no longer hold both provincial and federal seats.

Dimensions of Racial Politics: The Major Issue.

In actual practice the 1874 provincial election campaign began long before the official date of dissolution of December 16, 1874. The Clarke Government had been overturned on a confidence vote in July of 1874, ostensibly because it had failed to implement a redistribution bill which would satisfy new settler expectations. In December, M. A. Girard's short period in office also came to an end and R. A. Davis, an English-speaking Roman Catholic, became premier and went to the electorate with a redistribution bill which was not unchanged from the original Clarke draft: fourteen English districts and ten French.[1]

Robert Atkinson Davis had been elected to the House in the Winnipeg constituency early in 1874 in a by-election called to replace D. A. Smith who under new federal legislation could no longer hold both federal and provincial seats.

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[1] Quite simply, North and South St. Norbert (French) were combined as were St. Boniface North and South. The new English constituencies to the north and west of Winnipeg were Westbourne and Rockwood. Other boundaries were, of course, considerably enlarged.

Mr. Davis began his retrenchment policies immediately by naming only two other members to his cabinet: Joseph Royal (the leading French opponent to Clarke)[2] and Colin Inkster (a member of [illegible] Legislative Council). His move was designed to save the province $4,500 in cabinet salaries and became an immediate plank in his election platform.

The Manitoba Daily Free Press called the Girard-Davis interchange a "desperate" and "unprecedented" move, an evidence that neither government enjoyed the confidence of the people. "We challenge the world and all history to produce a better Rump Government than the one that has been hatched into feeble and precarious existence in this Province within the last few hours."[3]

The Government reconstruction, then, became part of the larger representation and racial issue which was paramount in what can only be called a bitter campaign. The Free Press joined forces with the large number of candidates who deplored the redistribution and reconstruction calling both sell-outs of new Canadian settler interests and callous surrenders of English interests to French for governmental position and power. The Free Press analysis provides a widely shared perspective on the campaign and the time.

> We do not advocate that French-haters should be elected to parliament, but the history of this province since it had an existence shows that the only political parties are English and French; moreover our very Legislature proves the same thing, or else why so much made of the Redistribution measure, which practically prescribes so many English, and so many French members?[4]

Mr. Davis, on the other hand, maintained throughout the election that he had fulfilled his pledge in "opposing the Clarke administration tooth and nail" and "to oust it if possible." He blamed John Norquay's "shifty manner" for his own refusal to await Clarke's redistribution bill before opposing him; and attempted to prove to electors that the Clarke constituency map would have shown fourteen French to thirteen English divisions. [5]

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[2] Although both French Catholics, Royal and Clarke had parted ways as they formed opposing counsel in the Lepine trial over the murder of Thomas Scott, Royal's paper Le Metis attacked Clarke as a traitor for acting as prosecuting attorney against a countryman.

[3] Manitoba Daily Free Press (Winnipeg), December 5, 1874. (Hereafter cited as MFP)

[4] Ibid., December 23, 1874.

Dual Languages: An Instrumental Issue.

Another dimension of this same racial question, and hence a subsidiary and "instrumental" issue, was the concern to end the use of dual languages in the province. The brief Girard Government was censured in part for its failure to be any less a supporter of the French language than the previous Clarke administration. Dozens of candidates and electors addressed meetings in favor of an end to the use of the French language in the province. French was deemed an unnecessary expense in a province whose provincial treasury it was said at the time was "not enough to pay the expenses of running a respectable sea-side hotel." [6] The existence of the French language was constantly linked with charges of French domination. [7] However, other candidates were somewhat opposed to a sudden abolition of the use of French in courts and the legislature. They feared that such legislation would bring retaliation from Ottawa in the form of reduced subsidies. Walter Lynch, a Westbourne candidate outrightly opposed abolition of French. He believed that an expanding immigration policy with concomitant subsidies for an expanded population would better handle the problem. The Manitoban (later superseded by The Standard) believed that time would resolve this problem without unnecessary bitterness.

> When the country is more advanced and one language more decidedly in use by the whole of the people, it may be judicious and not unjust,

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[5] The Manitoban, November 14, 1874.

[6] As cited in Martin, "Political History," p. 107.

[7] "...the elections will soon be held and no one amongst the English speaking people must be elected who does not pledge himself to vote for the abolition of the dual language, and all other forms and practices of French domination in this country." Editorial: "A Dream That is Not a Dream at All," MFP, September 21, 1874.

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after the people have been appealed to, to do away with the dual language system of the courts. Till that time comes, any attempt to raise an issue on the subject is only another name for an attempt to raise ill-feeling and disturbance amongst the people, for the furtherance of some private and not very creditable ends.[8]

Responsible Government and No-Party Politics.

Two further issues in this cluster of "racial" questions had to do with the character of men in the Legislature and the growth of responsible government. The no-party politics of the day was such that many or most candidates referred to themselves as independent or at least avoided calling themselves Government supporters. The Free Press deplored this attitude, maintaining that most independents were Government supporters in disguise "purchasable to the highest bidder," and that it was the responsibility of the electors to insist that candidates declare for or against the Government in order to put an end to English surrender to French interests and ensure strong opposition to the "French-dominated" Government. The Free Press reminded its readers that corruption and dishonesty was not inevitable in political life and that patriotic, honest and able men could be found. The comment implied that Mr. Davis thought otherwise. The Manitoban also warned of corrupt men or men "obtuse of intellect." Electors were told to beware of "land rings, jobbing families and corrupt officialdom." Character not "connections and positions" were the mark to be measured against.[9]

The Free Press also questioned the constitutional right of the Lieutenant-Governor to place Mr. Davis in office. Either responsible government existed or it did not; but events seemed to the Winnipeg paper to mean that responsible government had been in operation (even though the Manitoba Act did not delineate it) but was suddenly dispensed with upon the selection of the Davis Government, without proper consultation with the electorate. Very likely Mr. Davis interpreted his appeal to the electorate as their opportunity to endorse a new Government and its redistribution legislation.[10]

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[8] The Manitoban, October 3, 1874. p. 2.

[9] Ibid., September 5, 1874 and MFP, October 19, November 16, and November 25, 1874.

The Davis Retrenchment Measures.

In his published card to the electors, Premier Davis cited several economy measures including the intention of abolishing the Legislative Council, reducing the indemnity of MPP's and the establishment of a Crown Counsel, without a salary paid to an independent Attorney-General. The latter he was in the process of implementing and his reduction of the Government ministry to three was also witness to his economizing measures. He promised to negotiate with the Dominion Government for a "moderate increase" in subsidies, and intended to introduce a more effective municipal system along with aiding such localities with the construction of roads and bridges. He also promised an amendment to the school laws based on an "accurate list of attendance verified under oath."[11]

Most candidates agreed that the abolition of the Legislative Council was wise policy ~~and~~ essentially because the Council served as an unnecessary expense. There were others, however, who pondered the Council's place in protecting the French minority, assuming that its continued existence was related to that role.

The Davis policy of indemnity reductions, if it was treated at all, was generally criticised because it failed to apply to cabinet salaries.

The cabinet's reduction in size and absence of an Attorney-General was widely criticised. While few candidates would criticise such a cut-back on financial grounds the Free Press read into it the failure of Mr. Davis to find ready supporters who would serve. As to the use of Crown counsel in lieu of a permanent Attorney-General the recent Oppositionist John Norquay advocated "a short act defining the duties to be discharged by... [the Attorney-General]." Norquay believed that the Attorney-General's salary could be limited or set by the House so that the Government would continue to be responsible to the people for the administration of justice. "No Crown counsel need be made a scapegoat to beat the shortcomings of a derelict government," he said.[12]

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[10] Responsible government in Manitoba is discussed editorially in MFP, December 15 and 18, 1874.

[11] MFP, December 5, 1874, p. 2. Much of the new Premier's concern for government economy arose out of his well-founded belief that the Clarke-Howard Government had run the province into $138,000 worth of debt while becoming men of means, themselves. See The Manitoban, November 21, 1874.

There was near unanimous concern for increased subsidies and a much-improved municipal act. Most candidates favored both municipal and school acts along the lines used in Ontario (a county system of government and non-sectarian schools) although in 1874 there were still those who searched for other alternatives or suggested the Ontario approach was too expensive.

Land Speculation and Tax Evasion.

Perhaps the most heated talk in relation to municipal and school organization was the concern to check land speculators who evaded taxes because of their absentee landlord status or because of the lack of a local taxing authority. There seems no doubt that such a "land and jobbing ring" not only existed but consisted very largely of important Winnipeg politicans and businessmen. The Manitoban, as spokesman for the older settlers, claimed that George McMicken, the leading Dominion land man, was personally involved in taking up eight quarter sections of land at Stoney Mountain, the center of the storm over land speculation.[13] It would appear that the Dominion Government was concerned to protect land at Stoney Mountain for the furtherance of a penitentiary and quarry, and certain government employees had extended their control to surrounding woodlots. The Manitoban referred to cases of cancelled homesteads to facilitate government control over the woodlots. The weekly paper carried correspondance from the settlers "who," said one, "have been attracted hither by the glowing accounts which have been published." But the settlers discovered too late, this correspondent continued, that the accounts were:

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[12] MFP, December 23, 1874.

[13] The Manitoban, October 3, 1874.

> ...a mass of falsehoods and snares invented for the occasion by land sharks and speculative officials, who have, by hook or by crook, forced themselves into high positions on Government Departments, it would almost seem for the express purpose of taking advantage of that poorer class of people who, above all others deserve the most assistance and commiseration.[14]

Farmers and settlers also complained because the Government had auctioned off woodlots at a time when they were bereft of money to purchase them due to the destruction of crops by the worst grasshopper plague in recent memory. While prairie fires ravaged the settlers' holdings, well-heeled Winnipegers swept up the woodlots.

The Hudson's Bay Company remained detestable in the eyes of many and it was a black mark against any candidate to be associated with the largest speculator of all. The Company held a large tract of land outside Winnipeg which was territory recognised as the logical point of expansion of the city. Other Winnipeg businessmen were accused of scrambling for land along the newly announced route of the Thunder Bay - Winnipeg railway and the all-important Fort Garry crossing. Both Walter Lynch and C. P. Brown, opposing candidates in the Westbourne constituency, were agreed that the ring of speculators in Winnipeg had control of the Legislature and were "trying to hold that control by electing representatives in each division."[15]

Candidates were, of course, concerned that land speculators should pay their share of school taxes. In Woodlands constituency the concern was expressed that Dominion-owned school lands should be guarded carefully, to be offered only for local use when schools were in fact required in a neighborhood.[16]

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[14] The Manitoban, October 3, 1874.

[15] MFP, December 10, 1874.

[16] Ibid., November 4, 1874.

Sectarian Schools.

A charge by W. F. Luxton, editor of the Free Press, that the French schools under Joseph Dubuc had pocketed monies caused most candidates to express themselves on the organization and financing of the dual schooling system established by the Local House in 1871. The Manitoban and the Superintendent of Catholic schools denied the Luxton-Free Press charges by pointing out that the Catholic schools had not received more money than English schools, but had simply saved more. Furthermore, they argued, there were twenty-one French Catholic schools not six as Luxton alleged; and Dubuc received monies not as a government hack but as the, then, superintendent of separate schools.[17]

Already there were candidates advocating an end to the "sectarian school system" so recently established. Others would not call for abolition of the "sectarian schools" but, rather, suggested a system of payments geared, in part, to the amount of English taught in each school. In Winnipeg, the Premier's opponent Captain Thomas Scott presaged the issue of another decade when he called for compulsory education.

Local Roads.

There was no shortage of issues which had a more local or personal quality. Talk about good roads was centered around two projected highways" the Westbourne - Portage La Prairie and Rockwood - Winnipeg routes.

The leading local question in Portage prompted petitions by ratepayers pledging money to ensure that the road passed through their town. The importance can be sensed in this commentary from the constituency:

> ... and in the meantime we patiently abide the issue, it is an important one. No member should be returned from the Electoral Division to the Local Parliament, but who will pledge himself to see this road established and completed from Palestine to the Portage. We can hardly

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[17] The Manitoban, November 14, 1874 and MFP, November 13, 1874 a letter from Superintendent Elie Tasse.

believe any one here will vote for a man who will support the Totogan road to the exclusion of this one which cuts off the Portage and seriously damages our interests.

The commentator concluded with a call for the united support of candidate C. P. Brown who was pledged to "go in for this road."[18]

There was a growing acceptance that the Provincial Government should concentrate on building the "leading roads."

Temperance and Liquor Licensing.

As early as September the highly respected Chief Justice Wood addressed a temperance gathering claiming that "Drinkmakers and drink must be stamped out." "The question is," he said, "shall our laws be made to suit the liquor prisoner and the drunkard, or shall they be made by the respectable and the industrious?"[19]

As the campaign got under way candidates called for some form of license control and while most leading candidates like Luxton, Scott and Norquay desired a licensing system with the question put to the electors, there were other speakers who could speak of the liquor traffic as a "legitimate and honorable" business.[20]

Other Local and Minor Issues.

Other local or minor issues included a debate over the future rail crossing and who held land by proposed crossings. The hay privilege, settlers having a right to claim a two mile stretch along the river-bed for haying purposes-- continued to be debated, especially as it might tend to make a settler eligible to vote in an additional constituency. A demand for lower courts was commonly heard. And back in Winnipeg and as far south as Emerson there were complaints regarding the Premier's shortsightedness in not changing the electoral law in respect to their being but one polling station in each constituency. For some electors it meant a lengthy journey and loss of two days work. In Winnipeg it meant that 600 persons might wish to vote in but 420 minutes and at only one voting place said the Davis opponent, Thomas Scott.[21]

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[18] MFP, October 10, 1874.

[19] Ibid., September 8, 1874.

[20] Ibid., November 13, (Rockwood meeting), December 9 (Scott's meeting) and December 23, 1874 (Norquay's comments on a more stringent act with consultation of electorate).

And in Winnipeg the battle raged between Davis and Scott. Both men addressed themselves intelligently to the major issues, never losing an opportunity to singe his opponent in the heated words. Mr. Davis was forced to answer charges that he had promoted legislation already endorsed by the Clarke-Howard Government and that he had granted an extension of a liquor licence without authorization. He was accused of mishandling the licences for land which led to men like Bannatyne and Schultz gaining control of the area rumored to be the future crossing of the railway.[22]

The unkindest cut of all was the all too common attack on his person. The Free Press concurred with the following Montreal assessment in reference to the Premier's private life as a hotel proprietor in Winnipeg.

> Just fancy the "boss" of a billiard room and bar room in Ontario or Quebec not only a Cabinet Minister, but a bar room keeper doling out whiskey and rum by the glass every day, and signing cheques on the Treasury, and meeting the Lieutenant-Governor in Council! This is the prevailing man here now; ability, sobriety, and decency go for nothing."

The same commentary referred to men like Dubuc and Angus Mackay as "mere proxies and ciphers" for Archbishop Taché and Joseph Royal of St. Boniface.[23]

Mr. Davis regained his Winnipeg seat and ruled to see the Free Press voice other opinions in the next campaign.

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[21] MFP, December 9 and 18, 1874.

[22] Ibid., December 9, 1874.

[23] From the Montreal Witness as reprinted in MFP, October 24, 1874.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS[24]

FACTION	SEATS WON	LEADER
Government Supporters	10	Robert Atkinson Davis
Oppositionists	8	Captain Thomas Scott
Independents	5	....

Kildonian constituency was tied.

Winning Candidates.

Government - R. A. Davis, Joseph Royal, Maxime Lepine, Felix Chenier, Angus McKay, Marc A. Girard, Charles Nolin, Joseph Lemay, Joseph Dubuc, F. A. Martin. (Includes all French-speaking victors. Premier Davis was the lone English-speaking Government supporter.)

Oppositionists - C. P. Brown, Dr. Cowan, Kenneth McKenzie, F. E. Cornish, Thomas Howard, John Norquay, W. R. Dick, and William F. Luxton.

Independents - John Taylor, Alex Murray, Edwin Bourke, Dr. Curtis Bird, and John Gunn.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1874.

Major, Province-wide.

1. Redistribution - French versus English (Substantive).
2. Dual Languages (Instrumental) and French Domination.
3. Responsible Government and no-party politics. (Political).

   The above three issues may be considered part of a racial cluster.
4. Land Speculation and Tax Evasion.
5. Retrenchment Measures. (Political, Right).
   - (a) Abolition of the Legislative Council.
   - (b) Reduction of number of cabinet ministers and absence of Attorney-General.
   - (c) Reduced indemnities.

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[24] MFP, January 2, 1875. Many accounts disagreed on the above placement of winning candidates. The above classification is likely that according to the professions of the members returned as cited in The Mail (Toronto), January 4, 1875, p. 1.

6. Sectarian Schools - Dual Schooling System.

Minor.

Increased federal subsidies. (Federal).

Municipal organization - development of roads and bridges.

Good roads. (Local).

Temperance and liquor licensing system. (Social).

Rail crossings - location and land speculation. (Local, Perennial).

Haying privileges.

Development of lower courts. (Political).

Insufficient polling stations. (Political).

Compulsory education.

Personality.

Premier Davis - the bar-room keeper. (Local).

MANITOBA LEGISLATURE.

Names of Candidates, with total number of votes cast for each one respectively, at General Election, December, 1874. The names of the unsuccessful candidates are in *italics*.

BAIE ST. PAUL.

F. Chenier	81
Wm. R. Spence, [Baie St. Paul]	57
No. of voters	202

HEADINGLY.

John Taylor	50
Hon. W. Tait, [Headingly]	54
No. of voters	126

HIGH BLUFF.

Dr. Cowan	70
James Cadman	80
No. of voters	185

KILDONAN.

John Sutherland	49 } tie
John Fraser	49 }
On issue of new writ, April, 1875:	
John Sutherland	
Wm. Baldwin Thibaudeau, barrister, [Winnipeg]	
John Henderson, gentleman, [Kildonan]	
No. of voters	122

LAKE MANITOBA.

Angus McKay	Acclamation.
On resignation of sitting member, December, 1876, new writ: nomination on 17 January, 1877.	
Hon. James McKay	Acclamation.
No. of voters	65

POPLAR POINT.

F. E. Cornish	92
Robt. Hastie	65
No. of voters	174

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

Kenneth McKenzie	97
W. J. James, barrister, [Portage la Prairie]	81
No. of voters	232

ROCKWOOD.

W. F. Luxton	90
A. W. McClure	26
No. of voters	326

ST. AGATHE.

A. F. Martin	94
[illegible] W. Alma, [Dufferin]	36

Dease

Wm. Dease, [St. Agathe]	8
No. of voters	122

ST. ANDREW'S, NORTH.

John Gunn	89
Alex. McPherson, [St. Andrew's]	26
No. of voters	150

ST. ANDREW'S, SOUTH.

Hon. John Norquay	67
Ed. Henry Geo. Gunter Hay, miller, St. Andrew's	34
No. of voters	140

ST. ANNE.

Chas. Nolin	69
A. A. C. LaRiviere	10
No. of voters	155

ST. BONIFACE.

Hon. M. A. Girard, N.P.	Acclamation.
No. of voters	183

ST. CHARLES.

A. Murray	84
Louis Schmidt, [St. Boniface]	44
E. P. Mulligan	9
No. of voters	190

ST. CLEMENTS.

Thos. Howard	62
Wm. Leask	25
No. of voters	119

ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER, EAST.

Maxime Lepine	Acclamation.
No. of voters	93

ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER, WEST.

Hon. Joseph Royal	Acclamation.
No. of voters	110

ST. JAMES.

E. Bourke	44
Molyneux St. John, journalist, [Winnipeg]	47
Robert Tait	8
No. of voters	119

ST. NORBERT.

Hon. Joseph Dubuc	51
Hon. Pierre Delorme, [St. Norbert]	38
No. of voters	125

ST. PAUL.

Dr. Bird	42
Hugh Pritchard	34
No. of voters	89
On death of Hon. C. J. Bird, new writ; Nov., 1876, and return of Mr. Black, against Dr. J. H. O'Donnell; majority, 13.	

ST. VITAL.

Jos. Lemay	78
F. A. M. Foucher, [St. Boniface]	47
No. of voters	153

SPRINGFIELD.

W. R. Dick	94
John Scott, [Sunnyside]	30
No. of voters	223

WESTBOURNE.

C. P. Brown	88
Walter Lynch, [Westbourne]	70
Donald Leask, [Palestine]	16
No. of voters	235

WINNIPEG.

Hon. R. A. Davis	198
Capt. Thos. Scott, [Winnipeg]	183
No. of voters	439

ONTARIO SETTLERS AND RAILROADS THREATEN THE RACIAL BALANCE

NOVEMBER 11 TO DECEMBER 18, 1878.

POLITICAL FACTIONS, CANDIDATES, LEADERS AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

Forty-seven candidates contested the twenty-four seats. Independence of candidates continued with some hardening of Government and Oppositionist positions all rooted in racial questions more than party politics. The twenty-four constituencies were now divided evenly, eight English (old settler), eight French, and eight new settler. Premier John Norquay and Joseph Royal were Government leaders with Captain Thomas Scott and H. J. Clarke, leading Opposition spokesmen in English and French respectively.

As early as March 1875, John Norquay had been called into the Davis Government in the latter's attempt to compromise with Opposition demands and to strike an equitable English-French balance in his cabinet. The retirement of Mr. Davis in October 1878 meant that John Norquay (the newly appointed Premier) went to the electorate bereft of the reconciler who had attempted to hold Royal and himself (Norquay) together. Much of the election battle would center, therefore, upon the personages of H. J. Clarke (leader of the pre-Davis-Norquay Government) and Joseph Royal, at odds with both Clarke and Norquay yet still determined to cooperate with the latter for the sake of French-Canadian interests.

Premier Norquay's Platform: (1) Railway Facilities.

John Norquay spoke to his electors in St. Andrew's South about four concerns which were to be key province-wide issues: railway facilities, extension of boundaries, a new financial basis for the province, and a drainage act. He recognised, first of all, the necessity of the development of railways--the matter of unequalled importance in Manitoba politics for the next decade. The new Premier maintained that:

> The lack of railway facilities for the transportation of the surplus produce of the farmers to market being severely felt, and a disposition to be incorporated into municipalities having been evinced by certain sections of the province for the purpose of enabling them

> to offer bonuses to railway companies, it is the intention of the Government to assist such local efforts by the necessary legislation and by such other means as will receive the sanction of parliament.[1]

Norquay was speaking particularly of the western portions of the province and their need for rail facilities. During the campaign, Manitobans celebrated the arrival of the first train at St. Boniface as part of the Pembina Branch and its international links.

The concern for railways was exacerbated by the uncertainty connected with the change in Federal Government (Alexander Mackenzie being replaced by John A. Macdonald) and the sense that Mackenzie's government aid to local lines might have to be replaced by local fund-raising efforts. The Free Press and many candidates in the election were against provincial assistance as it might be "unfair to some sections". A provincial guarantee on local debentures was advocated. But the importance of the railways was well summed up editorially:

> We notice that in many constituencies the railway question is being made the election question. As already intimated, it will be but for the members to be returned to give the present Government their assistance and support to develop a scheme which will be both equitable and effective.[2]

There was, surprisingly enough, a certain amount of contention as to whether railroads were the answer to communication and transport needs. E. H. G. G. Hay, the consistantly independent minded Oppositionist, called for turnpikes rather than railways as more accurately meeting the then present needs in Manitoba. Until good roads, bridges and drainage were in existence, Hay could foresee financial difficulties in the way of an all too early municipalisation for the sake of enticing railway companies by locally-raised bonuses.[3]

The concern for the development of railways brought a number of subsidiary issues into play. Would there be a bridge built from St.

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1 MFP, November 16, 1878.

2 Ibid. October 30, 187[illegible].

3 Ibid. November 15 and 25, 1878.

Boniface to Winnipeg to bring the Pembina Branch into the latter city? Where would the national Canadian route cross the Red River--at Winnipeg or Selkirk? The Free Press had conceded the latter windfall to Selkirk but the Government candidate in Winnipeg, William A. Loucks, still preferred a Winnipeg crossing.[4] Facilities would still be required to accompany the railroad. St. Boniface had no turntable which meant a return trip to Pembina--tender foremost. Correspondants and candidates spoke of the need for a comprehensive scheme which would avoid the pitfalls of piecemeal provincially charted branchlines and of the need for a new look at land reserve.[5]

The railway issue was central in the St. Clements (Selkirk) constituency where Capt. J. W. Vaughn, a candidate opposing John W. Sifton, pointed to wasted reserve lands which could be settled. Other candidates suggested a graded government tax on lands bordering railroads with decreased rates paid for every five miles distance from proposed lines. This land tax system was proposed in lieu of what some thought would be unequal municipal bonus support, since unorganized areas "would get off scot free" and half-breed lands held by speculators "would have all the benefit".[6]

Norquay's Platform: (2) Boundary Extension.

The second major concern as presented in Norquay's address to his electors in St. Andrew's South was the interest in an extension of boundaries. Premier Norquay stated:

> As there is every reason to believe that very soon the boundaries of the province will be extended, the Government will use every means possible to secure from the federal authorities such terms as will place us financially on an equitable footing with the other provinces of the Dominion.[7]

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[4] MFP, December 13, 1878.

[5] MFP, November 25, 1878.

[6] MFP, November 25 and December 7, 1878.

[7] MFP, November 16, 1878.

Norquay echoed the common argument that Manitoba had the governmental machinery to administer an area three or four times its then present size.

Norquay's Platform: (3) Financing the School System.

In his address Norquay spoke (thirdly) of the need "to meet the increased demand for aid in support of schools caused by the large influx of immigration into this province". His Government had secured an advance of $10,000 per year for three years (charged against the sales of Dominion-held school lands which would be urged by the Province). His government, he said, would "urge upon the Federal Authorities the sale, as soon as advisable, of such school lands as have been enhanced in value by settlement or otherwise to an extent sufficient to realize an amount equal to such an advance".[8] Other candidates, including J. W. Sifton of St. Clements, viewed the sale of school lands as "suicidal" since he anticipated that their worth would increase greatly if held for a few years more.[9]

Norquay's Platform: (4) Drainage.

And, finally, Premier Norquay promised a drainage act which would establish a drainage system to make valuable lands out of what had been mere muskeg. Certain election divisions were affected more than others over this question. In Pembina people were literally "shut in during almost the entire summer" by muskeg and swamp. In Winnipeg a lack of proper drainage in areas immediately surrounding the city had kept newcomers from settling close to the city. Candidate Loucks of Winnipeg called on the Government to provide main drains while land holders might then provide their own side drains.[10]

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[8] MFP, November 16, 1878.

[9] MFP, November 25, 1878.

[10] MFP, December 7 and 13, 1878.

Land Speculation: A Major Perennial Issue.

Another land concern arising out of a Pembina meeting was over the still growing land speculation throughout the province. The articulate Pembina candidate J. F. Galbraith reviewed the wild land tax legislation in the young province which would have taxed non-residents at a much higher rate than residents. Galbraith believed land speculation was still speculation whether performed by residents or non-residents and, in fact, the reason why a higher per acre tax was not practicable was simply because "the majority of the members of parliament were more or less extensive land owners".[11]

Further Major Perennial Issues.

Five other rather more contentious and province-wide issues were much more related to past and anticipated Government action. The electoral questions of open versus secret ballot, and redistribution, abolition of the dual language, provincial expenditures, future of the school system and the plight of provincial opposition were (if we might use some of our suggested categories of issues) those of contention, province-wide in scope, public, and for the most part took the form of more narrow political issues rather than the broadly social definition.

Perennial Issues: (1) The Ballot and (2) Redistribution.

A strong movement for the secret ballot had gained dominance in the province but the new Government under Norquay, who remained adamantly opposed to the secret ballot throughout his political career, reversed any such movement for another decade. Outspoken opponents of Norquay's policy, like Edward Henry George Gunter Hay in St. Andrew's North and J. F. Galbraith in Pembina, claimed that the Government had moved away from the secret ballot on the grounds that people were "not sufficiently intelligent enough" to handle this voting procedure, but in fact "the ignorance of the few should not interfere with the wishes of the many".[12] Hence, voters continued in 1878 to vote by declaring vocally for a particular candidate and having their name entered under his list. Some electors could speak in favor of the open ballot since it offered the opportunity to allow a man to dissociate himself publicly from an undesirable candidate.[13] These same articulate independent men, and including Clarke's opponent in Rockwood, Thos. Lusted, advocated a redistribution of seats based on representation by population instead of the continued practice of territorial representation for racial or class groups. The seats were now distrubuted on the basis of eight "old" English settlers, eight French and eight new settlers and the disparities in terms of population were growing more obvious every year.

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[11] MFP, December 7, 1878.

Perennial Issues: (3) Abolition of Dual Languages.

Two further issues were racial or sectional in nature in addition to the redistribution question. The latter had been temporarily resolved in favor of striking "racial balance" more than equal representation for all. In 1876 the Davis Government had finally succeeded in abolishing the Legislative Council, hence saving the country $3500 per year in lieu of salaries. Now demands arose to abolish the use of the French language in the House, courts, and public printing, hence offering further much-needed savings. This issue was a cleavage along French-English lines. Even the most independent minded English speaking candidates--Hay, Lusted and Galbraith for examples, favored the "abolition of dual languages". Galbraith posited what was to become the winning argument over the next few years. Printing statutes in French, he said, was an expense with "no corresponding gain". However, on the abolition of the language, he was prepared to support the government and wait for it to decide when the time for abolition was right. He noted that the opposition Canadian Party platform also favored abolition, but that the time was not opportune for them to make use of it. Galbraith seemed to believe that time would wash away the use of the language.[14]

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[12] MFP, Hay's comments were contained in the November 25th issue and Galbraith's on December 7th.

[13] Charges of personal immorality against H. J. Clarke (discussed below) prompted the following rather peculiar defence of the open ballot by a Rockwood elector writing to the Free Press. "I feel that the disgrace of electing Mr. Clarke will be such that every Rockwood elector who polls a vote in his favor will be a marked man, and though I am in favor of the use of the ballot at elections I feel it is most fortunate for the electors that the system of open voting prevails at this particular election, as every honest man I feel assured, will take an honest pride in polling his vote openly against the man who has so outraged every feeling of honesty and decency, and let them who are willing to endorse Mr. Clarke's action do so and bear the blame themselves without drawing their fellow electors into the vertex of shame and disgrace in which Clarke is floundering." MFP, December 5, 1878.

Perennial Issues: (4) Sectarian or Secular Schools.

Discussions concerning Manitoba's schooling system also took on "sectional" arguments. Naturally enough French candidates were concerned with protecting the denominational system protected by the Manitoba Act since 1871. An excommunicated politician like H. J. Clarke, however, favored an Ontario-like secular system, "purely non-sectarian schools", which would have to be obtained as much by "Imperial action" as by local initiative because of the constitutional protection of the Manitoba Act. Clarke argued that a province with 7,000 French and 50,000 English could no longer equally distribute school funds between the two language groups. Promised changes by the Government had not and would not come about, Clarke said, because Joseph Royal would threaten to leave Norquay's Government over abolition of either the French language or equal division of school money.[15]

Others were simply concerned about the proper supervision of the school system and decried the fact that a superintendent in Winnipeg oversaw all districts of the province. One correspondent in the Free Press advocated local superintendents who would reflect much-needed local organization, a Minister of the Crown to administer schools, with monies paid directly to local districts.[16] His letter brought a reply the next day in the Free Press by W. Cyprian Pinkham, Superintendent of Winnipeg Schools, who disagreed that monies should be paid direct to local districts. Such a policy, he said, had been conducted under the old Clarke Government and had been changed under Davis with the establishment of a Board of Education.

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[14] MFP, December 7, 1878.

[15] MFP, December 2, 1878.

This brief debate reflected the growing concern for the quality of education in the province, mentioned by more than one candidate and newspaper editor. There was a cognisance that Norquay's new found monies would be quickly swallowed up simply in expanding schools for new English settlers and the newly arrived Mennonites.[17] And underlying the concern for quality was an uneasiness that denominational schools were a burdensome expense whose quality was becoming increasingly questionable.

Perennial Issues: (5) The Cost of Governing.

So it is that the debates over provincial expenditures had their sectional or "racial" dimension as well. The Manitoba Gazette in an editorial captioned "Exit-Royal-Davis; Enter Royal-Norquay" portrayed the distressed new settler view. It described "honest John Norquay" as "the next cat's paw to be used for a short time, till the French-Canadian clique of St. Boniface can mature their plan of future operations to secure another four years lease of the treasury of the province". Davis was out, charged the paper, because Winnipeg and no one else would re-elect him.[18] For the Gazette Joseph Royal was the bête noir of recent Manitoba politics. The paper charged Royal with having pocketed over $29,000 by charging as much as 200 per cent above market price for printing and stationery work done for the Government by his French language newspaper Le Metis. The Gazette saw the Royal printing steal as part of a French disruption of government economy. The paper compared Clarke and Davis expenditures, attempting to show that charges of extravagance levelled at the earlier Clarke Government failed to appreciate the extent of expenditure on government buildings, roads and bridges, immigration and agriculture. In contrast, the Davis Government spent only 13 to 14 per cent of its budget on much needed public works and was found using "stable manure and straw bridges over gullies", the Gazette argued. In the Portage La Prairie area the roads were so bad one farmer had built his own toll road through his property for "ten cents per team for the privilege of escaping through a field from the actual dangers of the great highway provided by the government of economy of Messrs. Royal Davis and Company".[19]

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[16] MFP, December 6, 1878.

[17] MFP, December 6 and 7, 1878.

[18] Manitoba Gazette (Winnipeg), October 19, 1878.

The Manitoba Free Press, on the other hand, had praised Davis and his Government's "no mean quantity of progressive and desireable legislation". The Free Press admitted Davis had been helped in his "measures of retrenchment" by Dominion subsidies, but credited the "careful handling of his particular department--the Treasuryship" for making the province "entirely free of debt". "Whatever success may attend future administrations in Manitoba, we risk nothing in averring that none can ever merit more credit for financial economy and honesty than that of which Mr. Davis has been Premier, for the last four years."[20]

This noticeable switch in editorial stance by the Free Press since 1874 was explained by the Gazette and other Government opponents as being due to Luxton's being given a share of the Government printing in 1875.

The Free Press cited figures to indicate savings by the Davis Government specifically in office rentals and services of clerks. A debate raged over the alleged $27,662.79 drawn directly by H. J. Clarke through "secret service" indictment charges. Clarke charged $25 for every indictment against an accused and in later editorials the Free Press attempted to show that 306 indictments under the Clarke Attorney-Generalship involved only 102 persons, only 65 convictions, and repeated indictments against individuals ranging as high as 22 times in one case, with an average cost per indictment of $133.46. The Davis Government had tried 77 different persons for 116 offenses with 51 convictions at an average cost of $60.80, said the Free Press in an editorial "The Clarke-Indictment Robbery".[21]

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[19] Manitoba Gazette, November 2, 1878.

[20] MFP, October 16, 1878.

Clarke Versus Royal and Norquay: Personifying the Racial Issues.

The issue of provincial expenditures blended quickly with the personal issues of Royal and Clarke's candidacies. The Gazette countered the Free Press arguments against Clarke pointing out that his work as Attorney-General included the great expenditures related to an infamous "Gordon Kidnapping case" which involved a question of Ontario interference in Manitoba policing, and matters related to the disposition of Louis Riel and the trial of Maxime Lepine where Clarke represented the crown. This latter role ingratiated him in the eyes of the French electorate, as did his opposition to Louis Riel as the latter attempted to gain entry to the House of Commons through the Provencher constituency.[22]

The Free Press saw Clarke as the arch-opponent of the new settlers. In 1872 he had introduced legislation demanding a three-year residency before voting designed to "clip the wings of the Ontario people". He also forwarded a motion condemning the Ontario Legislature for its offer of $5,000 for the conviction of the Scott murderers.[23] The Free Press claimed that Frank J. Adjon, editor of the Gazette, was a nephew of Clarke and a former clerk in the latter's office, and that Clarke, therefore, was the real editor of the Gazette.[24] Clarke was forced to defend his Rockwood candidacy by countering claims that there had been no requisition by the people of Rockwood for his candidacy.[25]

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[21] MFP, December 10, 1878.

[22] Manitoba Gazette, November 23, 1878.

[23] MFP, November 16, 1878.

[24] Ibid., November 20, 1878.

[25] Ibid., December 2, 1878.

The personal issue which seemed to most upset a number of voters was Clarke's married life. It seems he had left his own wife and family in pursuit of a friend's wife. The Gazette said such charges were not worthy of public debate but the Free Press carried many letters from readers which are indicative of the import of this matter to the electors.[26]

While the Free Press was busy casting aspersions against Clarke, the Gazette was equally preoccupied with attacking Joseph Royal. A series of letters were published associating Royal with N. D. Gagnier, publisher of Le Metis, with the purpose of showing that Royal had lied in denying any association with the newspaper and, consequently, any Government contracts granted to it. The Gazette raised for the electorate earlier charges of fraud and the loss of $42,000 from the Indian Bureau in which a commission had implicated Royal. To attack Royal was to attack the whole Norquay-Royal racial balance politics of the campaign. Royal was charged with making racial appeals in his campaign to French Metis on the basis of preservation of language, Church and separate schools.[27] The charges against Royal were summed up editorially beginning with his denial of connections with Gagnier:

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[26] For example, an elector of Rockwood wrote as follows: "Shall we send to our Legislative halls a man who neither fears God nor honors the Queen--who has trampled the commands of God under his feet by violating the laws of his maker enjoining upon us not to commit adultery, and not to covet our neighbor's wife.

...For the sake of humanity as well as for the sake of the once loved but now pining and dying wife, and to the orphaned children of her who now has joined her life to him, shall we not cast him from us as a poisonous thing.

Let us not bring down the vengeance of God nor do violence to our own feelings of self-respect, by condoning this perfidy. From the issues involved we are a marked constituency. The Province is looking upon us...

Mothers and wives of Rockwood, your duty is plain. It is in your power to influence your husbands and sons against supporting one who has so far set at defiance the laws of God and man and who has so outraged your sex.

Let not the stain rest upon us of being the only constituency willing to take in Clarke and condone his wickedness." MFP, December 5, 1878.

[27] Manitoba Gazette, November 9, 1878.

> ...as a member of the House he lied willfully, as a member of the Government he was acting the part of a cheat of the very worst kind, as a printer he charged a hundred per cent over the real value of the work, as a member of the Government he was also a member of the Board of Audit, passed his own printing accounts, got his cheques, payable to N. D. Gagnier and Company on order from his friend the Premier R. A. Davis and after endorsing N. D. Gagnier and Company's name on the cheques--got the money at the Merchant's Bank.[28]

In his denials in both the Gazette and Free Press, Royal implied that Clarke was behind Abjon's determination.[29]

John Norquay would not escape unscathed by the Clarke-Royal battle. The Free Press could say of him upon his appointment: "though he has been associated with the Government of the Province almost continuously since it had an existence, it has yet to happen for even a political opponent to attribute the slightest dishonesty to the present Premier".[30] However, Captain John Allan, Norquay's opponent in St. Andrew's South, charged throughout the campaign that Norquay was a poor man and a "turncoat" who was too easily tempted by the high salaries paid to members of the Government cabinet.[31] Many electors, then, were bitterly disappointed that Mr. Norquay, elected in opposition, had now twice joined government ranks. The Gazette reminded the electorate that Norquay supported the Conservative banner in Selkirk but the Liberal Party in the federal election in Marquette. Norquay was to be criticized in this and every election in which he participated for his non-party stands.

But perhaps the greatest issue revolving around the new premier was, again, a racial one. Clarke, according to a Gazette account, had asked Norquay whether he was prepared to pledge his government to a redistribution "without regard to language or party lines". Norquay is supposed to have answered "No, I am not. I do not think it necessary, as there will be no elections for four years." The Gazette saw his reply as an intention to rule in the "interests of themselves" and the "French-

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[28] Manitoba Gazette, November 16, 1878.

[29] MFP, November 19, 1878.

[30] MFP, October 16, 1878.

[31] MFP, November 20, 1878, and a letter to the Manitoba Gazette making the same charge December 7, 1878.

Canadian Ring" for four more years. "Will this be permitted?" the paper asked.

> No, let the votes of the overwhelming majority haul this Norquay-Royal Ring from power and save the country from French-Canadian rule.
>
> Why should 7,000 French have two ministers while 50,000 English have only two? The only reason is, that Davis and Luxton combined, for their own profit, and gave the minority almost an equal representation in the House. The voters must take the matter in hand and defeat the compact at the polls.[32]

Listing the major provincial-wide issues as we have done for 1878, gives clear evidence, therefore, that whether of the public or personal, social or political categories, most became tinged with sectional or racial concerns as they were argued at public meetings.

The Campaign in Winnipeg.

In Winnipeg the election was fought and won by the popular Captain Scott who charged that his opponent William A. Loucks had been placed in opposition to him simply to prevent Scott and his supporters from campaigning outside Winnipeg. Scott charged that Loucks had supported the Government only following his appointment as a Justice of the Peace, and that Loucks was not a resident of Winnipeg.[33]

Scott asked the electors to ponder why it was that reconstruction of governments always preceded elections in Manitoba. He joined other candidates in pointing to an unfairness in the treatment of outlying districts in regard to schooling.[34]

Loucks denied that he was "brought out by the Government...". He questioned whether an alternative government were possible and quoted the St. Paul's candidate B. Thibaudeau as saying "that the new Government, if the present one was defeated would be: Premier-Scott; Treasurer-Clarke; Secretary-Thibaudeau. (Laughter) That was a happy family. They didn't agree with each other but they dare not attack one another, so they all pounced on the Government". Loucks questioned how Scott could possibly work for Winnipeg with only five or six men with him and opposing any and everything the Government did.[35]

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[32] Manitoba Gazette, December 7, 1878.

[33] The Manitoba Gazette, December 14, 1878, charged that five signatories of the Loucks' requisition were on the staff of the Free Press and two with the Government.

[34] MFP, December 11, 1878.

The Free Press exercised itself over the issue of opposition by calling the various opposition candidates a "motley crew" of independents openly opposed to Government policy, others opposed to personnel rather than policy, and a third group (epitomized by Scott perhaps) who were "straight-out" oppositionists. There was little or no co-operation amongst these three groups.[36] The Free Press editorial was inspired by the results of nomination day showing seven Government members elected by acclamation.

Minor and Local Issues.

Other minor or local issues included the case of 500 cords of missing firewood charged to public works. Eight hundred cords had been purchased when less than 200 would heat all Government buildings for a year.[37]

Many electors were concerned with the disposition of "half-breed lands", particularly in the St. James area, since a promise made by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, that the native settlers would have complete freedom of choice, was renegged upon by Lieutenant-Governor Morris. Governor Morris evidently believed that the original grants were unduly generous and potentially disruptive of parish life. His proposal of taking up two entire townships were found, in practice, to have scattered the land titles and children to whom grants would have been bequeathed.[38]

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[35] MFP, December 11, 1878.

[36] MFP, December 12, 1878.

[37] Manitoba Gazette, October 26, 1878.

In the last week of the campaign a shooting incident took place at Emerson. If we piece together various reports printed in the Gazette and Free Press (see the Gazette Extra addendum) it would appear that a returning officer was straining on a federal technicality to ensure the unopposed candidacy of Joseph Taillfer. It now seems obvious that the summons to arrest the returning officer, the lack of cooperation of the priests, with whom both candidate and returning officer were strangely hosted overnight, led to a round of shooting injuring both candidate Taillfer and one Constable McLean.

Archbishop Tache later publicly issued signed affidavits by each of the involved priests indicating their unpremeditated action in assuming that the plainclothes officers had arrived to molest their guests.

Discontent had existed throughout the campaign in the Ste. Agathe (Emerson) district.[39] Racial feeling was still high here and the Manitoba Gazette related the events to the Government victory, advocating that the participants deserved nothing but contempt.

"The eyes of the whole country are now fixed on Ste. Agathe, where the infamous Dominion Note trick has resulted in serious, if not fatal crime...the sad spectacle of priestly interference in political contests must end in Manitoba."[40]

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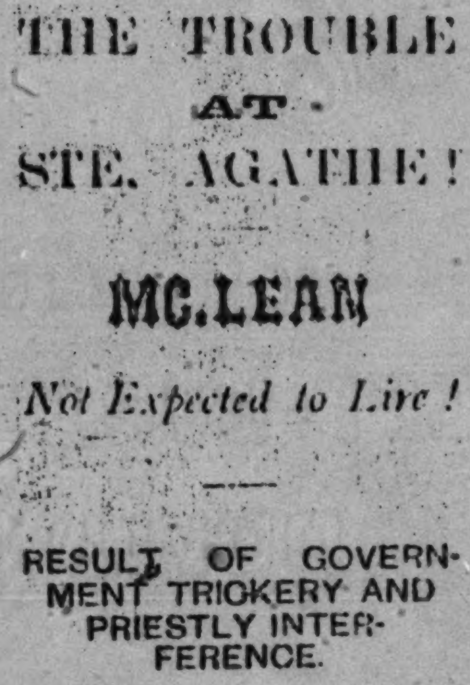
[38] Manitoba Gazette, Nov. 2, 1878 and MFP, Nov. 13, 1878.

[39] As early as November 20th the Free Press correspondant in Emerson sent in the following report: "There is a disposition manifested here to take no part in the local election, it being claimed that persons living in the adjoining parish of St. Norbert, in numbers sufficient to control the election are registered in the parish of Ste. Agathe, and otherwise entitled to vote, are not on the list. They say 'a fair fight or none at all'."

[40] Manitoba Gazette, December 21, 1878. The Gazette claimed that the returning officer waited until after the deadline for receiving nominations had passed before announcing that Joseph Taillfer's opponent had not made his deposit in the proper form of Dominion notes or currency. Manitoba Gazette, December 14, 1874. (Supplement).



THE TROUBLE
AT
STE. AGATHE!

MC.LEAN

Not Expected to Live!

RESULT OF GOVERNMENT TRICKERY AND PRIESTLY INTERFERENCE.

Headlines from the Manitoba Gazette of December 14, 1878, concerning the shooting incident in Emerson.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1878.

FACTION	SEATS WON
Ministerialists	16 to 18
Oppositionists and Independents	6 to 8

Reports vary but certainly Captain Thomas Scott, Thomas Lusted and Kenneth McKenzie were among the Oppositionists or Independents.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1878.

Major.

1. Government reconstruction.
   (a) French versus English. (Public).
   (b) Clarke versus Norquay-Royal. (Personal).
2. Provincial finances - and the Clarke-indictment robbery.
3. Railway facilities - their development and financing.
4. Dual languages.
5. Sectarian schools - finance, administration; rural versus urban.
6. Land speculation and tax evasion.
7. Drainage system.
8. Open versus secret ballot.
9. Redistribution.
10. Boundary Extensions.
11. Good roads.

Minor or Local.

Party politics versus independent opposition.
Land grants and titles.
Emerson shooting and "priestly interference".

MANITOBA LEGISLATURE.

Names of Candidates, with total number of votes cast for each one respectively, at General Election, December 1878. The names of the unsuccessful candidates are in *Italics*.

BAIE ST. PAUL.

Andrew Bourke..........	84
J. F. Garrison............	72

BURNSIDE.

Kenneth McKenzie. IND.	159
William Smith............	103
No of voters..........	576

HEADINGLY.

John Taylor....M.	72
William Tait, [Headingly].	53

HIGH BLUFF.

J. Cowan, M.D. M. Acclamation.

HIGH BLUFF AND POPLAR POINT.

J. A. K. Drummond. .M.	110
W. J. Ferguson, (Portage la Prairie).	84

KILDONAN.

A. M. Sutherland ...M...	78
John Sutherland, (Kildonan) O	42

PEMBINA.

John A. Stevenson. ....M	111
J. F. Galbraith, (Bernont). M	53
A. Julian Morris, M.D., (Sharon)	27

ROCKWOOD.

Thos. Lusted....O......	183
H. J. Clarke ....O......	104

ST. AGATHE.

Jos. Taillfer..M.. Acclamation.

ST. ANDREWS, NORTH.

John Gunn.........M...	69
E. H. G. G. Hay...O...	54

ST. ANDREWS, SOUTH.

Hon. John Norquay ..M..	62
Capt. John Allen.......O..	54

ST. ANNE.

Charles Nolin....M......	92
J. B. Lapointe....M.....	16

ST. BONIFACE.

A. A. C. La Riviere M Acclamation.
No. of voters......287

ST. CHARLES.

Alex. Murray. M ..Acclamation.

ST. CLEMENTS.

John W. Sifton....M....	87
Robert Bullock.....M.....	43
J. W. Vaughn .....D.	24

ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER, EAST.

Louis Schmidt.....M.....	36
Maxime Lepine.....M.....	32

ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER, WEST.

Hon. Joseph Royal M Acclamation.

ST. JAMES.

Hon. D. M. Walker...M..	71
W. J. Corrigan.......O..	23

ST. NORBERT.

Hon. Pierre Delorme M Acclamation.

ST. PAUL.

S. C. Biggs..................	91
Dr. O'Donnell..................	39
B. Thibaudeau.....O.......	9

ST. VITAL.

Maxime Goulet.....M.....	83
Alexander Kittson	55
Joseph Hamelin	2

SPRINGFIELD.

A. W. Ross .....O.........	117
J. D. Irish..................	110
Albert Bray..................	34
J. Winram, (Cook's Creek)..	0

WESTBOURNE.

Hon. C. P. Brown M Acclamation.

WINNIPEG.

Thos. Scott.......O.......	273
W. A. Loucks, (Winnipeg). M	19

CAN PARTY ISSUES
REPLACE
RACIAL POLITICS?

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1879.

FACTION	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Ministerialists	John Norquay	29
Oppositionists	Captain Thomas Scott	9
Independents	- - - -	7

Continued communal no-party electoral system. Twenty-four single member electoral divisions, six French, six English and twelve new settler. While more and more candidates identified with federal party distinctions party politics still did not operate officially in the local government.

The election of December 1879 came about as the result of a government crisis in which Joseph Royal and his fellow French-Canadian cabinet minister Pierre Delorme left the Norquay Government. Royal had attempted to force Mr. Norquay into accepting a dual majority system of French and English support, combined with an acceptance of the two-party system, which might allow for a magnification of French influence as it tended to do federally. Royal's threat of resignation backfired, Premier Norquay reconstructed his cabinet without French representation, passed redistribution legislation which was still of a communal no-party nature (six English, six French and twelve new settler electoral divisions) and, just prior to the elections on the new distribution, welcomed the French-speaking Senator Girard back into a Manitoba government.[1] The crisis which preceded the election, and was resolved before the campaign began in earnest, nevertheless, left unresolved the two questions which had prompted it: French-English representation, and no-party versus party politics.

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[1] Accounts of these interesting events can be found in the daily papers of the time the *Manitoba Free Press* and the *Winnipeg Daily Times*, April through November 1879; in the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, *Manitoba 1879*, and summarised in R. O. McFarlane, "Manitoba Politics and Parties after Confederation," *Report of Canadian Historical Association*, (1940), p. 51; Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, pp. 196-97; or Martin, "Political History," pp. 111-12. Alexander Begg's *History of the North-West*, (Vol. 11) carries the documents and letters between Norquay and Royal, pp. 345ff as do the local papers.

Partisanship: A perennial Issue Becomes Evident.

The establishment of the Conservative newspaper the Winnipeg Daily Times, in April 1879, prompted an unprecedented editorial feud over Dominion party-lines and their appropriateness to Manitoba local politics and Premier Norquay's position vis-a-vis party positions. Both Winnipeg papers challenged Mr. Norquay to make his position clear. The Free Press seemed content, eventually, to settle for Mr. Norquay's "no-party" position for local issues, while the Times with a sudden shift, inspired, certainly, by bitter disappointment, charged that Premier Norquay had chosen his no-party stand because he could never attempt to "palm...off...on Sir John as Conservative" his unsavory indebtedness to the Reformist Free Press.[2]

Premier Norquay made it plain to the electors that it was his intention to "eschew party issues." He was convinced that party lines imposed Dominion principles and definitions on local questions and served to divide a people unnecessarily, causing them to lose sight of the general welfare of the country (Manitoba).[3] The absence of parties would act to "solidify further the elements which had joined to promote certain progressive principles in the province."[4]

Captain Thomas Scott, the leading and perhaps only outright Conservative Oppositionist, claimed that party politics ensured organized opposition without which there could not be good government. His analysis differed from that of John Norquay:

> Until the last session the old settlers--French and English--were a unit or support of every Government, while a few Canadians formed the Opposition.
> ...It would be far better that party lines should be drawn, than

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[2] Winnipeg Daily Times, November 4, 1879. (Hereafter cited as WDT)

[3] WDT, December 5, 1879.

[4] MFP, December 4, 1879.

> that our political affairs should be controlled by national or religious prejudices.[5]

It was clear that what divided the leading figures in this campaign was the question whether party or no-party was more likely to result in racial harmony and justice. The opposing arguments involved totally different and important perspectives on Manitoba's brief history.

The arguments for the party system covered a gamut from the following highly principled argument to much more practical political concerns in the short term.

> The idea of men sinking minor issues for the purpose of permanent union upon great political principles, is the foundation of good government. And the other idea of a willing and loyal sacrifice of minor issues for the purpose of cementing and perpetuating such union of great political principals, is the best assurance of the stability of a state or nation.[6]

In immediate practice the Winnipeg Daily Times was convinced that the no-party stance was a "Grit war cry" which divided Conservatives but could not but help the Liberal Grits since they were already a minority. The following section from a Toronto Globe editorial, and the Times comment upon it, provides the full flavor of the campaign and the newspaper involvement in, and interpretation of, it.

> [Premier Norquay]...favors an enlargement of the Province in order to obtain an increased subsidy and increased representation in the Dominion Parliament, gives full credit to both political parties in Ottawa for attention paid to the wants and wishes of the people of Manitoba, and avows the opinion that "the interests of the Province will be best served by eschewing party issues in local affairs." By "party issues" Mr. Norquay doubtless means those growing out of Dominion politics, and in the position he thus boldly takes he is entirely opposed to that taken by the Winnipeg organ of the Macdonald Government, which seeks persistently to make Dominion issues the basis of local party divisions.

In retrospect the Globe comment seems singularly accurate. The disappointment and frustration of the Times is apparent in its reaction to the above cited piece. The Winnipeg paper calls such an acceptance of

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[5] His key address to the electors of Winnipeg WDT, December 5, 1879, p. 2; and also MFP, December 4, 1879.

[6] Editorial, "Party," WDT, November 4, 1879.

Norquay's stance by the Globe:

> ...a piece of Grit intrigue to perpetuate their own policy of spoils in Manitoba. The Globe is welcome to Mr. Norquay who was a good Grit until he was refused the North-West Superintendency by Mr. Mackenzie; but it must not suppose he will remain long in this Grit "no-party" cloak which Mr. Luxton [editor, Free Press and MPP, 1874-78] has spun for him. He will shout Tory when the Globe least expects it.[7]

And of course the Times proved to be correct as later history was to reveal John Norquay's eventual espousal of a Conservative position.

The Times enlarged upon the practical outcome of the party-no-party issue in its printing steal charges against W. F. Luxton and the Free Press. The Conservative paper charged that the Norquay Government was simply subsidising the Free Press. On one particular tender the Times offer was allegedly forty per cent below what the Free Press was being paid. Furthermore, in a polling day history of the printing steal, the Times charged that Premier Norquay had entered into a five-year contract with the Free Press "at rates more than double of its subsequent tender to do the same work." "The Times," said the editorial "was at once informed that if it would keep silent as to this swindle it would enjoy the friendship of the Local Government and the Grit organ."[8] The Times linked such charges with its personal attack on Luxton, his "turncoat" behavior in refusing to remain in opposition to Mr. Norquay, and his influence in reconstructing the cabinet.

Issues Arising From Premier Norquay's Platform.

For Premier Norquay, meanwhile, the issues of the campaign were (1) the need for furthering municipal organization, (2) the importance of planning and constructing a drainage system, (3) the necessity for road and bridge construction and (4) the extension of Manitoba's boundary and concomittant increases in Dominion subsidies. The first three issues were interdependent. Much needed roads, for example, would require funding by either a tax on lands or local organization to raise taxes. The Free Press advocated the latter since it ensured local control of local monies. Mr. Norquay recognized that drainage expansion depended on a prior municipal organization. He believed that such organization might also reduce taxes for school purposes as well. The Premier also worried publicly about an over-ambitious Winnipeg getting much more than the rest of the Province. Speculation, (which Chester Martin says was only equal to immigration as the major concern of the times) could be brought into a local taxation system under municipal organization so that speculators could no longer avoid school taxes.[9] An eastern paper summed up the situation on roads and municipal organization;

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[7] WDT, November 12, 1879.

[8] Ibid., December 16, 1879.

> The resources of the Public Works Department of the Local Government have proved utterly inadequate to maintaining the highways in an efficient state of repair and opening up the necessary network of roads between the settlements. By adapting a system of local organization, each district will possess within itself the means of remedying the crying evil of impassable roads.[10]

The commentator anticipated a healthy rivalry since better communication would assure increased immigration to the area which had it.

One prominent citizen wrote the Times to declare that more money should be spent on roads, bridges and drainage rather than unnecessary trips, and increased numbers of officials and Sessional Clerks. "The Province wants not quite so many ministers but a good many more roads. It is not actually vital to us that the Government should go down every now and then to Ottawa; but it is vital to the farmers to be able to get down now and then to their market."[11]

The two Captains contesting the Winnipeg seat also spoke on these interrelated questions. Captain Thomas Scott agreed with Mr. Norquay's mention of these major issues although he voiced the fear of heavy taxes, a fear shared by most old settlers. He believed that drainage construction would require federal assistance. Captain D. H. McMillan, Thomas Scott's opponent, spoke of the thousands of acres of undeveloped land awaiting a comprehensive drainage scheme. He noted that more grain was going into the Emerson area because of good drainage there and he believed a scheme could be developed and promoted by municipalities, when organised, with money raised by debentures of the province.

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[9] WDT, December 5, 1879 and MFP, December 4, 1879.

[10] Editorial, The Mail (Toronto) as cited in MFP, Nov. 14, 1879.

[11] Letter from W. Frank Lynn, WDT, Dec. 9, 1879. His description of several roads is flavored with the times—"...a main thoroughfare like the Portage highway should cease to be a series of wagon traps in wet weather, and the only road to the settlements of Springfield and Sunnyside, a mere haphazard piece of guesswork amongst bogs and bushes, as detrimental to the settlers as it is disgraceful to the Local Government."

The Winnipeg Daily Times referred to Premier Norquay's main planks as "throwing dust in the eyes of the electors." The "subject of drainage," said the Times, was a matter not of policy but of means. In attacking Captain McMillan's positions the Times said of the drainage question that D. H. McMillan talked: "as if the importance of such a subject admitted of dispute." "It is not even a political topic. It is a mere matter of engineering and finance." Similarly, on the subject of municipal organization, the Conservative voice declared it was not "a matter of Government policy; but a subject that the people of a locality can deal with themselves."[12]

The Times dismissed Premier Norquay's comments on boundary extension in a similar fashion. It was a matter for Dominion legislation and a "most incongruous topic for a Provincial Administration to adopt as a plank in its 'policy'."[13]

In a rather astute comment by the Toronto Mail, cited in the Free Press, we find the following interpretation of John Norquay's supposed concern to increase representation and gain additional subsidy via a boundary extension. "This question is surrounded with difficulties for the single reason that if the advisability of extension is conceded, no effective argument can be advanced for stopping short of the Rocky Mountains." The commentary noted that increased territory would mean more money spent on new areas with less available for old, and it concluded with tongue in cheek: "Nevertheless, the proposal will doubtless prove popular with the

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[12] WDT, December 3, and 5, 1879.

[13] WDT, December 3, 1879.

Manitobans, who cultivate big ideas as well as big cabbages. Parliamentary representation according to acreage has more charm for them than representation by population."[14]

The perennial independent E. H. G. G. Hay, who was to prove to be a winning candidate in St. Clements and to remain one of three constant opponents of the government (along with Thomas Scott and the Scottish half-breed Alex Murray of Assiniboia), was also critical of Premier Norquay's platform. It included no mention of either the growth of schools or the disputed railway crossing which was still a heated subject in Selkirk and Winnipeg.[15]

Major Unprompted Issues.

In the southern sections of the province the central issue was the government's preparedness, or lack of it, to introduce a herd law to oversee the movement of cattle and their interference in grain farming or tramping on crops. Many farmers sensed that they could not afford to wait for municipalities or townships to be established before some local action was taken. The issue became contentious because it was not a concern in settled areas and because the shortage and cost of wood could make compulsory fencing extremely unpopular in some areas. Some settlers complained that they scarcely had timber for firewood, let alone fenceposts. Various solutions were suggested, most of which centered on a local option format which would not enforce enclosure on a community which did not desire it. One settler reported a herd of cattle driven to the gates by a Minnesotan taking advantage of the unscathed Manitoba grasses. The Times received a letter of complaint showing the inconsistency between provincial demands to fence crops and the Dominion Timber Agent promising prosecution for cutting or buying "a stick of timber from Crown or Indian lands." The question extended into concern over losing settlers to the states because of the "absurdities of [Manitoban] officialdom," and of seemingly lower grain prices associated with the greater costs in Manitoba and the absence of laws properly protecting crops.[16]

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[14] MFP, November 14, 1879.

[15] WDT, November 13, 1879.

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Liquor and prostitution also became issues in this fourth election campaign, although the latter "social evil" was confined, it seems, to Winnipeg. The Manitoba Branch of the Dominion Temperance Alliance included as its president J. W. Sifton and as its members names like Messrs. Girard, Biggs, Dubuc, Luxton (all of whom had been or still were M.P.P.'s), and J. H. Ashdown (a leading businessman). The Alliance had as its object "to procure the suppression and total prohibition of the liquor traffic by such legislation as may be within the constitutional powers of the Dominion and provincial legislatures respectively, and by all other legitimate means." The difficulty which temperance supporters had in 1879 was that the recent Dominion legislation (the 1878 Scott Act) could not be employed in Manitoba because there were no municipalities to give approval to its local option nature. M. A. Girard had attempted to have electoral divisions substituted for municipalities in Manitoba but this had not been acceptable.[17]

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[16] Some of the more complete discussions of the herd law issue with solutions offered can be found in the Winnipeg Daily Times, November 15, 22, and 29, 1879. The then existing law ($1.00 fine per trespassing animal or up to 30 days in jail) is discussed in the Free Press, August 25, 1879. A farmer's letter to the Emerson International indicates the import of the issue to Southern Manitoba. He writes: "It is with a feeling of relief that we turn from the columns of the Winnipeg Press, devoted almost exclusively to the discussion of political matters, and find your journal dealing vigorously with those questions which so much affect the welfare of the Province."

"That the Herd Law is an absolute necessity is becoming apparent to those few who from personal motives have advanced opposite views, and that legislation upon a matter of such vital importance should be delayed shows a wanton neglect on the part of those upon whom devolves the duty of providing the necessary legislation...That Capt. Nash will represent this constituency at the next session of Parliament is generally admitted and from his well known views on this subject we may confidently rely upon the enjoyment of one of the greatest privileges, affording as it does protection to those who cannot otherwise protect themselves." November 13, 1879. Reprinted in WDT, November 22, 1879.

Nevertheless, there was plenty of activity on the temperance issue in November and December of 1879. Temperance workers attempted to block the establishment of a tavern at Gladstone; High Bluff residents began temperance petitions; and the Scott Act was widely discussed in the Marquette Review and in the Portage La Prairie area. Portage residents resented aspersions by Winnipeg citizens. The Times liked to talk about the use of liquor by the Hon. D. M. Walker, Attorney General and described in colorful detail the drinking at a Portage meeting.[18]

The Free Press linked liquor and prostitution in Winnipeg by arguing that the city could prosecute in the name of morality--insist on a fine in lieu of a liquor license, etc., but such prosecutions "are merely pretexts; what the city believes to be its share of the business profits."[19]

Temperance man and former cabinet member S. C. Biggs attacked Thomas Scott as the former mayor of Winnipeg when he was content with occasional fines for the "social evil" (contemporaries including editors were most reluctant to call the evil by name) which amounted simply to a license fee.

Issues in the Winnipeg Campaign.

The Thomas Scott-D. H. McMillan fight in Winnipeg was a hard-fought battle by two intelligent and highly esteemed citizens of the city. The Free Press favored Captain McMillan who attacked Scott for his duplicity in attempting to defeat the Norquay Government by voting against the redistribution bill which he (Scott) had previously favored. McMillan charged that Thomas Scott had failed to fight for a second seat for Winnipeg even when the Government was ready to submit to such pressure. Capt. McMillan believed most of Thomas Scott's actions were motivated by jealousy over his failure to be accepted into a cabinet. McMillan also feared Scott's anti-English stance in the legislature and, along with most of Scott's opponents, probably feared his association with Joseph Royal.

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[17] WDT, November 27, 1879, p. 3.

[18] "Mr. Lemon rose to a question of privilege. He said that the bottle had been kept at the other end of the table too long. Now he wished all to have a share, and would like that eau de vin to come along his way. The liquor was passed." WDT, December 6, 1879, p. 1.

[19] MFP, August 22, 1879.

Scott denied that he desired a cabinet seat. He admitted his failure in regard to a second Winnipeg seat, but claimed that rural areas would have been up in arms since Winnipeg was home to six rural members of the House who now lived in the city. A fair redistribution now would assure a second Winnipeg seat within the next year, he argued. He had opposed the redistribution bill only to ensure than an amendment requesting new voters' lists for a new election would be appended to it.

Scott deplored the talk of his association with Joseph Royal and the raising of any anti-French cry in the election. He claimed that it was mere supposition to say that party lines would ensure a balance of power to the French, but he did believe it would mean a government which might be carried on in a more orderly and efficient manner. Much of Thomas Scott's feeling was in reaction to the government's previous attempt to end French printing and the use of the language in courts and in the Legislative Assembly. The legislation had been reserved by the, then, French-Canadian Lieutenant-Governor Cauchon, and later disallowed by the Governor-General-in-Council. The steadily increasing English majority was reason enough to put away racial feelings against the French, according to the Times. The newspaper was convinced that the "Government made a false move when they attempted to raise this issue, for the most foreign sentiment in British character is to assail a weaker opponent."[20]

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[20] WDT, December 5, 1879. Both this issue of the Times and the December 4, 1879 issue of the Free Press carry lengthy accounts of a meeting addressed by Messrs. Scott, McMillan, Biggs and Norquay.

Hence, we come full circle, back to the "racial" issue once more. Yet both Winnipeg candidates attempted to rise above it each with his own alternatives. And both candidates also concerned themselves with the issue Mr. Hay said Premier Norquay sadly neglected. "Education" was central to Manitoba's progress, Captain McMillan maintained, while Captain Scott promised to endeavor to get increased grants for educational purposes, considering that such grants had dropped from $10,000 to $8,000 at a time when schools had increased in number from 30 to 35 in 1877 and to 140 in 1879.[21]

The heat of the racial and school questions, when once united, still lay a decade into the future.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1879.

FACTION	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Ministerialists	18	2605	63.2	75.0
Oppositionists	2	883	21.4	8.3
Independents	4	631	15.3	16.7

It is difficult, if not impossible, to establish the above positions with any degree of permanency. Each partisan newspaper counts the many Independent candidates as supporters of its own favored position. The candidates were considered free agents, hence E. H. G. G. Hay, running as an independent Oppositionist did have occasion to support the government, while Ministerialist A. W. Ross of Springfield was later cited as a strong opponent of the government. The opposition of Captain Thomas Scott, Thomas Greenway, and Alex Murray was relatively consistent.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1879.

Major, Prompted.

1. Party versus no-party. (Political, Perennial).
    (a) Printing steal. (Local).
2. Municipal organization.
3. Drainage system.

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[21] MFP, December 4, 1879, p. 1.

4. Road and bridge construction.
5. Boundary extensions.
6. Dominion subsidies.

Major, Unprempted.

7. Herd Law. (Local)
8. French versus English. (Diffuse, Underlying).
9. Immigration. (Underlying).
10. Land speculation. (Underlying).
11. Temperance. (Social).
12. Prostitution. (Social).
13. Schools--need for development. (Underlying).

Minor and Local.

Railway crossings.
Thomas Scott as Oppositionist. (Personality).
Redistribution (Underlying) and Winnipeg representation.

Manitoba.

MANITOBA LEGISLATURE.

Names of Candidates, with total number of votes cast for each one respectively, at General Election, 16 December 1879. The names of the unsuccessful Candidates are in *Italics* ;

ASSINIBOIA.

Alex. Murray ..IND.... 187
Hon. John Taylor...M........ 106

BAIE ST. PAUL.

Senator Girard. M. ....Acclamation

BIRTLE.

Stephen Clements...L........ 138
C. W. Cummings........ 129
1881 *C. A. Boulton*........ 116
E. P. Leacock........ 85

BRANDON.

J. W. Sifton....L........ 312
1881 *C. R. Tuttle*......C........ 245
Major J. Rogers .C........ 145
Robert Currie....C........ 119

BURNSIDE.

John Smith....M........ 121
J. [illegible]....O........ 120

CARTIER.

G. McMicken....M........ 108
John Lemon....M........ 67
Hon. P. Delorme.M........ 22

DAUPHIN.

1881 J. A. Davidson...L........ 140
P. St. Clair McGregor........ 97

DUFFERIN, NORTH.

Andrew Laughlin IND. 129
George Leary....M........ 124

DUFFERIN, SOUTH.

Wm. Winram...M.....Acclamation.

EMERSON.

W. H. Nash ....M........ 117
J. Carson......IND........ 64
F. E. Burnham IND........ 34
On appointment of Mr. Nash to Registrarship, new writ:
Thomas Carney.... ....Acclamation.

GLADSTONE.

Hon. C. P. Brown..M..Acclamation.

HIGH BLUFF.

J. A. K. Drummond ..M........ 98
— Crawford ....O........ 84

KILDONAN.

A. M. Sutherland.....M........ 107
John Sutherland........O........ 60

LA VERANDRYE.

Maxime Goulet.....M........ 219
— Desautels........M........ 170
On Mr. Goulet's acceptance of office, new writ:
Hon. Maxime Goulet. .Acclamation.

MINNEDOSA.

John Crerar .....L........ 402 1881
Dr. Cornell........ 287

MOUNTAIN.

Thomas Greenway. O. .Acclamation.

MORRIS.

Jos. Taillefer.....M........A.. 153
John Molony........O........ 118
F. A. Martin.....M........ 36

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

Dr. Cowan.....M......Acclamation.

ROCKWOOD.

J. S. Aikins........M........ 123
Thos. Lusted........IND........ 96
Hon. H. J. Clark...O........ 65

SPRINGFIELD.

A. W. Ross ....M........ 222
Arthur F. Bernard..O........ 3

STE. AGATHE.

Alex. Kittson ....M.. 61
Lt. Col. J. A. N. Provencher.M.. 34

Manitoba.

ST. ANDREWS.

Hon. John Norquay M Acclamation.

ST. BONIFACE.

A. A. C. Lariviere ....M. 127
Lt. Col. J. A. N. Provencher M. 4

On Mr. Lariviere's appointment to office of Provincial Secretary, new writ:
Hon. A. A. C. Lariviere.....Acclam-

ST. CLEMENTS.

E. H. G. G. Hay IND........ 127
J. Gunn........O........ 91
J. W. Sifton......M........ 61

ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER.

Patrice Breland IND. Acclamation.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN.

J. P. Alexander......C........ 102 1881
J. C. Waugh........ 93

WESTBOURNE.

Hon. D. M. Walker..M...maj. 122 86
W. J. M. Pratt ....O........ 55

WINNIPEG.

Capt. Thos. Scott ....O...... 287
Capt. D. H. McMillan ..M...... 221

On resignation of Capt. Scott, Sept. 1880, new writ:
Captain D. H. McMillan ....
Alexander Logan........

WOODLANDS.

Wesley F. Lipsett. M. .Acclamation.

DISALLOWANCE!

NOVEMBER 13, 1882 TO JANUARY 23, 1883.

POLITICAL FACTION	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Conservative Ministerialists	John Norquay	34
Liberal Reformers and Provincial Rights	Thomas Greenway	24
Independents	- - - -	2

Redistribution associated with extended provincial boundaries in 1881 added seven additional electoral divisions, now thirty-one, and ended the communal electoral system. One electoral division, Rat Portage, was under jurisdictional dispute with Ontario.

In each of the elections following 1870 some form of government crisis had so far facilitated the calling of a provincial election. The campaign of 1882-1883 was no exception since it was called in response to the federal disallowance of three provincial railway bills, hence ushering in an era in which the construction of railways far over-shadowed every other election issue.

On November 4, 1882 the Conservative Government in Ottawa disallowed: the Manitoba Tramway Company Act which would have allowed "cheap iron and wooden tramways" to operate on "any of the public highways of the province"; the Emerson and Northwestern Railway Company Act which called for a railway running parallel to the American border (Emerson to Nelsonville), and "thence north-west to a point on the western boundary" of the province; and the Manitoba General Railway Act which was a general piece of legislation designed to encourage "constructing, maintaining and operating railways...in the Province of Manitoba."[1] Anticipating such an eventuality, Premier John Norquay had pledged himself to re-enactment of the charters and, with the reality before him, the Manitoba electorate called upon him to fulfill his pledge.

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[1] WDT, November 24, 1882.

Disallowance and the Rise of Partisanship.

"Indignation-at-Disallowance" meetings swept the province within two days of the announcement--Souris, Emerson, Portage La Prairie, Pilot Mound, Nelson, West Lynne, Brandon. Hence, in early November speculation was rife that Premier Norquay might re-enact the charters after having called for authorisation by way of the vote of the electors. Complications set in, however, with the realization that re-enactment could be an idle threat. A November 8th resolution from an Emerson indignation meeting made it clear that an attempt was being made to link the Emerson and North Western directly to the American Grand Trunk Railway which was an obvious "tapping" of Canadian Pacific life-blood. Such a realization was fuel for the defenders of the Macdonald policy.

Although dissolution took place in mid-November the call for an election was delayed until December pending the assumption of office of the new Lieutenant-Governor of the province, Hon. James C. Aikins. The unofficial campaign raged nevertheless. The Conservative paper the *Winnipeg Daily Times* became, increasingly, the official apologist for disallowance, and the issue of the election to come was set forth in stark terms.

In his first address to his electors in St. Andrew's, Premier John Norquay recognized and supported the "policy of protection adopted by the Government of Sir John Macdonald towards our great national highway." But he contended for the right of the province to "charter railway companies for the construction and operation of railways within the Province."[2] (emphasis added)

The danger recognised in the Emerson case was reflected in a meeting of the electors at Woodlands where it was voiced that:

> Our local railways should not be permitted to tap our national system and divert our carrying trade to foreign channels by becoming feeders to American lines to the detriment of the Canadian Pacific Railway to which this province almost wholly owes its present prosperity.[3]

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[2] *WDT*, November 20, 1882.

[3] *Ibid.*, November 21, 1882.

Quite the opposite view to this protection of a national system was voiced by a Winnipeg candidate opposed to Premier Norquay's now "vacillating" position. A. C. Killam declared:

> ...it is only by securing the construction of independent lines of railway between our city and other portions of our Province and connecting with the railways of the United States and other parts of Canada, that we can obtain a proper counterpoise to the all powerful influence of the Canadian Pacific Company, and can relieve our traffic from the burdensome vexations of that company and its ally, the St. Paul, Manitoba and Minnesota Rail Company.[4]

The thorn around which there was such wide-spread irritation was the twenty-year monopoly clause No. 15 of the 1880 contract between the CPR and the Dominion Government. The monopoly clause excluded construction of competitive railways running parallel to, or south or south-east from, the CP Railway. The right to compete with the CPR was the central issue in Emerson prompting Mayor Carney of that town to visit Ottawa during the campaign. Opponents of the monopoly clause feared high freight rates or a total absence of railway service in some areas unless competitors were allowed, by their very existence, to influence government-CPR activities and decisions.

Defenders of the Macdonald "National Policy" argued that all Canadians had a large investment in the CPR. Some Eastern newspapers decried the discontent in Manitoba with the claim that the "rest of Canada was paying for the rapid development of Manitoba."[5] Others predicted, or actually announced, the withdrawal of credit from the province as dissent increased. "Destroy or impair the credit of the Syndicate by national or provincial action and you lay the axe to the root of all credit in Canada, national, provincial, municipal and individual," said the Times editorially.[6]

During the most recent prorogation of the provincial parliament Thomas Greenway had been active in organizing opposition to the Norquay

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[4] WDT, December 16, 1882.

[5] The Montreal Herald reprinted in WDT, November 22, 1882.

[6] Editorial, "The National Credit," WDT, December 5, 1882, p. 4.

Government. Party politics had been ushered into Manitoba as the province extended her boundaries in 1881 and party identification appeared beside the names of candidates in the new constituencies which elected members to the Manitoba capital in November of that year.[7]

Thomas Greenway claimed that the re-election of John Norquay could only be interpreted as an endorsation of Ottawa policy, whereas what Manitoba required was to elect "a ministry distinctly and emphatically opposed to the course of the Ottawa autocrats."[8] No-party politics was at an end as far as Greenway and his newly organized Liberal Reformist party and its supporter-sponsor the Free Press was concerned. "There can be no middle ground," the Reformist paper said editorially, "to oppose monopoly and disallowance effectually, the present Tory Government in Ottawa must be opposed; to secure our provincial rights, a Liberal Government must be put in their place."[9] The first step, in what was considered to be the only viable solution, was to replace a Norquay with a Greenway Government. Re-enactment was considered a "foolish and puerile" goal so long as the government re-enacting the charters remained "adherents of the government which disallowed them."[10] At a meeting at Portage La Prairie in mid-November, Thomas Greenway called re-enactment a waste of time, and advocated instead going to the Imperial Government or the law courts.[11] But, by the time James C. Aikins was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor, John Norquay's determination to re-enact the charters no longer persisted, and he defined the difference in railway policies between himself and Mr. Greeway as follows:

> The position that Mr. Greenway takes is that through the local Legislature here, legislation can be obtained to enact such charters as will be the media through which other outlets than that afforded

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[7] The extension brought with it a redistribution involving seven new seats, five of which were contested in 1881. The results for Birtle, Brandon, Dauphin, Minnedosa and Turtle Mountain are contained in the 1879 results. (Supra., p.92). No election was held for either Rat Portage or the second Winnipeg seat.

[8] MFP, November 8, 1882, p. 4.

[9] Editorial, "Principle and Party," MFP, Nov. 20, 1882, p. 4.

[10] Editorial, "Dissolution of the Legislature," MFP, November 14, 1882, p. 4.

[11] MFP, November 17, 1882.

> by the CPR, can be obtained for this Province. On the other hand, my contention is that the CPR should be protected and the policy adopted by the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald sustained, and that while doing so, the Province would not abnegate any right that it had to grant charters to companies to build and operate lines wholly within the old Province of Manitoba, but that right was limited as far as the added territory is concerned by the voluntary action of the Legislature, when it passed the extension act.[12]

Perhaps Premier Norquay was responding in part to the scathing criticisms coming from all quarters and in particular from the disappointed Conservatives whose convention resolutions Mr. Norquay seemed not to accept verbatim. Thomas Scott called him a traitor to the Conservative camp charging that John Norquay had gone back on his resolve to run the elections "on strict party lines" and, "as a matter of fact he was opposed to the CPR contract being carried out in its entirety--a policy which had done so much for the progress of this country." Other speakers at this same major Conservative meeting advocated knocking Premier Norquay off the fence so that the country could be "won by thorough Conservatives." Thomas Scott observed that he would greatly mistake the feelings of the people of Winnipeg "if in order to please such a slippery article as John Norquay the people of this city gave Sir John A. Macdonald a slap in the mouth."

But Conservative criticisms were even more partisan when directed towards Thomas Greenway. Witness the following editorial accompanying accounts of the Conservative meeting already cited:

> Mr. Greenway is a sort of compromise between a helpless Bombastic Furioso and a medical quack. He is a retailer of pills against an earthquake which no sane man apprehends. He is a dealer in sheet-iron thunder which now that the secret of stage effects is so widely diffused can harm no one. He is--we say it with all regret--a political quack. For what is a quack? A quack is a man who pretends to a skill he has not and promises results he cannot achieve--Mr. Greenway could do nothing against Disallowance.[13]

In a rather classic first provincial straight party fight Joseph Woodworth (Conservative) versus J. W. Sifton (Liberal or Reformer), the Brandon Conservative candidate called the discontent over disallowance a

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[12] WDT, December 2, 1882.

[13] Ibid., November 23, 1882.

"false issue" and an attempt on the part of Mr. Greenway's Liberals to "secure the reigns of government at the expense of the country's welfare."[14] In this western portion of the province it was the Provincial Rights Association and its candidates which was most significant in this perennial issue of party versus no-party politics. The Provincial Rights stance included some willingness to honor the CPR contract with a concern to charter within the old Manitoba boundaries. Supporters looked to other Canadian provinces to support Manitoba and eagerly awaited the Ontario elections as one example. The issue was clear for the Rapid City Standard:

> All the questions at issue may be resolved into the single one of local self-government in opposition to Ottawa rule. Shall Manitoba be a province of the Dominion in reality or only in name? Shall she enjoy the same right to use her own lands, to develop her own resources, to manage her own local affairs, which is exercised by every other province in the Dominion, or shall her legislature be but a name, her autonomy a sham and a by-word?[15]

The Provincial Rights view of the "railway" and "party" issues: Provincial rights versus dominion authority; is witnessed in this telling appraisal from the new western Manitoba daily which entered the campaign,

> By its humilating subserviency to the Dominion authorities as well under the regime of Mr. Mackenzie as Sir John Macdonald, this noble province finds itself unable to construct public works of the most essential character, unable to develop its grand natural resources, unable to establish a proper system of education, unable in every respect to take a material and intellectual position worthy of its natural advantage, and of the progressive and spirited character of its people.[16]

The above statement made in a Conservative paper, in a town beholden to the CPR, and at a point in the campaign when disallowance indignation was seriously waning in the province, gives clear indication of the Provincial Rights mood and its extensive effect in Western Manitoba.

The presence of the Provincial Rights no-party influence tended to divide both Liberals and Conservatives who attempted to appeal to the electors, in part, by educating them to the notion that disallowance and other questions were matters of federal policy, and, therefore, *party* issues. But, on the other hand, Liberals and Conservatives attempted to win support on issues, which, like Provincial Rights supporters, they claimed were issues above local party politics. A further difficulty in assessment arises when we consider that the Provincial Rights movement was in essence "opposed" to past political failures and, therefore, the tendency was to encompass the movement within the Liberal "Opposition" Party. Those opposed to the movement commonly accused Provincial Rights proponents of desiring secession from the country, but there was limited evidence of such a mood.[17]

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[14] The first issue of the Brandon Daily Mail, December 19, 1882.

[15] As reprinted in MFP, January 22, 1883, p. 2.

[16] Brandon Daily Mail, December 23, 1882, p. 2. (Hereafter cited as BDM)

The Boundary Extension Cluster.

In addition to the central issues: disallowance, railway policy and the place of party politics; a second cluster of issues revolved about the recent boundary extensions. These issues included control over public and school lands, further subsidies and boundary extensions, and the jurisdiction of Rat Portage. It was argued that Manitoba should have received complete control over the public lands when the boundaries were extended. Such control would simply place Manitoba on the same status as all other Canadian provinces. The *Winnipeg Daily Times* maintained there was a difference, however, in that other provinces *entered* confederation with control of their lands a *fait accompli*.[18]

Many candidates called for provincial control of both public and school lands. The latter, reserved ostensibly for school extension purposes and held in trust by the Dominion Government, were now being called out by many. Such lands, it was argued, could be sold with the proceeds employed to build much needed educational facilities.[19] The *Brandon Daily Mail* examined the complaint that "thousands of acres of school lands" were "locked up and unavailable while children grow up without the advantages the lands were meant to offer"; and countered with the suggestion that "the system" was being "perfected as rapidly as possible." Furthermore, said the Mail, the lands would be much more valuable as time went on.[20]

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[17] The one case of a Portage candidate advocating annexation to the U.S. was denied and proved to be a complete misinterpretation of his comments. However, some feeling somewhere must have existed in order to give rise to the fear and the reference to others "who might consider" secession and annexation to the United States. See for example *WDT*, Nov. 30, 1882 and *MFP*, Nov. 28, 1882, p. 4, Editorial: "The Secession Cry."

[18] *WDT*, January 11, 1883.

[19] *WDT*, November 21, 1882, p. 8. A political meeting in the Woodlands division.

The results of the boundary extension were further at issue because, for many, the area of the extension and the size of the subsidy was much below what was originally anticipated. In its October convention the newly-formed Conservative Party resolved that there ought to be a further western expansion of Manitoba along with an expansion to include a port on the Great Lakes and one on the Hudson's Bay.[21] Throughout the campaign Norquay was charged with having sold out Manitoba's lands for a paltry $45,000 when he had received instructions in the legislature to settle for a figure two or three times that large.[22]

The major issue connected with the extended boundaries, however, was the question of jurisdiction in Rat Portage, what is today Kenora, Ontario. The wording of the May 1881 agreement was ambiguous as regards the eastern boundary of the province. The town of Rat Portage was incorporated under the Manitoba Act but it appeared that the Macdonald Government chose to leave unsettled the final jurisdiction of this area; so that the charge was made that the Dominion Conservative Government was putting political pressure on a Liberal Ontario Government by refusing to take decisive action. John Norquay's opponents claimed his government had no right to incorporate the town when it was known to be in the area in dispute between Manitoba and Ontario. As it turned out, the various Manitoba, Ontario and Dominion civil servants and judicial and police officers attempted to provide jurisdiction. Under the Manitoba Act the Manitoba licensing system would normally apply to the incorporated town.

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[20] BDM, January 2, 1883.

[21] WDT, October 20, 1882.

[22] WDT, January 12, 1883. Charge made by Dufferin South Candidate William Winram, and BDM, January 18, 1883 charge and denial.

But this act granting liquor licences came into conflict with the Dominion Public Works Act which prohibited the sale of liquor within a distance of ten miles of any railroad construction. Throughout the campaign Rat Portage (which had deferred its own election) was home to detention of various officials, drunken riots, open fights between the various police forces, murder, and smallpox. If the sale of liquor were permitted, it was feared, the liquor could be resold to unlicensed dealers in a region, said the *Times*, where "there are Indians to be maddened by it, navvies to be made fighting drunk, and road men, with the lives of scores and the property of hundreds in their hands, to be demoralized."[23]

Rat Portage and Premier Norquay's "interference" there combined with his stands on disallowance and subsidies were the three important issues prompting the *Manitoba Free Press* to end its support of the native Manitoban and his Government.[24]

Minor and Local Issues.

Certain perennial or permanent issues managed to be whispered behind the shouts regarding disallowance. The Hudson's Bay Company was charged with unfair land tax exemption,[25] and French-speaking candidates still advocated the maintenance of the French language.[26]

Farmers concerned themselves with the "glanders" disease, which inflicted their horses, and the Canadian thistle and wild mustard, which threatened their crops; and in each case they demanded more "stringent legislation" to destroy both.[27]

Local concerns included the failure of the Provincial Government to establish a commission requested to look into charges of the improper use of public funds by the Winnipeg City Council of 1882.[28] Some Portage La Prairie residents concerned themselves over the proper observance of the Sabbath, an issue which had "perennial" qualities since 1870 but received particular attention when the CPR began to hire local residents to work on the roadbed each Sunday for 50¢ per hour.[29]

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[23] Editorial: "The Rat Portage Liquor Question," *WDT*, December 4, 1882, p. 4.

[24] Begg, *History of the North-West*, II, pp. 371ff.

[25] *BDM*, Jan. 11, 1883. David Glass, Minnedosa Provincial Rights candidate.

[26] E. F. Gigot Conservative nominee in St. Francois Xavier. *MFP*, December 15, 1882, p. 2.

[27] *WDT*, December 6 and 12, 1882.

Drainage remained a concern particularly in the Rockwood constituency where the Grassmere Drainage was condemned as "useless" and a "waste of public money," seemingly because of its limited scope.[30]

Suffrage for this election still demanded of the elector both a property qualification and a voiced ballot. Several candidates favored changes in the property qualification. Some were opposed to universal suffrage. The Times, speaking in defense of the right of Eastern landowners to vote in Manitoba elections wanted an extension: "Give them the vote by all means, but while doing so, why deny the clerk and professional man who has come here to stay, but who has not invested in real estate, a similar privilege?"

The newspaper categorized as no longer valid or true the popular contention that the "cheapness of real estate" ought to make it possible for any one to purchase one or two lots and "if he deserves a vote he should comply with a very easy requirement."[31]

The Mechanics Lien Act was widely discussed particularly in Winnipeg where candidates were concerned with the ease by which Eastern crediters could garnishee "everything they could get hold of, leaving the labourers and mechanics without anything for their work." It was the first serious and extended discussion of an act or an issue, (sectional by classification) which was directed at "workingmen."[32] The act's leading spokesman, A. Monkman, Conservative candidate in Winnipeg North, was engulfed in his own storm of controversy involving construction of a fourth and probably unnecessary Winnipeg bridge employing land owned by him personally; borrowing funds from the city council while in office for collateral worth only half the substance of the loan and below the going interest rate; and for manipulation of a city charter which seemingly disenfranchised an entire Winnipeg ward and delayed the civic elections.[33]

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[28] WDT, December 19, 1882.

[29] MFP, January 2, 1883.

[30] WDT, January 15, 1883, p. 4.

[31] Ibid., December 29, 1882, p. 4.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1882-1883.

POLITICAL FACTION	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Conservative Ministerialists	20	5477	52.8	64.5
Liberal Reformers and Provincial Rights	10	4588	44.2	32.3
Independents	1	315	3.0	3.2

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1882-1883.

Major and Federal.

1. Disallowance and railway policy.
2. Party politics and provincial rights.
    (a) Mr. Greenway - "political quack." (Personality).
    (b) Premier Norquay - "turncoat." (Personality).
3. Boundary extension cluster.
    (a) Control of public and school lands.
    (b) Further subsidies and extensions.
    (c) Jurisdiction of Rat Portage. (Political).

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[32] WDT, November 25 and December 22, 1882.

[33] Letter to the editor, MFP, December 25, 1882, p. 2. and Editorial: "Ex-Alderman Monkman," MFP, January 8, 1883, p. 4.

ISSUES - 1882-1883. - cont'd.

Minor.

Tax exemption for Hudson's Bay Company.

Dual languages. (Sectional).

Glanders disease. (Local).

Weed control. (Local).

Winnipeg Council improprieties. (Local).

(a) Alderman A. Monkman - conflicts of interest and land speculation. (Local, Personality).

Observance of the Sabbath. (Social).

Drainage. (Local, Perennial).

Universal suffrage. (Perennial, Political).

Mechanics Lien Act. (Left, Sectional).

MANITOBA ASSEMBLY.

General Elections have been held as follows: 27 Dec., 1870; 23 Dec. 1874; 11 Dec., 1878; 9 Dec. 1879; 23 Jan., 1883.

Names of the Candidates with total number of votes polled by each, at General Election of 23 Jan. 1883, and at every Bye-Election since. The names of the unsuccessful Candidates are in *Italics*.

ASSINIBOIA.

Alxe. Murray	C	95
J. Cunningham	L	37

BAIE ST. PAUL.

E. L. Fairbanks	C	Acclamation

BIRTLE.

E. P. Leacock	C	251
R. Nelson	C	242

BRANDON.

J. E. Woodworth	C	839
J. W. Sifton	L	651

BURNSIDE.

Isaiah Mawhinney	C	185
John Smith	L	124

CARTIER.

Joseph Lecomte	C	153
John Hargrave	C	67
J. W. Parker	C	15

DAUPHIN.

J. A. Davidson	C	Acclamation

DUFFERIN, NORTH.

Dr. Wilson	C	304
H. Landerkin	L	201

On appointment as Provl. Sec. a new Writ, 13 May, 1884.

Dr. Wilson		Acclamation

DUFFERIN, SOUTH.

Wm. Winram	L	155
John Stewart	C	112

EMERSON.

F. E. Burnham	L	178
R. S. Chalmers	L	166

Mr. Burnham being unseated, a new election was held 23 June, 1883:

C. S. Douglas	244
F. E. Burnham	169

HIGH BLUFF.

William Crawford	C	68
H. J. F. Rose	L	66

KILDONAN.

Hon. A. H. Sutherland	C	100
John Sutherland	L	75

On the death of Mr. Sutherland a new election held 8 April, 1884:

John Macbeth	109
J. Thompson	69

LA VERANDRYE.

M. Goulet	IND	191
L. A. Prudhomme	L	173

The election being declared void, a new election took place Jan. 1884:

L. A. Prudhomme	309
J. Owens	149

MINNEDOSA.

Dr. Harrison	C	495
David Glass, Q.C.	L	428

MORRIS.

Henry Tennant	C	304
F. A. Martin	L	135
G. C. Wilde	IND	124

MOUNTAIN.

Thomas Greenway	O	330
Hon. J. Norquay	C	244

NORFOLK.

Charles Hay	O	110
W. R. Ross		65

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

Joseph Martin	O	315
W. R. Black	C	204
E. H. G. G. Hay	O	50

The election being declared void a new election took place May, 1883:

Joseph Martin	290
W. R. Black	261

RAT PORTAGE.

Hon. J. A. Miller	385
James Gillespie	131

ROCKWOOD.

S. J. Jackson	O	250
J. A. Miller	C	74

SPRINGFIELD.

J. H. Bell	O	160
C. B. Edie	C	162

ST. AGATHE.

Alex. Kittson … C … Acclamation

On the death of Mr. Kittson a new election took place, 15 June, 1883:

J. E. Cyr	84
M. Gérome	76
John Carey	30

ST. ANDREWS.

Hon. J. Norquay … C … Acclamation

ST. BONIFACE.

Hon. A. C. La Riviere	C	69
E. Richard	O	44

ST. CLEMENTS.

Capt. Allan	C	74
John Gunn	O	65

ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER.

S. F. Gigot	C	72
D. Carey	O	36

TURTLE MOUNTAIN.

F. M. Young	O	232
J. P. Alexander	C	145

WESTBOURNE.

Hon. C. P. Brown … C … Acclamation

WINNIPEG NORTH.

E. G. Conklin	O	299
A. Monkman	C	218

WINNIPEG SOUTH.

A. C. Killam	O	259
C. R. Tuttle	C	196

WOODLANDS.

W. Wagner	C	153
F. W. Lipsett	C	37

THE FIRST STRAIGHT PARTY FIGHT

NOVEMBER 11 TO DECEMBER 9, 1886.

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Conservatives	John Norquay	34
Liberals	Thomas Greenway	32
Independents	- - -	4

35 single member constituencies
First election with political parties and secret ballot.

Major Issues: (1) Railways and Provincial Rights.

The major issues of the November-December 1886 campaign arose out of the events of the preceding two years. In 1884 Premier Norquay had accepted the loss of the "eastern basin," including Rat Portage, to Ontario, and by 1885 he announced terms with the Dominion Government which excluded control of crown lands or the right to charter provincial railways. The proposals were described in the official agreement as "a settlement in full of all questions discussed between the Local and Federal Authorities."[1] The opposition under Thomas Greenway accused Premier Norquay of having gone back on his word that he would push a provincial "Bill of Rights" approved by both sides of the House and submitted by the mushrooming Farmer's Union. Mr. Greenway took offense at the "sell-out" and the "finality clause" cited above. He and his newly organised province-wide Liberal Party campaigned for "better terms." John Norquay was prompted to go to the polls when the national Macdonald Government attempted to dampen the dissent over disallowance by granting the province an additional $300,000 annually as debt allowance and subsidy in lieu of lands.[2]

Hence, the debate over provincial rights, and the monopoly clause which could deprive Manitoba of local railways for twenty years, raged again in 1886 as it had in 1883. However, most campaign speeches addressed new dimensions of the older problems of railway construction and ownership of public land. The Farmers' "Bill of Rights," which had mustered unanimous agreement, had included a resolve to construct a railway to Hudson's Bay. A major concern throughout the campaign was to avoid absorption of the Hudson's Bay Railway by the "monopolistic" Canadian Pacific Railway. What protection was there in the railway act to prevent a CPR takeover?, was one question asked. While government supporters praised the Hudson's Bay Railway plans and the railway aid legislation which made it possible, the Greenway Liberals and "independent" newspapers charged (quite correctly in retrospect) that the Hudson's Bay roadbed was not being constructed according to federal standards and would, therefore, be liable to exclusion from Dominion grants. The difference in standards, it was claimed, was a profit being pocketed by the railway company.[3] Attorney-General Sutherland was so pressured as to deny that the CPR had controlling interests in the HBR even as the cooperation between the two companies and HBR rails stamped "CPR" became known to the public.[4]

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[1] Martin, "Political History," pp. 118-119.

[2] Morton, Manitoba: A History, p.221.

Another outcome of the uncontested Canadian Pacific Railway supremacy in Manitoba was the high freight rates for the shipment of wheat. Joseph Martin, speaking in Winnipeg, argued that competition, by being able to send goods via an American line, would tend to bring rates down.[5]

In Brandon, the railway issue had an additional dimension: centralization in Winnipeg. George Winters, a wavering Ministerialist, appealed to the Brandon East electorate on the following basis:

> If by your vote you say that you are satisfied with the Norquay policy of requiring all the roads to center in Winnipeg, you go a long way to securing that end, and keeping Brandon in the background. It is not conceivable that citizens of Brandon will be so

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[3] Brandon Mail (Weekly), November 11 and 18, 1886.

[4] MFP, November 9, 1886.

[5] Ibid., November 27, 1886.

> careless of their own true interests as to fail to give clear and unmistakeable expression of their views on this all important question. Mr. Norquay and Sir John say that the roads of the country should center in Winnipeg. If you vote for them you make Brandon a one-horse town for all time to come. Vote against and defeat them and a glorious future is assured for her.[6]

Major Issues: (2) Dominion Subsidies and Public Lands.

The other major issue, as already noted, was Norquay's agreement with the Macdonald Government in respect to public lands. Most arguments focused on the finality of the Norquay-Macdonald agreement at a time when the Dominion returns on "new land sales and receipts" sold in Manitoba totalled over $5,000,000. Mr. Greenway believed Manitoba was entitled to at least 5 per cent (the going interest rate) of these net profits which would have meant an additional $250,000 per annum, "besides which," he is quoted as saying, "there remains to be accounted for, over 40 million acres still in the hands of the government."[7] Interest on that land could total over $1,000,000 yet Mr. Norquay had accepted only $100,000 said J. W. Sifton, Greenway's Brandon West supporter.[8]

Defences of government policy were based on the position that the land about which the opposition raved was marshy wasteland which would cost more to administer than could be obtained for it on the market.[9] It was on just such a basis that Norquay waved a telegram at a Kildonan meeting indicating that the land was a source of expense, not revenue, to the Dominion,[10] and that a strict account would find Manitoba owing $95,000 plus an annuity of $100,000.[11]

Such talk increased the furore of opposition charges. Premier Norquay's arguments were said to be a complete about face from 1884.

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[6] The Brandon Sun (Weekly), November 11, 1886.

[7] Ibid., November 11, 1886.

[8] Ibid., November 18 and December 2, 1886.

[9] Ibid., November 18, 1886.

[10] MFP, November 13, 1886.

[11] The Brandon Sun, December 2, 1886.

The Brandon Sun said of the government:

> Instead of supporting those who assert our rights to our public lands they try to explain away our rights. Instead of attempting to assist those who would help our struggling settlers by getting machinery, food and clothing at the lowest possible prices, those men try to show why they should pay the highest. Instead of endorsing those who tell the world that we have the best country and most fertile lands in the world, these patriots advertise their opinion that our lands are valueless and boldly assert that our lands can only be administered at a loss.[12]

The statement above also alludes to Mr. Norquay's change of heart in support of Macdonald's National Policy and tariffs which seemed unduly harsh for Manitoba farmers. The tariff, too, became an issue as Oppositionists claimed that the Manitoba farmer had no return on the duty he paid as did the Ontario farmer.[13]

Major Issues: (3) Mismanaged and Corrupt Administration.

The economy had entered a depressed state in 1886 so that opponents charged that the extravagant yet capitulating policies of the Norquay Government produced a lack of confidence in the country resulting in poor reports, which discouraged immigration, slowed down agriculture, and hence, were causal of the depression.[14] Heavy taxes (in part attributed in the campaign in most municipalities to an absence of relief on school taxes) and a lack of transportation facilities: rolling stock, elevators, stations, etc., attached to the railways; were also concerns associated with the depressed state of agriculture and, hence, the entire economy.[15]

Proven charges of irregularities in the deployment of funds had been duly investigated and the Norquay Government ironically joined the opposition in condemning its own shortcomings as a government in 1885.

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[12] The Brandon Sun, November 11, 1886.

[13] Ibid., December 2, 1886.

[14] Editorial: "Make a Careful Selection," Ibid., Nov. 25, 1886.

[15] MFP, November 20, 1886 and The Brandon Sun, Nov. 25, 1886.

Now, when the charges of maladministration rose again for election purposes, Premier Norquay claimed he had admitted his "blunders" but the opposition "would not lay off." The specific items raised during the campaign on the matter of corrupt and extravagant administration included: an asylum site purchased at an exhorbitant price followed by the erection of an inferior building; an advancement of money by Mr. Norquay to a coal company for whom he acted as president; $2,658 spent on a trip to Ottawa which could have been handled for $600, with an attempt to cover up the expenses in the books; a lack of open contracts for government work; and lavish expenditures which involved lunches, beer, cigars, resold cordwood, a sixth cabinet minister, and high salaries paid to deputy heads of departments.[16]

The Manitoba Free Press carried comparative figures for all Canadian provinces showing that the Manitoba Government was proportionately the highest spender on government officials, telegrams, postage, travel, sessional clerks and printing, but the lowest spending government as to grants to municipalities and education.[17] The Brandon Mail claimed that the Norquay Government gave only $40,000 to educational purposes and $30,000 for government printing.[18] George Winters explained that government curtailment of expenditures was a necessary move in response to expenditures that had begun in earlier "boom times."[19]

The Manitoba election of 1886 was that province's first to be fought entirely on party lines. It was also the first to employ the secret ballot. The election campaign had been preceded by a redistribution which brought well-founded charges of gerrymandering against the Norquay Conservatives. Thomas Greenway claimed that the new bill gave extra representation to Eastern Manitoba at a time when new settlers were flooding to Western Manitoba. The opposition leader also claimed partial credit for the secret ballot and looked forward to universal suffrage.

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[16] Both The Brandon Sun and the Brandon Mail of October 28, November 11, and December 2, 1886 outlined these charges.

[17] MFP, November 5, 16, 22 and 23, 1886.

[18] Brandon Mail, October 21, 1886.

[19] The Brandon Sun, December 2, 1886.

Premier Norquay had most reluctantly accepted the ballot act and spoke against universal suffrage, asking why a man with his thousands should have his vote spoiled by a man with nothing--particularily as voting authorized government spending. Mr. Norquay claimed that if the redistribution were to be completely equal Winnipeg would have received seven rather than two seats.[20]

The Brandon Mail indicated something of the disparity in the redistribution by disclosing that Brandon East, with a population of 2,000, had more voters than half of the seven French constituencies combined. "Four Brandon votes are equal to one Frenchman's," said the Mail. "What do the people of Brandon county think of it?"[21]

Perennial Issues: (1) Partisanship.

The existence of two well-organized political parties did not foreclude discussion of political independence and the "no-party" stance. Conventions held for the purpose failed to nominate independent candidates, it being felt that there was not enough time.[22] Appeals by both Liberals and Conservatives crossed party lines in the sense that many Conservatives refused to be dubbed Norquay-supporters while the Liberal supporters wooed Conservatives to a cause "above Party." "There are still Conservatives...opposed to corruption and misgovernment," said the Liberal Brandon Sun. "Happily for the country the number of this class of Conservative is large and their number is daily becoming more apparent. In the knowledge of this fact we anticipate a grand triumph for honest sentiment, for public morality and good government on the 9th of this month."[23]

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[20] The Brandon Sun, October 28, 1886. W.L. Morton described this issue as follows: "The election of 1886 was the first really partisan provincial election in Manitoba, and the Liberals showed remarkable strength, particularly in western Manitoba. Had the distribution of seats not still favoured the old settlements of the province, it is doubtful whether Norquay could have carried the day." Manitoba: A History, p. 221.

[21] Brandon Mail, October 21, 1886.

[22] The Brandon Sun, November 25, 1886.

[23] Ibid., December 2, 1886.

Other opponents saw Premier Norquay's conservatism as simply an opportunistic electoral stance given that he had rejected party labels to suit his political purposes in the past. The Brandon Sun contained a letter from a reader which reflected this widespread mood which denied the Premier's conservatism.

> Rest assured, that if Norquay's conservatism suits Mr. Winters and yourself--if you are willing to be dragged through the political mud and mire in order to follow Norquay's coat tail simply because he has, for the present, put the Conservative brand upon his government--that you are very easily satisfied but don't mistake, thinking men will remember we live in Manitoba--here we suffer and struggle--and the point before us is to secure good government for Manitoba.[24]

There is in all these comments a healthy degree of political independence which was indigenous to Manitoba and still prevalent in this first clear party election. The case for political independence was argued forcefully and many observers cited the importance of voting for men of calibre rather than selecting supporters of the two very partisan leaders.[25] Editor C. Cliffe of the Mail, an active, independent Conservative participant in every provincial campaign, argued that tariffs and free trade, revenue, construction of national works and the liability of provinces, were all political questions for the Dominion; "but nothing of this character applies to a young provincial legislature," he wrote, in defense of an independent stance.

> All there is for the Manitoba Legislature in reality to do, is to properly expend our revenues, fixed by Dominion statute for the most part, and devise proper schemes for municipal and school development, and the construction of roads and drainage. Men may have different opinions upon these subjects, it is true, but they cannot possibly be political opinions--though they may be partisan. When men are forced to take sides upon these questions according to the political convictions they possess in Federal matters, it can only be at the sacrifice of principle and natural judgement.[26]

Cliffe's arguments, although part of the very "evident" issue of political independence and importance of voting for qualified candidates rather than party choice, enter the area of "speculative issue" since his estimation of the issue was certainly not totally accepted and argued by others, even though his analysis is perceptive and perhaps accurate.

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[24] The Brandon Sun, December 2, 1886.

[25] Brandon Mail, November 25, 1886.

[26] Ibid., November 18, 1886.

Perennial Issues (2) French versus English.

Other perennial issues or clusters of issues were a part of this campaign which was not overshadowed by a single issue as the 1883 campaign had been with disallowance.

Some candidates still called for the abolition of the use of French, particularly government printing in the French language. This issue was prompted by Premier Norquay's action in translating the highly rated crop report of 1883 into French. However, the fact that the report was still incomplete in its translation after three years was employed in the case against French printing. Premier Norquay simply countered that such things took time and that the report was so excellent it deserved to be published by the Agriculture Department in even more languages.[27]

The other major area of French-English irritation was the speeches and actions of former French-speaking cabinet minister A. C. C. LaRivière who was implicated in many of the charges of maladministration, and was also unable to press his case publicly during the campaign that Mr. Greenway had attempted to gain entrance into John Norquay's cabinet. Mr. LaRivière told French-Canadian voters that the members of the Norquay Government were "their sympathisers" and by so doing he tended to call for a unity of French-speaking voters which was attacked by the Free Press. LaRivière, in turn, attacked the Free Press for raising the issue of religious solidarity.[28]

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[27] Brandon Sun, October 28, 1886.

[28] MFP, November 4, 5 and 13, 1886.

Perennial Issues: (3) School Finances.

The major issues having to do with education were, as has already been intimated, related to the financing of schooling. Candidates were still split over whether Manitoba should have access to the Dominion held school land grants, some arguing that debentures should be taken out on the lands with proceeds of all sales to go to aid existing schools. Others, like George Winters of Brandon, still opposed selling school lands since they could not begin to bring as good a price in the present depressed economy as they might in the future. Still others argued that the lands could be used as homesteads so that the school tax load could be shared by new homesteaders.

Complaints were widespread in regard to the "niggardliness" of the Norquay Government. Grants to high school collegiates had totalled zero. The Portage La Prairie Collegiate had closed down and Brandon College had received the paltry sum of $50 in provincial grants. Church and medical colleges had also been refused grants. The policy resulted in the hiring of the least expensive teachers (not always the best) and schools were being closed for part of the year in order to save poorer farmers from paying local school taxes. Materials were also kept in short supply in order to save much-needed funds.[29]

The taxation problem also kept the separate school question wide open. The Brandon Mail explained:

> Fancy a law...that enables a man to send his children to public school and receive all the benefits of the training of the institution, and that can refuse to pay the general tax levied for its maintenance, simply because he is a Roman Catholic. Excepted in this way he can allow his annual taxes to accumulate uncollected until there are enough people in his district of his own persuasion to support a separate school, and for all time if the member never reaches enough to maintain a separate school. The situation is a critical one and calls for prompt legislation.[30]

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[29] Resumé of discussions in Brandon Sun, Dec. 2, 1886; Brandon Mail, Nov. 11, 1886, and MFP, Nov. 15, 16 and 17, 1886.

[30] Brandon Mail, December 9, 1886.

Perennial Issues (4) Temperance.

Temperance, another perennial issue, became even more heated as opponents of the government decried the failure to enforce the Manitoba Liquor License Act of 1886 which stipulated the number of licensed outlets per numbers of residents in a given area. There were gross disparities, and the unchecked power of the Attorney-General to grant licenses was also criticized. Businessmen and hotel owners complained about the practice of licensees paying for the very detectives which spied on their own establishments.

J. W. H. Wilson of Winnipeg North constituency gave appearances of running as perhaps the first straight temperance candidate. He said he would run for the Temperance Union in order to provide direct representation "to look after their interests in the legislature." However, he withdrew at the last moment. Petitions circulated about the province calling for a reduction in the number of licences and shortened selling hours.[31]

Minor and Personal Issues.

Prairie fires ravaged the province through the fall of 1886 and the matter became an election issue when municipal demands for assistance to victims were met with government insistence that full municipal reports must precede government help. The Brandon Sun charged that such demands were intended as a stall so that the government could get the elections over before declining assistance.[32] Solutions were suggested to check the spread of fires and spark protectors were demanded in a letter to the Free Press which claimed that fires were started by sparks from CPR locomotives.[33]

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[31] Brandon Sun, Oct. 28, Nov. 11 and 25, 1886; and MFP, Nov. 27, 1886.

[32] The Brandon Sun, November 25, 1886.

[33] Letter of G. Aubrey, Broadview, MFP, Nov. 9, 1886.

The perennial charges of bogus voters' lists proved particularly serious in 1886 when John Norquay was personally censured by an investigating Returning Officer in St. Andrews. The Conservatives could also make mileage over this issue since similar activities seemed to be performed in Springfield division by the Liberals.[34]

Personal issues included questions of Greenway's competence. The Mordern News withheld support because it could not envision the material for a Liberal cabinet.[35] Hon. C. P. Brown in Westbourne continued to distribute patronage, this time drainage contracts, as he had done since 1878, if Liberal reports were to be heeded.[36]

Finally, Premier Norquay was accused of nepotism in the employment of his son in the Selkirk "asylum" with an attempt to conceal the matter by not authorizing an order-in-council for the appointment.

> Thomas Norquay, son of the Premier, applied to have his name put on the voters' list in his father's constituency, as a voter on income, by having drawn a salary of $60 a month as a clinical assistant at the Selkirk asylum since April last, and the judge refused the application on the ground that when there was no order-in-council appointing him, he could not be considered as receiving income in the meaning of the Act. In the light of this fact does it not become apparent that he has drawn his salary irregularly, and was, therefore, a drain on the exchequer simply because he was "his father's son"? Perhaps, however, as the revenues of the province are in existence merely for the support of the Norquay's, the Brown's, the Barrow's, and the LaRivière's is it not as well a part of it should go to Thomas Norquay as to any other one of the gang?[37]

SUMMARY OF RESULTS- 1886.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Conservatives	18	10,511	49.7	51.4
Liberals	15	10,258	48.5	42.9
Independents	2	369	1.7	5.7

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[34] The Brandon Sun, October 14, and November 18, 1886.

[35] As contained in The Brandon Sun, Nov. 18, 1886.

[36] The Brandon Sun, Nov. 18, 1886 and MFP, Dec. 3, 1886.

[37] Brandon Mail, Oct. 21, 1886. Mr. Barrows, the only name we have not previously mentioned, was paid $2,000 per year as Deputy-Minister of Agriculture plus $500 as Secretary of the Board of Agriculture and said to be editor of the government-supporting newspaper, The Manitoban.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1886.

Major, Province-wide.

1. Railway legislation and provincial rights. (Cluster).
    - (a) CPR monopoly clause.
    - (b) Centralization in Winnipeg (Local).
    - (c) Premier Norquay renegs on "Bill of Rights." (Personality).
    - (d) Hudson's Bay Railway standards.
    - (e) Rates, Facilities and use for immigration. (Underlying).
2. Dominion subsidies and public lands.
3. Mismanaged and corrupt administration. (Charges of Corruption).
    - (a) Lack of confidence.
    - (b) Heavy taxes.
    - (c) Irregular expenditures.
    - (d) Gerrymandering.

Major and Perennial.

4. Partisanship.
    - (a) Role of parties and independents. (Speculative).
    - (b) Premier Norquay's Conservatism. (Personality).
5. French versus English. (Sectional, Diffuse, Underlying).
    - (a) French printing. (Evident).
6. School Finances.
7. Temperance.

Personality.

C. P. Brown--election bribes. (Charges of Corruption).

Premier Norquay--nepotism. (Charges of Corruption).

Mr. Greenway--inconsistency and incompetence.

Minor.

Prairie fires. (Local).

Bogus voters' lists. (Local).

Tariffs and duties. (Underlying).

Legislative Assembly, Manitoba.

General Elections have been held as follows: 27 Dec. 1870; 23 Dec., 1874; 11 Dec., 1878; 9 Dec., 1879; 23 Jan., 1883; 9 Dec., 1886.

Names of the Candidates with the total number of votes polled by each at the General Election of 9 Dec., 1886. The names of the unsuccessful Candidates are in *Italics*.

ASSINIBOIA.

Alex. Murray....M.......... 140
J. M. Ross ......O.......... 80
Pop.... 795
No. of voters 508

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS.

John Crawford.....O.......... 302
J. A. Davidson.....M.......... 272
Pop.... 1695
No. of voters 654

EAST BRANDON.

J. A. Smart.....O.......... 389
G. Winters.....M.......... 321
Pop 2910
No. of voters 1247

WEST BRANDON.

J. N. Kirchhoffer ....M.... 498
J. W. Sifton..........O.... 464
Pop.... 2855
No. of voters 1300

CARILLON.

Roger Marion.....M.......... 118
Martin Jerome.....O.......... 75
Pop.... 1861
No. of voters 643

CARTIER.

Thomas Gelley IND O Acclamation
Pop.... 1112
No. of voters 768

CYPRESS.

R. S. Thompson .....O..... 248
G. A. F. Andrews....M..... 247
Pop 2194
No. of voters 913

DENNIS.

Daniel McLean.....O....... 510
T. Routledge..........M....... 304
Pop.... 2735
No. of voters 1280

NORTH DUFFERIN.

Hon. D. H. Wilson....M..... 360
R. P. Roblin..........O..... 351
A recount reduced Hon. Mr. Wilson's majority to 5.
Pop.... 1730
No. of voters 1294

SOUTH DUFFERIN.

W. Winram .....O.......... 328
P. Bolton..........M.......... 201
Pop.... 2967
No. of voters 1672

EMERSON.

C. S. Douglas.....M.......... 317
S. C. Biggs..........O.......... 102
Pop.... 4813
No. of voters 899

KILDONAN AND ST. PAUL.

John MacBeth....M....... 194

J. Sutherland.......O....... 159
Pop.... 787
No. of voters 808

LAKESIDE.

K. Mackenzie.......O....... 325
I. Mackinney.......M....... 312
Pop....
No. of voters 1038

LORNE.

J. A. Macdonnell....O..... 281
H. Pentland..........M..... 277
Pop.... 2210
No. of voters 1140

LA VERANDRYE.

J. E. P. Prendergast....M... 270
L. G. Gagnon................ 192
Pop.... 2739
No. of voters 929

MOUNTAIN.

Thos. Greenway.....O..... 385
R. Rogers ....M..... 370
Pop.... 2410
No. of voters 1196

MORRIS.

A. F. Martin. ....O... 249
Henry Tennant .. ..M... 170
Lt.-Col. W. O. Smith......... 144
Pop.... 7260
No. of voters 1700

EAST MINNEDOSA.

J. D. Gillis.......M.......... 278
J. Crerar. ....O.......... 201
Pop.... 2372
No. of voters 1339

WEST MINNEDOSA.

Hon. D. H. Harrison....M.. 214
J. W. Shanks..........O... 179
Pop. ... 1400
No. of voters 614

NORFOLK.

S. J. Thompson. ......O..... 316
T. W. Gilbert................ 290
Pop.... 1918
No. of voters 926

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

Joseph Martin .....O....... 338

W. P. Smith ......M........ 343
Pop....
No. of voters 1348

RUSSELL.

E. P. Leacock.......O........ 328
Jas. Fisher..........M........ 320
Pop.... 1420
No. of voters 744

ROCKWOOD.

S. F. Jackson.......O.......
N. F. Hagel..........M.......
Owing to loss of some of the ballot boxes, a special return was made by the Returning Officer, as to his inability to declare which Candidate was elected. The matter being referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, a report was made, recommending that the seat be awarded to Mr. Jackson. The Report was unanimously adopted by the Legislature.
Pop 1771
No. of voters 992

SPRINGFIELD.

Thos. H. Smith ....M....... 234
J. B. McArthur.......O....... 195
Pop.... 1262
No. of voters 638

SHOAL LAKE.

Hon. C. E. Hamilton......M.. 500
R. Nelson. ....O.. 400
Pop.... 2175
No. of voters 1731

ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER.

Joseph Burk....M....Acclamation
Pop.... 1620
No. of voters 1067

ST. ANDREW'S.

Hon. T. Norquay ....M..... 312
F. W. Colcleugh..........O..... 273
Pop.... 1639
No. of voters 701

ST. CLEMENT'S.

David Glass....IND O....... 151
Robt. Hay.........M.......... 147
W. J. Robinson.....O.......... 90
Pop.... 1046
No. of voters 603

SOURIS.

J. P. Alexander.....M..... 235
A. M. Livingston............. 215
Pop.... 1155
No. of voters 529

ST. BONIFACE.

Hon. A. A. C. LaRiviere M Accl.
Pop.... 2149
No. of voters 867

TURTLE MOUNTAIN.

F. M. Young.....O.......... 304
Geo. Morton.....M.......... 270
Pop.... 3044
No. of voters 1571

WESTBOURNE.

Hon. C. P. Brown....M..... 344
T. M. Morton.....O........ 197
Pop.... 11[illegible]6
No. of voters 430

NORTH WINNIPEG.

E. L. Drewry...IND.M... 1477
E. G. Conklin ...O........ 1194
No. of voters 6073

SOUTH WINNIPEG.

W. F. Luxton.....O....... 1012
W. *B. Scarth*.....M....... 973
Pop. (North & South) 19574
No. of voters 7391

WOODLANDS.

J. M. Robinson....M....... 167
W. Wagner.........O....... 129
M. Fortune.................... 74
Pop.... 2721
No. of voters 382

THE END OF COMMUNAL POLITICS

JUNE 16 TO JULY 11, 1888.

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberals	Thomas Greenway	39*
Conservatives	John Norquay	26
Independents	- - - - -	3

38 single member constituencies. *Thomas Greenway contested two ridings.

In December 1887, E. P. Leacock, a member of John Norquay's cabinet, substantiated the prevalent opposition charges that the Norquay Government had received a $40,000 election fund in the 1886 election from Mann and Holt--the Canadian Pacific Railroad builders--in turn for an advance of a $1 per acre land grant for the 40 miles of HBR roadbed (or $256,000). This grant constituted a complete loss to the province since the roadbed failed to pass federal standards and anticipated reimbursement. Combined with popular dissent over the contract conditions for the completion of the Red River Valley Railway (RRVR), John Norquay and his Provincial Treasurer A. C. C. LaRivière were hounded out of office. In mid-December, D. H. Harrison succeeded Norquay, but as two of his proposed cabinet ministers, former Speaker Alex Murray and Joseph Burke, were defeated in elections of January 12, 1888 (constitutional law required that cabinet ministers be re-elected before taking office), D. H. Harrison, too, was forced to resign, and a Liberal government under Thomas Greenway was formed after January 19, 1888.

Railway Policy and Partisanship: The Major Perennial Issues.

The Greenway Government was able to go to the electorate in the summer of 1888 on the one hand having fully discredited the Norquay Government, and, on the other hand, able to point to the end of the monopoly clause, what with the Macdonald Government deciding to buy out of the clause by guaranteeing the CPR the interest on fifteen million dollars worth of new bonds. The extent to which the coming to power of a new Liberal government, and the visit of its leaders, Thomas Greenway and Joseph Martin to Ottawa, influenced the National Government's decision became, perhaps, the major issue in the campaign.

The 1888 election was based on a reasonable equitable redistribution which introduced Greenway's long-promised manhood suffrage, increased the number of seats from thirty-five to thirty-eight, and gave fairer representation to Western Manitoba and to Winnipeg. The redistribution, combined with the fall of the Norquay Government (and perhaps even the earlier put down of the Riel Rebellion in 1885), replaced the communal French-English politics by representation by population, and, as historian Morton observes, "marked the triumph of Ontario over Quebec in Manitoba."[1] Although the political structures were changed the perennial issues or problems simply shifted to a more diffuse, less evident or underlying dimension.

The campaign was a foregone conclusion but, nevertheless, bitterly fought. Even life-long Conservatives were reluctant to support John Norquay openly, hence, the "no-party" tradition was upheld in this but the second election in the province where parties could be said clearly to exist. There was a fear even to stand as a Conservative candidate because everyone who would so stand, said the Conservative Brandon Mail, would become "mere targets, at which all and everybody may shy their venomous darts."[2] The paper called for Conservatives to stay in the party and change its leadership. For the editor of the Brandon Mail, to attack or defend Mr. Norquay was to dodge the issues which were central to party positions.

> Individuals may have their preferences, but the present contest is one of Greenway Gritism against consistent Conservatism, and all must regard it in that light. It will not do to drag Norquayism--a dead duck--into rifle range; it is now on the merits of Greenway Gritism

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[1] Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 232-233. See note supra p. 741.

[2] The Brandon Mail, June 7, 1888.

> the country is pronouncing and nothing else. Let the electors of Manitoba, one and all, remember this.[3]

Perhaps the above explanation was more "speculative" on the newspaper's part and much less "evident" to the electors because, while editor Charles Cliffe of The Mail was advocating a partisan stand, most Conservatives attempted to disguise partisan commitments in face of heavy opposition.

And the cloak of non-partyism was not confined to Conservatives. Clifford Sifton, running ostensibly as a Liberal, claimed opposition to partyism in local affairs. He advocated examination of government measures from a business standpoint of any government in power, "and on every question give their decision on the merits, and with a view to advancing the material, moral and social prosperity in the country." In all questions of government his election card advocated:

> ...the only safety of the people is in the independent judgement and watchful care of their representatives and if I should be elected to represent you, I shall exercise the same independence of judgement in reference to all matters that may come before the Legislature that I would exercise on any matter of private business, looking to the general interest of the Province, and to the interest of North Brandon."[4]

Less partisan Grits may have praised the Conservatives who renounced party "when party meant the continuance of disallowance," but the more partisan claimed that Conservatives lacked the "backbone" even to replace ex-Premier Norquay as opposition leader when he himself preferred to be "one of the ranks and nothing more."[5]

So it was that the perennial issue of partyism versus independence continued into the 1888 election despite the now clearly defined party lines. The near collapse of one party forced most of its members to deny allegiance to party (save for stalwarts like editor Charles Cliffe) and enabled its opposition to take magnanimous positions in regard to partisanship that might not otherwise be possible.

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[3] The Brandon Mail, June 7, 1888.

[4] The Brandon Sun, June 14, 1888.

[5] MFP, June 28, 1888 and Editorial: "No Backbone," The Brandon Sun, June 14, 1888.

But the major issue was still a cluster of concerns around railway building. Which government should really receive credit for the end of the monopoly clause? Was the RRVR a sop to Winnipeg entrepreneurs or, rather, a vital link with the United States? Had the end of a monopoly increased the possibilities for competitive road-building and would rail facilities be forthcoming to haul Souris coal to markets?

Both parties had concluded that the monopoly clause was an "interference with the spirit of responsible government" and both parties also claimed credit for its termination.

The Brandon Mail argued that the interest on bonds which would enable the GPR to build elevators, bridges etc. in exchange for abandonment of the monopoly clause, had been indicated in its December 15, 1887 issue. The paper charged that Mr. Greenway was still requesting permission to build lines to the old Manitoba boundary while the Macdonald Government had been urging settlement by purchase over the monopoly clause, nationally. Premier Greenway responded, charged the paper, only after a letter from Sir John A. Macdonald mentioned resolution on a "broader basis." Charles Cliffe argued editorially:

> It is not then Messrs. Greenway and Martin the country may thank for the changed aspect of affairs in this country as they did not ask for the change that has been made; but they and their friends, for political purposes are endeavouring to monopolise the whole credit for what has been done. They know that on their own merits they have no front to present to the country and they therefore present one misappropriated.[6]

As the campaign went into full swing the critics of the new Grit Government asked where the capital and railway men were who were expected to come in with the termination of the monopoly clause. Or was the monopoly grievance simply designed to animate sentiments against the Conservative Federal Government?

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6 The Brandon Mail, June 7, 1888.

The attack on the Norquay Conservatives, on the other hand, was forthright and bitter as evidenced by North Brandon's government candidate Clifford Sifton's election statements:

> It is now proven conclusively that the Norquay Government were guilty of gross dishonesty and corruption in the management of the finances, that they squandered the public money with the most shameful extravagance that in the smallest as well as the greatest matters, they were careless and incompetent, and that more especially in regard to the question of Railway Monopoly, they never honestly and faithfully endeavored to secure the rights of the Province. Because this is true, it is now an admitted fact that the return of those men to power would be a most disastrous thing for the people.[7]

The resignation of the Norquay Government was evidence enough for the Grits of the former premier's inability to govern, and of his failure to effect a change in regard to disallowance and the monopoly clause. To grant him the credit now would be foolish indeed. The Brandon Sun featured a March 21, 1888 telegram from Sir John indicating that an adjustment would take time but could be worked out in a matter of days, hence, indicating that, in fact, there had not been a "previous arrangement."[8]

Critics of the Greenway Government in Western Manitoba bemoaned the fact that most new lines beyond the CPR were being constructed in old Manitoba. The RRVR was the third railway to be built from Winnipeg to the American border and Western Manitoba residents saw the building of that line as designed to enable Winnipeg merchants to bring goods in at cheaper rates, hence controlling trade for the whole north-west region of the prairies.

Brandon politicians were extremely critical because the CPR's William Cornelius Van Horne had proposed moving equipment and capital to the proposed Brandon-Souris line which would bring coal into Brandon at a saving of $35,000 per year. Greenway's government, by avoiding any deals with the CPR and thus ignoring Van Horne's proposal, seemed bent on tying up most available monies in the redundant RRVR and plunging the country into another $1,200,000 debt.

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[7] The Brandon Sun, June 14, 1888.

[8] Ibid., June 28, 1888.

Even Winnipeg politicians were angry and suspicious as regards the RRVR. J. J. Golden, Conservative candidate in the North Winnipeg constituency, and perhaps one of the first candidates to place the concern of the "working man" as a top priority, complained that building of the RRVR should have begun in Morris and worked in two directions (towards Winnipeg and the American boundary), hence employing labor drawn from the Winnipeg area. Golden complained about the line's commencement at the American boundary and of the Manitoba Government's refusal to employ CPR facilities to haul much needed materials which had slowed the progress of the line.[9]

While government apologists defended the Red River Valley Railway as a means to fostering settlement, others were concerned that expenditure on the railway might exceed four million dollars by the time purchase of vacant lands for settlement around Winnipeg were included. Those few Norquay supporters, like H. M. Howell of Winnipeg, gave the native ex-Premier full credit for obtaining the monies for the railways which were now being built by Thomas Greenway. It was the Norquay Government, according to Howell, which graded the RRVR, laid a number of ties, bought the iron and built the cars.

The general thrust of Western Manitoba Oppositionists was to claim that members of the Greenway Government were getting railways in their own bailiwicks. The RRVR had been defended on the grounds of breaking monopoly "but now," said the Brandon Mail editorially, "after it is broken, every member of the cabinet excepting Mr. Smart [Minister of Public Works from Brandon] is going to have all the roads they want at their door at the expense of the public." This would include a Winnipeg to Portage La Prairie line for Joseph Martin and his home constituency.[10]

Government defenders saw the Portage La Prairie "extension" as the first step towards further extensions to connect with Brandon. A Winnipeg terminus was, they said, unavoidable, and the western connections would correct the matter and in a context which ended CPR monopoly. James Smart defended the lack of a line to bring out Souris coal to Brandon by declaring "if the CPR failed building a road to the Souris mines, for which they had been offered material assistance by the government, he [Smart] would push hard to get a company organised that could put the road in operation."[11]

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[9] MFP, July 9, 1888.

[10] Editorial: "Railways For the West," The Brandon Mail, June 14, 1888, p. 2.

The major cluster of issues centering around the end of the CPR monopoly and the pressing rail needs of the time also included, as we have seen, the cost of land purchase. The attack on the government, therefore, included fears that they might do little more than open the door to unchecked land speculation. "Bear in mind," wrote a Conservative correspondant, "that the welfare of the country is at stake, and that the howl of land sharks, who would try and gull the people into making them believe that they have snatched the country from thraldom, must be routed and sent back where they properly belong--in the cold shades of opposition."[12]

Conservatives also charged that the Greenway Government had sold bonds or a sinking fund at 103 points when they might have been sold slightly later for 110 and were quoted on the English market at 108.

Such were the attacks on a newly formed Greenway Government which campaigned on a less extravagant use of public funds but more generous grants to schools and agriculture. School grants were up eighty thousand to one hundred twenty thousand dollars. Savings on the abrogation of the monopoly clause amounting to ninety thousand dollars were being directed to schools and municipalities, reduced school tax rates and lowered freight rates. Imperceptibly, schooling began to rise as the major issue in place of railways.

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[11] The Brandon Sun, June 28, 1888.

[12] The Brandon Mail, June 7, 1888. Correspondance.

The Rise of the Manitoba School Question.

It might be said as it is of "old soldiers" that major issues are never completely put to rest, but rather, tend to "fade away." In the case of Manitoba's railway questions, monopoly clause and disallowance were largely resolved, but whatever elements remained unresolved shifted to the federal arena. School questions had taken a back seat to both railway and more direct French-English questions from 1876 until 1888. The Winnipeg school system had operated successfully enough to keep schooling questions out of provincial politics. The increased influx of Protestants under Greenway Grits and the recognition that Roman Catholics received more per student expenditures would raise the old communal quarrels again, and this time totally within the context of schooling.[13]

But in the 1888 campaign the communal dimension of the schooling problem awaited the prior recognition of the difficulty of financing mushrooming education needs in a frontier province. These financial questions were the root problems upon which the more bitter communal differences were centered. In fact, Conservative critics, like editor Cliffe of the Brandon Mail, cited figures to show that when the reduction of municipal grants were compared to increased school grants a net loss of $70 per month per school resulted.[14]

On the whole, the Greenway Grits were successful in campaigning on a platform of increased and better distributed monies to the public; less wastage over railway fiascos like the bond issue and the HBR; a new drainage policy where benefiting properties would pay over the years; and programs for increased immigration and settlement, while avoiding what Premier Greenway called "lumping in communities."

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[13] See discussion in Martin, "Political History," pp. 125-130.

[14] The Brandon Mail, July 5, 1888.

Commercial Union.

The only other major and province-wide issue in addition to railway questions and schooling costs was the matter of a commercial union with the United States. It was popularly assumed and argued by many government supporters that such a union would enlarge trade with the Americans to the benefit of the western citizen, via a removal of duties on American goods to Manitoba and better prices for their own products in the United States. While the issue was essentially "Federal" in prerogative it was raised so that voters might be seen to elect a provincial government which would be indicative of their feelings on national questions. Provincial results were very much interpreted as pleasure or displeasure with national governments, and issues which reflected this aspect of political life were an integral part of most provincial campaigns, and more especially so in these early years.

Those who upheld a federal policy of a more protective nature argued that the charges on over eleven million dollars in American imports which would be lost by commercial union would have to be made up by direct taxation--coming mostly from the "pockets of the poorer classes." The agreement would insist that Canada would pay the same duties on English goods as the United States pays and many of these duties were twice as high in the United States as in Canada.[15]

Pro-British sentiment reminded voters of the discrimination against a mother-land whose "navy protects us." "Is this British fair play?" it was asked. Electors were called upon to strengthen the Conservative Party of Canada in the struggle. "Vote for the party who...have ever been true to our glorious Empire and who have sworn by the memory of their ancestors that the Canadian nation shall rule this northern Continent and that this shall ever remain a British country..."[16]

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[15] The Brandon Mail, June 21, 1888.

[16] Ibid., July 5, 1888.

Minor, Local and Personal Issues.

As previously indicated the Greenway Government had carried out a redistribution of seats and created new voters' lists based on the principle of manhood suffrage. While opponents complained of disenfranchised civil servants and indiscriminate additions to voters' lists, government apologists explained that "never in the history of Canada had a redistribution bill been passed which so few were found to speak against."[17] Bi-partisan support for Mr. Greenway probably did minimize gerrymandering.

Opponents of Premier Greenway claimed that he disenfranchised senior (Conservative) civil servants and left a department like that established by the Grit Mackenzie Government, e.g., the Indian Department, untouched. It was charged that Thomas Greenway's promises to end partisan-appointed enumerators for the voters' lists had not been carried out. Affidavits had allegedly been required from Conservative registrants but not from Grits. Charles Cliffe editorialized: "In opposition, Mr. Greenway used to declare the appointment of enumerators was a partisan trick for political ends, and on taking office the first thing he did was to appoint these officers in every constituency but from among the following of his own heart."[18] James Smart, too, was accused of having changed his view since coming to power, away from the position that enumerators should be appointed from municipal clerks.

Caught in the cross-fire of these partisan attacks one citizen of Souris City wrote to a Brandon paper in regard to the disenfranchising of government officials:

> This, we admit, is wrong in principle; but where a lot of paid men continue to actively work against the interest and for the purpose of taking a tax from, the people against their will by holding up railway and other monopolys they can only expect to be treated as traitors...[19]

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[17] Minister of Finance, L.M. Jones, at a North Winnipeg constituency meeting. MFP, July 9, 1888.

[18] Editorial: "Stuffing the Voters' Lists," The Brandon Mail, June 21, 1888.

[19] Letter: "Souris City Politics," signed "A Voter," The Brandon Sun, June 21, 1888.

This dimension of partisan employment in civil service positions fostered the continued censorship of the former mayor of Brandon, J. A. Smart, now Minister of Public Works, who had personally replaced a prominent Conservative solicitor, a gaol surgeon and an auditor, by Grit stalwarts. While Liberals boasted of saving the public nine thousand dollars on civil service salaries, Conservatives and civil servants complained that Mr. Smart reduced the salaries of others while increasing his own.[20]

Two Greenway cabinet ministers, Messrs. Smart and Jones, had been mayors of Brandon and Winnipeg respectively and were forced to defend their earlier roles in those capacities--James Smart for leaving a deficit, as mayor, for shirking a vote on the popularly demanded First Street Bridge, and for not even attempting to gain a provincial grant for the Brandon City Hospital. L. M. Jones was forced to deny charges that he had reduced pay to working men to $125 per day. Another Winnipeg candidate and former mayor, Gilbert McMicken, was charged by the Free Press for having been involved in land speculation. Mr. McMicken's land had been made exempt from taxes although he continued to "gouge" local government agencies and clubs wishing to use it.[21]

The Results.

The overwhelming victory of the Greenway Provincial Rights Party is a harbinger of many twentieth century Canadian prairies results of such a complete turnover. The five seats which the Conservatives managed to keep were interesting since each one had a special reason for remaining an exception. Kildonan constituency remained basically unchanged after redistribution in that it consisted mainly of the old settlers who once again re-elected John Norquay, but only by two votes. A. C. C. LaRivière's late decision to step down in favor of an alternative French Conservative candidate won the traditionally French riding of St. Boniface, but again by only 14 votes. In both Cypress and Minnedosa Conservative candidates won only because the Greenway vote was split by two pro-government candidates. The constituency of La Verendrye was the fifth and last Conservative victory and was owed very likely to the extraordinarily large Catholic vote in that constituency. All members of the new house were either Canadian or British in origin. Only four came from Quebec, only seven were Catholic and four of these came from French dominated constituencies. Twenty-eight were engaged in farming or related work. The return by acclamation of ten of the Greenway seats was indicative of Norquay weakness even before election day. Of the results Charles Cliffe could only report "The province appears to have taken the course the Dominion took in 1874, and gone mad."[22]

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[20] The Brandon Mail, June 28, 1888; and June 7, 1888. Letter signed "Civil Servant."

[21] Editorial: "Mr. Smart's Public Record," The Brandon Mail, June 28, 1888; Editorial: "Hon. Mr. McMicken's Position," MFP, June 11, 1888; and MFP, July 9, 1888, Jones-Golden North Winnipeg constituency meeting.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1888.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Liberals	31	9813	57.8	81.6
Conservatives	5	6805	40.1	13.2
Independents	2	372	2.2	5.3

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1888.

Major and Perennial.

1. Railway policy. (Cluster).
   - (a) Credit for end of monopoly clause.
   - (b) RRVR.
   - (c) Souris coal transportation. (Local).
   - (d) Portage extension. (Local).
   - (e) Cost of land purchase.
   - (f) Bond sales.

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[22] Editorial: "The Results," The Brandon Mail, July 12, 1888, p. 2. See also John L. Holmes, "Factors Affecting Politics in Manitoba: A Study of the Provincial Elections, 1870-1899" (unpublished Masters thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1936).

ISSUES - Major, Perennial - cont'd.

2. Partisanship - party politics versus independence.
3. Schools
    (a) Grants.
    (b) Catholic versus Protestant. (Underlying).
4. Commercial Union and tariffs.

Minor, Public.

The Electoral System. (Political).
    (a) Disenfranchised civil servants.
    (b) Bogus voters' lists.
    (c) Appointment of enumerators.
    (d) Role of Attorney-General James Smart. (Local).

Minor, Personal and Local.

James Smart - performance as Major of Brandon.

L. M. Jones - performance as Mayor of Winnipeg.

Gilbert McMicken and land speculation.

Manitoba.

Legislative Assembly, Manitoba.

General Elections have been held as follows: 27 Dec., 1870; 23 Dec., 1874; 11 Dec., 1878; 9 Dec., 1879; 23 Jan., 1883; 9 Dec., 1886; 11 July, 1888.

Names of the Candidates with the total number of votes polled by each at the General Election of 11 July, 1888. The names of the unsuccessful Candidates are in *Italics*.

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS.

John Crawford	L	327
J. A. Davidson	C	203
No. of voters		730

BIRTLE.

Chas. J. Mickle	L	Acclamation.
No. of voters		801

BRANDON CITY.

Hon. Jas. A. Smart	L	340
Chas. Cliffe	C	290
No. of voters		775

CARILLON.

Martin Jérome	L	126
Paul Chénard		90
No. of voters		387

CARTIER.

Thomas Gelley	L	271
Jos. Hamelin		123
No. of voters		854

CENTRE WINNIPEG.

D. P. McMillan	L	972
Thomas Gilroy	C	470
No. of voters		2820

CYPRESS.

E. J. Wood	C	190
K. S. Thompson	L	136
F. Burnett	L	134
No. of voters		840

DENNIS.

Daniel McLean	L	411
A. G. McDougall	C	307
No. of voters		984

DUFFERIN.

R. P. Roblin	L	Acclamation.
No. of voters		610

EMERSON.

Jas. Thomson	L	232
C. S. Douglas	C	206
No. of voters		807

KILDONAN.

Hon. Jno. Norquay	C	305
Duncan MacArthur	L	300
No. of voters		707

KILLARNEY.

F. M. Young	L	Acclamation.
No. of voters		841

LAKESIDE.

K. Mackenzie	L	321
A. A. McLennan	C	249
No. of voters		710

LANSDOWNE.

Ed. Dickson........ L 301
Saml. Thomas........ L 273
No. of voters.... 882

LA VERANDRYE.

W. Lagimodière .... C 760
L. G. Gagnon........ L 179
No. of voters.... 546

LORNE.

R. G. O'Malley.... IND ... 374
J. A. Macdonell .... L 273
No. of voters.... 703

MOUNTAIN.

Hon. Thos. Greenway L Acclam'n.
No. of voters.... 619

MORRIS.

A. F. Martin . L . Acclamation.
No. of voters.... 673

MANITOU.

Hon. Wm. Winram L Acclam'tion.
No. of voters.... 617

MINNEDOSA.

J. D. Gillies........ C 248
R. H. Meyers........ L 22
S. L. Head .... L 219
No. of voters.... 967

MORDEN.

Alex. Lawrence. L Acclamation.
No. of voters.... 863

NORFOLK.

S. J. Thompson.... L 345
T. W. Gilbert...... C 200
No. of voters.... 799

NORTH BRANDON.

Clifford Sifton...... L 335
W. A. Macdonald.... C 293
No. of voters.... 714

NORTH WINNIPEG.

Hon. L. M. Jones...... L 818
J. J. Golden.... ...... C 420
No. of voters ... 2085

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

Hon. Joseph Martin L Acclam'tn.
No. of voters ... 741

ROSENFELDT.

V. Winkler...... L 106
W. Hespeler .... IND 59
No. of voters.... 573

RUSSELL.

Jas. Fisher.... L 346
J. B. Fraser 91
No. of voters.... 619

ROCKWOOD.

S. J. Jackson........ L 306
J. B. Rutherford.... C 218
No. of voters.... 703

SPRINGFIELD.

Thos. H. Smith IND Acclamation.
No. of voters ... 712

SHOAL LAKE.

Jas. Harrower...... L 278
J. Clarridge .... C 217
No. of voters.... 792

ST. ANDREW'S.

F. W. Colcleugh. L Acclamation.
No. of voters.... 715

SOURIS.

A. M. J. Campbell .... L 374
J. P. Alexander .... C 306
No. of voters.... 913

SOUTH BRANDON.

H. C. Graham....... L 324
J. N. Kirchhoffer.... C 345
No. of voters ... 769

ST. BONIFACE.

Roger Marion ..... C 182
J. E. Cyr .... L 164
No. of voters.... 503

TURTLE MOUNTAIN.

John Hettle....... L 302
F. L. Schaffner.... C 233
No. of voters.... 774

WESTBOURNE.

T. L. Morton...... L 132
W. McKelvy........ C 128
No. of voters.... 431

SOUTH WINNIPEG.

Isaac Campbell...... L 669
G. McMicken .... C 450
No. of voters.... 2111

WOODLANDS.

Hon. J. C. P. Prendergast. L 331
J. M. Robinson .... C 293
No. of voters.... 802

THE GREAT ELECTION DODGE:

THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

JUNE 27 TO JULY 23, 1892.

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberals	Thomas Greenway	34
Conservatives	Rodmond P. Roblin	37
Independents	- - - -	5

40 single member constituencies

Perhaps the greatest election dodge in Manitoba history was the tendency of the Greenway Government to attempt to focus public attention on the legality of its new public school system while hiding from view the apparent failure of its railway policies. In August of 1889 Joseph Martin, Greenway's Attorney-General and Minister of Railways, had supported the outspoken Orangeman Dalton McCarthy speaking in Portage La Prairie; and within a year the last French-supporting cabinet minister J. E. P. Prendergast quit the government, the French version of the official Gazette had ended, and Premier Greenway had brought in legislation to abolish use of French in the legislature and the courts of the province. Two acts paved the way for the long-standing "Manitoba Schools Question" as an issue in the 1892 campaign and later. "An Act Respecting The Department of Education" put a committee of the executive council directly in control of all educational matters in the province, and "An Act Respecting Schools" abolished the Catholic and Protestant schools and school boards. As two cases moved through appeals courts for J. K. Barrett and Alexander Logan, both of whom sought redress for taxes if they were to be refused denominational schools, Greenway called an election.

The Schools Question Cluster.

No matter how we categorise the school question in the form it took in the campaign of 1892 it was a major talking point and was comprised of a sizeable cluster of inter-related issues. Had the government broken prior promises to the Catholic community? Was a campaign conducted on the school question an ugly opportunism designed to capitalise on prejudices? What form of equitable taxation and grants would now complement the new schooling system? To what extent did the school question cloud over other more important issues? Which party was most consistent, least divided and even somewhat honest about the school question? Was the Catholic hierarchy still to be feared as essentially authoritarian in education?

The Brandon Mail printed a series of signed affadavits to the effect that Premier Greenway had called on Archbishop Taché previous to the 1888 election promising at the time that his government would retain the French language and would not abolish Catholic separate schools. The affadavits appeared in response to a denial by Mr. Greenway that any such meeting or promises were ever given. Brandon's former representative in the cabinet, James Smart, was also cited as having promised to equalise the grants made to the Catholic section of the Board of Education and no action beyond that.[1]

The Greenway Government was accused of "dangling the school Bill to take the electors by their prejudices." The use made of Stuart Mulvey and Joseph Lang, strong Orangemen become Greenwayites, was bitterly criticised. They know, said The Mail, that "the Orange element is a strong one in the country, they hope their school legislation will appeal to their prejudice, hence their anxiety to employ manipulators of the Lang calibre."[2]

In their opposition platform adopted in convention May 30, 1892, the Conservatives also called for "one uniform school system," promising to uphold the School Act as long as it was defended in the Barrett versus Winnipeg case now before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. If the court should decide in favor of Barrett and against the school legislation the Conservatives promised to proceed with a constitutional amendment to make the legislation stand. They argued that on such a platform their position was consistent and constitutional. They appealed to Orangemen by arguing "Orangemen are... sworn to maintain the constitution and the opposition are committed to the abolition of Separate Schools in a constitutional way. Greenway and company are committed to their abolition in violation of the constitution if it best suits their purpose. The man, then, who votes for Greenway, aids a violation of the constitution. This is the case in a nutshell."[3] Mr. Greenway had been charged with dragging his feet on the school issue hoping to have an election over with before the Privy Council ruling might make a mockery of his legislation. Conservatives could argue, therefore, that there was nothing to be decided about Manitoba schools in the 1892 campaign as any decisions were in the hands of the Privy Council. The only real question was what the government would do if the school acts were declared invalid.

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[1] The Brandon Mail, April 7, 1892.

[2] Ibid., June 23, 1892.

The Privy Council case was taking place because Roman Catholics like Barrett were being taxed for a non-sectarian schooling system. The Brandon Mail argued that the government could pay teacher's salaries directly and that dissatisfied Roman Catholics could resort to the pre-Confederation situation of taxing themselves as they so wished for whatever teaching they chose, but without government aid.

The Free Press, responding to the suggestion that the school question was the main issue in the election, declared: "The fact is that outside of Winnipeg it makes very poor showing and even here the better class of ministerialists are getting ashamed of the senseless row they have been raising over it." Editorializing, the Winnipeg paper concluded that the "school cry" was raised to draw off public attention from "the Government's scandalous record" in connection with its railway policy and a deal conducted with the Northern Pacific in particular.[4]

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[3] Brandon Mail, June 23, 1892.

Clifford Sifton, who had just become Attorney-General and Provincial Lands Commissioner, warned voters at a large Carberry meeting that the Conservative Party if elected would be pressured by its French members to repeal the school laws. Amid cheers and cries of support, Attorney-General Sifton argued that his party had lost five supporters in promoting the school legislation which should serve as proof that political advantage had never been the goal of the Greenwayites. The opposition, on the other hand, Mr. Sifton charged, was a party of turncoats that could hardly be trusted now when they declare they would not repeal the law.

Speaking of A. F. Martin, one of the first to defect, Stuart Mulvey was cheered at Morris where he challenged Martin by proclaiming:

> I have no faith in death-bed conversion...If he is a sincere convert to the system of public schools, all he has to do is to go down to Winnipeg and get His Grace to withdraw the suit, Barrett versus Winnipeg, come back and tell us that such has been done, and on my honor with your consent I will withdraw from this contest and allow Mr. Martin to be elected by acclamation.[5]

The Winnipeg papers continued their bitter editorializing with the Tribune attacking the "slanderous, corrupt politicians" of opposition ilk who, the newspaper said, blamed the honest supporters of Greenway, and who in their opposition enlisted the "solid Romanist vote." Thus, traditional party allegiances for the two major Winnipeg papers were reversed as the Tribune blasted its Conservative Party stalwarts:

> Is the Roman hierarchy to be given state aid in pertetuating a solid vote, race and religious division, prejudices and animosities? Are we to aid in giving the hierarchy absolute rule over the minds and hearts of defenceless children? These questions we must answer now.

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[4] MFP, July 6, 1892.

[5] The Brandon Sun, June 20, 1892.

is the time one for following blindly any set of politicans who may call themselves by our party name.[6]

The Privy Council decision came, ironically, on the Glorious Orange 12th of July, and upheld the Greenway legislation. Yet nothing in the campaign seemed changed save perhaps a new fear that Macdonald might try some remedial legislation from Ottawa. For the most part the campaign could a little more clearly take heed of the genuine railway questions so clouded over by the school issue.

. . . .

Premier Greenway's concern had always been to hold the powerful railway magnets at bay. He had kept the RRVR out of the hands of the CPR and Northern Pacific Railway by making a deal with the latter company which promised to build further connections to Brandon and Portage La Prairie as the RRVR became the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway. Throughout, Mr. Greenway was attempting to create viable competition that would reduce freight rates. He under-estimated the wiles and power of his opponents. By 1892 most Manitobans complained bitterly that no reduction in rates for wheat shipments had come as they were promised.

But it was the actual complexities of the deal with the NPR which troubled voters most. When Greenway sold the RRVR to the NPR the money involved in the sale was allegedly never returned to the accounts, thus exaggerating the Norquay deficit. "The dishonesty of the present incumbents in office lies in charging the late government with its drafts and resources for the road and refusing to credit receipts from the RRVR, when sold," the Mail reported.[7]

Attorney-General Sifton was later forced to admit during the campaign that "a considerable portion of the deficit...had come back to this Government, and has since been expended in public buildings." In a last editorial before the election the Brandon Mail questioned whether

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[6] From the Winnipeg Tribune as cited in The Brandon Sun, June 9, 1892.

[7] The Brandon Mail, July 14, 1892.

Greenway had achieved his goal of common railways open to competition, or had the sale to NPR resulted in no provision for competition. The editorial spoke of Mr. Greenway's sale of the RRVR and the later action of the CPR and NPR as follows:

> We know they have shut out competing roads and there is an alliance between the two existing systems rendering competition impossibe, thus taking $535,000 of the people's money for nothing. The Northern Pacific with the same rates as the CPR is all the people have for the ten cents a bushel reduction on wheat promised by Mr. Greenway, four years ago.[8]

The RRVR deal was further complicated by the charge in this campaign that contracters Ryan and Haney had allegedly claimed damages against the Norquay Government when that government had to stop building due to a lack of funds. An award of $58,000 was made, of which something like $14,000 had been paid. The Free Press charged that funds had been set aside for the balance of this sum and that payment just prior to the election looked like a shared amount between contractors and government--the latter using its share as an election fund. The Winnipeg paper challenged the government to set up a Royal Commission to investigate its charges. "The one issue, the one question," the newspaper insisted, was whether "this Government that is now seeking a renewed lease for power is an honest one?" The school question, it was charged, had served as a "divergence" from all of the above plus the "Northern Pacific corruption."[9]

Charges of exhorbitant and spiraling costs which brought to a stop the building of the Hudson's Bay Railway, and opposition to the $150,000 offered to the CPR to induce them not to charge more for hauling coal, without obtaining assurances as to whether they would haul it from Souris, rounded out the case against the Greenway Government and its railway policies.

An election eve defense of the government's policies was offered by Issac Campbell at a Dufferin Park meeting of all candidates. The report of his address is worth citing more fully as it touches on all the opposition charges raised above.

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[8] Editorial: "A Last Word," The Brandon Mail, July 21, 1892.

[9] MFP, July 6, 7, 8, and 13th, 1892, ~~and see attached photostat from MFP, July 15, 1892.~~

> He saw nothing but good in the railway policy of the Government. He figured out a saving of $180,000 a year, being 3 cents per 100 on ten million bushels, in consequence of the building of the NPR. He defended the repealing of the act guaranteeing the HBR to the extent of $4,500,000 holding that this was too large after competition had been secured through the NPR...he gave the Government great credit for assisting the CPR to build its ninety miles extension from Melita to the coal fields, and for securing thereby a reduction in the price of coal to $4 instead of $7 per ton, with rates proportionately less to Brandon and other points.[10]

Two other major province-wide issues were in evidence in the 1892 campaign: redistribution and associated electoral laws; and a liquor plebiscite held in conjunction with voting on July 23.

Whereas there had been universal acknowledgement that Mr. Greenway's redistribution of 1888 had been devoid of gerrymandering, the 1892 redistribution was a clear case of re-defining boundaries for the purpose of winning an election. The most obvious cases, and, therefore, those which in themselves became contentious matters in the campaign, were the destruction of Morris and Dufferin constituencies, homes of the two most stalwart Oppositionists, Rodmond Palen Roblin, leader in the house, and A. F. Martin, outspoken critic of the government school laws. For all practical purposes Dufferin and Morris were so combined and divided away that at least one Oppositionist was guaranteed defeat. It proved to be Roblin. Other combinations in Cypress and Mountain constituencies allegedly offered Mr. Greenway several additional hundred Icelandic supporters in his own constituency, and the Brandon Mail described careful changes in the Brandon area designed to protect government member H. C. Graham there.[11]

In conjunction with the redistribution, Attorney-General Sifton had introduced legislation which would release candidates from responsibility for corrupt electoral practices, making their agents fully responsible when their actions were unknown to the candidate. The Brandon Mail saw this act as "giving the wink" to corrupt practices and levelled its shortcomings at its author Clifford Sifton of Brandon.

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[10] MFP, July 22, 1892.

[11] The Brandon Mail, April 14, 1892. See also Holmes, "Provincial Elections," where Holmes confirms that the gerrymandering was so effective as to eliminate all but two French-Catholic Conservatives.

The implementation of the election acts, by enumeration and the like, were also criticized by Oppositionists, since voters' lists seemed unduly stacked with Liberals, even when deceased or removed from a constituency. James Smart, another Brandon Ministerialist, was criticized, as in the 1888 campaign, for seeming to support enumeration by partisan registration clerks when he had once advocated the use of municipal clerks. As dozens of Conservative names had to be added to the voters' lists under Courts of Revision the issue grew more heated. "The law was intended," said the Mail editorially, "to willfully cheat the opposition to the government out of its legitimate rights at the polls, and it is only to be regretted that there are so many of the appointees of the government willing to act in conformity with its worst intentions." The Brandon Mail concluded that there was "ample evidence the electoral law is a fraud from beginning to end and its management is equally censurable the country over."[12]

. . . .

As Temperance Union conventions sang out "All Hail the Power of Jesus Name," Manitoba voters prepared to choose prohibition or licensed liquor selling. Some politicians decried the black and white choice offered the electorate calling instead for local options. But all seemed to recognize that if prohibition were accepted details would have to be worked out later by the government. The Brandon Mail described the choice this way:

> Are you in favor of prohibiting the liquor traffic, or do you desire its continuance? If you are for temperance, pure homes, clear heads and hopeful lives, vote so on the 23rd. If you are for the liquor traffic, blood-money, spoiled men, sorrowing women and injured children, vote so on the 23rd.[13]

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[12] Editorial: "The Voters' Lists," The Brandon Mail, June 30, 1892.

[13] Ibid., July 14, 1892, p. 1.

The Greenway Government was being viewed with some suspicion by prohibitionists since it had recently lightened penalties against first, second and third offenders of the existing liquor practices. Prohibitionists were also called upon to answer questions of personal liberty and responded by pointing to the practice of giving up firearms "because one out of 100 would use them in an improper way." Rev. Joseph Hogg, vice-president of the Prohibition League speaking at a Granite Rink election eve meeting spoke of the bi-partisan support for prohibition. His comments were described by a Free Press reporter.

> He said that practically the platform upon which he stood was not one that would suggest prohibition, as it was supported by whiskey barrels, but in reality he was standing on a genuine total prohibition platform. He was glad to state that he did not have to come out in favor of any political party in order to support prohibition as Government and opposition candidates alike in the city...had voiced themselves pretty decidedly on that point.[14]

Both the new election act and the prohibition plebiscite circled around the author of the first, Clifford Sifton. The Brandon Mail charged that a Mr. C. Pilling, as an agent of Sifton, had supervised the distribution of whiskey and ten dollar bills to induce voters to support Mr. Sifton in his 1891 by-election. While the Winnipeg Tribune praised Attorney-General Sifton as "unspotted in his political career from the least toadying to the saloon power," other papers were describing the situation in vivid form, typical of the extreme partisanship of journalism at the time. "We can prove," said the Mail,

> ...that the night before polling a government official, drawing his salary out of the public purse, visited a voter who had promised to vote for Mr. Cliffe and intended to do so, slept with the voter, soaked him with whiskey and next morning dragged him to the poll a Sifton voter. If Sifton is the honourable highminded man he is represented to be, he would inquire into these matters, and if true express his condemnation of them. Instead of this, however, what has he done--passed an act relieving candidates from the rascalities of their agents--paving the way for a repetition again this contest of what was done a year ago in North Brandon.[15]

The North-West Review, a Roman Catholic journal, oozed with sarcasm on the same point:

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[14] MFP, July 22, 1892.

[15] The Brandon Mail, July 14, 1892.

> It will be the proper thing now for the immaculate and holy Sifton to adopt temperance as one of the planks in his platform and then send round free whiskey among those of his constituents who do not take much stock in cold water arguments.[16]

Whatever Clifford Sifton was doing in Brandon in 1891 it was clear from opposition charges that a great many promises, if not outright use of "boodle" to influence voters was engaged in, in 1892: the promise of rail facilities in some areas, public works at Macgregor, an agriculture college for Norfolk constituency and "thousands of dollars," said the Free Press, spent to defeat Roblin in Morden and other leading Oppositionists in Kildonan, Manitou and Cypress--and all out of the "Ryan and Haney fund."[17]

It was an election of many issues: candidates discussed appropriate means of aiding municipalities, and the direct aid from government departments was seen as a vote-getting device. The lack of open tenders for government jobs was often criticized.

It was during this period that the Patrons of Industry became an increasingly more forceful voice in Manitoba politics. The imported American Patrons demanded protection of farm interests in almost every major government department affecting agriculture. They recommended farmer control over elevators and mills; they published their own paper, and threatened to buy such items as binder twine directly from a cord manufacturer if the duty on imported twine was not repealed. The Grand President speaking in Brandon also advocated that the government establish banks which would offer farmers loans at reduced rates of interest.

Immigration was fast becoming a major issue in each campaign and now with noticeable seasonable unemployment the policy of canvassing Britain for agricultural laborers six or seven months before harvest was condemned. A meeting of unemployed men in Brandon criticized the distribution of a provincial pamphlet in Britain promising payments that were impossible in reality.

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[16] As cited in The Brandon Mail, May 5, 1892.

[17] Manitoba Free Press, July 20, 22 and 25, 1892.

In a letter to the Brandon Mail one citizen advocated immigration of monied classes, arguing that labor would "always follow capital." "But," the correspondant continued, "should the country continue to get a large immigration of the kind we see here in Brandon, being induced to come by false pretences, they will either have to be fed or their expenses paid out of the country, and each and all of them will be anti-immigration agents of their own choice."[18]

The assessment laws of the province also came under attack since the assessment was applied not only to what a man owned but to what he owed, interest on mortgages, bank loans, etc. In a lead editorial on the subject The Brandon Mail declared: "If this is not the worst form of class legislation, in the face of all the promises of parliamentary representatives and would-be representatives who desire seats in the legislature, then we are at a loss to understand it." Calling for an assessment on what men are worth over liabilities the editorial continued: "A community can never prosper, while the tendency of the law is to make a rich man richer and a poor poorer, as is the case with Manitoba's assessment laws."[19]

The concern for poorer classes and workingmen was even more obvious in Winnipeg Center where the Conservative candidate John Winram, president of the Workingman's Conservative Association, was dismissed as a "nobody" by the Honorable D. H. McMillan, Liberal candidate and Provincial Treasurer. Winram defended the Conservative platform calling for a "workingman's compensation act." He warned of coming labor problems in Winnipeg and handled attacks on his person as described by a Free Press reporter: "His opponents had tried to sneer him out of existence because he was a poor man, and he stood here as a workingman's candidate; he belonged, not to the classes, but to the masses. Though he was poor there was not a man who would dare say anything against the character of John Winram. (applause)."[20] It was apparent that a new class consciousness in the campaigns had arrived.

As the campaign drew to a close one of the worst "cyclones" in Manitoba's history (July 10) became an integral part of the campaign as news editors and others called for government assistance.

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[18] The Brandon Mail, May 26, 1892.

[19] Ibid., June 23, 1892.

[20] MFP, July 22, 1892.

Roorbacks played an unusually large part in the campaign as copies of a signed affadavit of a Kildonan French-Catholic claimed that N. F. Hagel (opposition candidate in Kildonan) had told him he favored separate schools. It was being said on a broadsheet, containing the affadavit and circulated across the province, that both Hagel and Roblin had said they favored national schools but in private denied it. The Free Press claimed that investigations showed that no such person as the signer of the affadavit was resident in the parish where the story had supposedly taken place. Similarly, said the Free Press, there was no Mr. Bailey in Morden, who was supposed to have claimed that R. P. Roblin tried to buy his influence to help him in the Morden election. The conclusion reached by the Free Press was that both cases were first class examples of the famous last minute campaign roorback.[21]

On July 23rd Thomas Greenway was returned to office having won 26 of 40 seats, while prohibition was easily carried 19,639 to 7,115.[22]

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1892.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Liberals	26	16,133	51.9	65.0
Conservatives	11	14,229	45.7	27.5
Independents	3	739	2.4	7.5

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1892.

Major, Province-Wide.

1. Manitoba Schools Question. (Cluster).
    - (a) Legality of provincial system.
    - (b) Promises to Catholic community.
    - (c) Campaign opportunism.
    - (d) Equitable taxation and grants.
    - (e) The issue as a dodge.

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[21] MFP, July 20, 1892.

[22] From election results contained in Begg, History of the North-West, III, 346-347. The constituency results which follow on page 151 are gleaned largely from a handwritten election records register available from the Provincial Library of Manitoba in Winnipeg.

Manitoba Schools Question. (Cluster) - cont'd.

(f) Party consistency on the question.
(g) Role of Catholic hierarchy.
(h) Affadavits supporting separate schools. (Roorback).

2. Railway Policy. (Perennial).
(a) Sale of RRVR.
(b) Freight rates for wheat. (Sectional).
(c) Costs of the HBR.
(d) CPR and Souris coal.

3. The Electoral System. (Political, Charges of Corruption).
(a) Gerrymandering.
(b) Bogus voters' lists.
(c) Partisan registration clerks.

4. Liquor Plebiscite. (Social, Specific).
(a) Use of liquor by Attorney-General Sifton. (Side, Charge of Corruption).

Minor.

Aid to Municipalities.
Tenders for Government Jobs.
Farmers' Stake in Economic Control. (Sectional).
Immigration and Related Unemployment. (Sectional).
Assessment Laws. (Liberal Left).
"Workingman's" Compensation Act. (Left, Sectional).
Assistance for "Cyclone" Damage. (Temporary, Local).

RESULTS BY CONSTITUENCIES - 1892.

AVONDALE			
	James Hartney	O	518
	Wm. Herriott	G	366
BEAUTIFUL PLAINS			
	J. A. Davidson	O	645
	John Crawford	G	629
BIRTLE			
	C. J. Mickle	G	545
	H. M. Power	O	268
BRANDON CITY			
	W. Macdonald	O	669
	Jas. A. Smart	G	657
CARILLON			
	Martin Jerome	I	199
	T. A. Bernier	O	173
CYPRESS			
	W. Doig	G	552
	E. J. Wood	O	549
DAUPHIN			
	T. A. Burrows	G	317
	G. A. Campbell	O	308
DELORAINE			
	T. H. Kellett	O	430
	John Renton	G	385
DENNIS			
	Jas. F. Frame	O	508
	Hon. D. McLean	G	474

EMERSON	D. H. McFadden	O	330
	Jas. Thomson	G	316
KILDONAN	J. J. Bird	G	342
	N. F. Hager	O	327
KILLARNEY	F. McN. Young	G	595
	George Lawrence	O	442
LAKESIDE	John Rutherford	G	424
	T. E. Wallace	O	272
LANSDOWNE	Edward Dickson	G	623
	W. J. Helliwell	O	512
LA VERENDRYE	Theophile Pare	O	257
	W. Lagimodiere	I	227
LORNE	R. G. O'Malley	O	ACC
MANITOU	Robt. Ironside	G	448
	Jas. Huston	O	404
MINNEDOSA	Robt. H. Myers	G	469
	W. J. Roche	O	406
MORDEN	Thomas Duncan	G	400
	R. P. Roblin	O	354
MORRIS	A. F. Martin	O	465
	Stewart Mulvey	G	440
MOUNTAIN	Thos. Greenway	G	599
	Robert Rogers	O	497
NORFOLK	Robt. F. Lyons	O	644
	S. J. Thompson	G	562
NORTH BRANDON	Hon. C. Sifton	G	451
	T. E. Greenwood	O	383
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE	Hon. R. Watson	G	543
	W. J. Cooper	O	440
RHINELAND	V. Winkler	G	186
	N. Bowman	O	74
ROCKWOOD	S. J. Jackson	G	368
	J.B. Rutherford	O	367
ROSENFELDT	Enoch Winkler	G	172
	E. Penner	O	131
RUSSELL	James Fisher	I	ACC
ST. ANDREWS	F. W. Colcleugh	G	352
	B. Baldwinson	O	274
ST. BONIFACE	J. Prendergast	I	313
	Roger Marion	O	312
SASKATCHEWAN	David McNaught	G	426
	Alfred Carss	O	342
SOURIS	A.McI. Campbell	G	323
	W. H. Stratton	O	255
SOUTH BRANDON	H. C. Graham	G	517
	Alex Reid	O	282
SPRINGFIELD	Thos. H. Smith	G	298
	R. S. Conklin	O	161
TURTLE MOUNTAIN	John Hettle	G	463
	F. L. Schaffner	O	408
WESTBOURNE	T. L. Morton	G	ACC
WINNIPEG CENTER	D. H. McMillan	G	1177
	J. J. Winram	O	533
WINNIPEG NORTH	P. C. McIntyre	G	840
	G. H. Campbell	O	560
WINNIPEG SOUTH	J. D. Cameron	G	874
	D. E. Sprague	O	729
WOODLANDS	Hugh Armstrong	O	ACC

"PROVINCIAL RIGHTS,

NATIONAL SCHOOLS,

NO INTERFERENCE!"

DECEMBER 11, 1895 TO JANUARY 15, 1896.

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberals	Thomas Greenway	36
Conservatives	R. P. Roblin.	28
Patrons of Industry	- - - -	7
Independents	- - - -	6

40 single member constituencies

Dissolution and the Schools Question.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council having decided in favor of the Manitoba Government in the Barrett and Logan cases later overturned a Supreme Court of Canada decision and ruled that remedial legislation could be considered by the Ottawa Government. Hence, the Catholic minority's appeal through the Manitoba Act had given the Conservative Government in Ottawa a green light to extend an order-in-council to Greenway's government, demanding the rights of Roman Catholics to conduct their schools in a manner prior to that enforced by the acts of 1890. The order-in-council also called for the minority's right to share public grants, plus an exemption for Catholics from paying for any additional system to a Catholic one. Communication between the two governments resulted in Ottawa's claiming that if the Manitoba Government did not comply the federal house would convene on January 2, 1896 to consider remedial legislation. The latter order-in-council was forwarded on July 27, 1895. Premier Greenway waited until December 21, and then replied with a refusal and a challenge: "The menacing attitude assumed by the Dominion Government with reference to the educational legislation of the province has made it necessary to take the sense of the electors upon the question thus forced upon them." In outlining the events of the past year and in calling an election for January 15, 1896, Greenway explained his actions and defined the major issue:

> We have replied definitely and positively rejecting the proposal to re-establish separate schools in any form, and expressing the intention to uphold the present uniform non-sectarian system. As the Federal parliament is about to be asked to legislate upon this subject it is of the utmost importance that the views of the electors of the province should be clearly and unmistakedly expressed.

Premier Greenway continued:

> I assert that our people are perfectly competent to deal with their own educational concerns, and I resent the imputation that they have treated any portion of the community with injustice or a spirit of intolerance. I protest against the proposed action of the Dominion government in inviting parliament to destroy our national school system without investigation and in ignorance of the circumstances. If your votes are overwhelmingly in favor of the stand taken by the government there is no doubt that the views of the members of the Dominion parliament will be materially affected thereby and coercive legislation may be altogether averted.[1]

Premier Greenway's hurried election call, coming on the heels of recent meetings with the federal Liberal leader Wilfrid Laurier, raised similar questions to those which became the cluster of issues around the school question in 1892. Was this sudden dissolution appropriate--was there anything the electorate could decide? Would the school issue be used as a hurried means of returning to power while less evident issues went unexamined? Had Messrs. Greenway or Sifton made some prior arrangement with Mr. Laurier in which this election was but a piece?

As the campaign progressed the cluster of issues enlarged: Was it possible to oppose separate schools on economic and educational grounds alone? To what extent was the Roman hierarchy implicated in the events of the day? And even: Were Roman Catholics a lesser breed of citizen?

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[1] The Brandon Mail, January 2, 1896. Greenway's address to his constituents in the Mountain riding.

For Premier Thomas Greenway, however, there remained but one major issue. He summed it up forcefully as he ended his opening campaign address:

> I ask you in conclusion to remember the main issue upon which you are to pronounce is a most important one. Shall the people of Manitoba submit without protest to unjust and overbearing treatment? Shall provincial autonomy be practically abandoned? Shall our national system be destroyed? These are the questions gentlemen, which you are required to answer by the exercise of your franchise.

The response of opponents was immediate. "There is no use being scared before you are hurt" was the attitude of the Brandon Mail. Mr. Greenway appeared to be seeking praise over the sins of others; dissolution was little more than "the trick of a partisan to snatch a verdict under anything but proper circumstances." The Conservative Mail pondered the possibilities that parliament might not pass coercive legislation or the legislation it did pass might be acceptable, "then what excuse could Greenway and company offer for having a few weeks before plunged the province into an unnecessary expense of at least $25,000 of a general election?"[2] The Mail was joined by the Free Press in fearing that the record of the administration seeking a new lease on power would be overlooked. The Free Press blamed Ottawa for the unfortunate dissolution call and feared greatly that the opposition would be unable to "squarely present an issue and fight it through." Continuing its editorial on dissolution the paper confessed its fear for absent opposition:

> [W]ithout any motive of hostility toward the Greenway Government the Free Press does not hesitate to say that this prospect is to be regretted by every true friend of the Province. It is not good for the legislation of the Province that a Government should be so strong as to be in a position to despise and disregard the Opposition in the Legislature. Neither is it desirable that an issue like the school question

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[2] Editorial: "A General Election," The Brandon Mail, December 26, and Editorial: "The Elections," January 2, 1896.

> should continue to be the only one presented for the judgement of the electors. There are surely other questions bearing on the material prosperity of the Province which are sure to be overlooked and the evil effects of their having been over-shadowed discovered too late.[3]

The Free Press was willing to accept that a loss at the polls by the local government could only indicate to outsiders that the people of the province were not with their government on the school question. Dr. Harrison, the one-month Conservative premier following John Norquay's decline, advocated a bi-partisan unity on the question, and would have had Conservatives desist from running opposition candidates.

Amongst the most astute comments on the question of dissolution over the school problem was the editorial comment of the Free Press, which recognized that both Ottawa and Manitoba governments would attempt to saddle the other for responsibility in this volatile religious and racial struggle. The Free Press surmised that it was expected by the parties involved that some reasonable approach would have developed between August and January. The Winnipeg paper cited the "middle course" and "friendly negotiations" that were being offered as the way out in the Federal Government's July 27, 1895 order-in-council. The July 27th order was quoted as saying: "it is believed by the sub-committee that the religious opinions and rights which have been recognized in the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council could be sufficiently met by the local legislature without impairing the efficiency or proper conduct, management and regulation of the public schools." The conclusion of the Free Press was perceptive: "From this it would appear that there has been a blunder or an attempt to blind the public, on the one side or the other."[4]

It was perhaps just this sense that not all was being told that prompted the Free Press to plead editorially for a speedy abandonment of the idea of remedial legislation at Ottawa, "so that," said the paper:

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[3] Editorial: "Dissolution," MFP, December 24, 1895.

[4] Editorial: "What is the Issue?" MFP, December 30, 1895.

"Our local elections here may be fought out on some other issues, the importance of which is being lost sight of in the feelings aroused by the school issue." The Winnipeg daily went on to ~~score~~ criticize the opposition for not having early on opposed Dominion interference so that the question would have been removed as an issue in the election.[5]

Supporters of Thomas William Taylor, ex-mayor of Winnipeg and Conservative candidate in the city's north constituency, explained the school issue's "cover up" qualities in a different manner. The chairman of one of Taylor's meetings told the story of a young lawyer, who, when asked by the head of the law firm respecting a certain case, answered he had settled. "'The devil, you have', said the principal: 'this firm has been living off that case for twenty years'." "The local government," the chairman went on, has "been living off the school question for the past five or six years."[6]

Clifford Sifton denied opposition charges that the election call was part of an agreement made between himself and Laurier. Premier Greenway, too, denied an understanding of any kind except "with the electors of Manitoba." Mr. Sifton's denial was emphatic and concluded by indicating some openness on the part of the Greenway Government. Speaking on his home ground of Brandon he declared:

> There is no contract, understanding, agreement, arrangement or intention, direct or indirect, expressed or implied, between the government of Manitoba and the Dominion Government, Mr. Laurier, the Roman Catholic Church, or any person or body, or corporation in Canada or elsewhere, in regard to any change in the school law to be made, either before or after we are returned to power. (Loud and continued applause). We are prepared to consider any changes in method that will make it acceptable to the Roman Catholics.[7]

And further at a Portage La Prairie meeting Mr. Sifton was reported to have said that the Manitoba Government "had not enacted a law to infringe on the rights of Catholics." They were willing, he said, "to do all in their power to conciliate them, without interfering with the principle of the School Act." Sifton claimed he "wanted to do good by his Catholic fellow citizens by giving their children the best education possible."[8]

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[5] MFP, January 6, 1896.

[6] Ibid., January 14, 1896.

[7] Ibid., January 4, 1896.

Such arguments raised the whole issue of the quality of education that students had been receiving in the province. Some candidates could cite precise and shocking illiteracy figures for French settlers in river parishes of the province. Opposition spokesmen continued to ponder the government policy. T. W. Taylor claimed that the Catholic religion and Catholic text books were still being used in thirty-five school districts, consciously supported by the government.[9] Hugh John Macdonald, son of Canada's first Prime-Minister and a highly respected political figure, agreed with most Conservatives that the school question had been poorly handled. He supported national schools but not the kind of introduction of them designed to win Protestant support in order to cover poor railway and general policy. He said at a campaign meeting that he was convinced of the rightness of the Catholic entitlement to remedial legislation, but approved of the national school system on the grounds that "our children grow together, and thus minimize religious prejudice."[10] His concern for the economics of the situation was argued by both major parties. Attorney-General Sifton, speaking in Douglas, pointed out that in 1890, 545 Protestant schools received an average of $142.65 in yearly government grants whereas 73 Roman Catholic schools received a $328.44 annual average. Government salary grants to Protestant and Roman Catholic teachers were similarly askew.[11]

However, not all spokesmen were as tempered in their comments as Messrs. Macdonald and Sifton. A speech in Edmonton by Archbishop Langevin added fuel for those who wished to make Roman clergy interference part of the issue. Hon. J. D. Cameron, Municipal Commissioner in the Greenway Government and unopposed candidate in Winnipeg South, claimed that "the minority would not be satisfied with anything short of full clerical control of their schools. This declaration had been made by Archbishop

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[8] MFP, January 9, 1896.

[9] Ibid., January 14, 1896.

[10] Ibid., January 9, 1896.

[11] The Brandon Sun, January 9, 1896.

Langevin in his speech in Edmonton. The contest was still on."[12]

The enemy could be interchanged: Ottawa, Quebec or the Roman clergy. For the Orangemen, responding to events in Ottawa as well as the January election at home, all three were enemies, and most particularly the traditional foe--Catholicism. Witness the following resolution of the annual meeting of the Dufferin Local Orange Lodge number 1514:

> We firmly resolve to support those candidates and those only, for local or Dominion parliamentary seats who will assure us of their fidelity to our present public school system, and their decision to oppose any interference from Ottawa with our educational matters, and also that we feel it our duty to call upon all loyal and patriotic citizens...to unite with us in making a bold and unflinching stand against the common foe of truth and liberty throughout our land, and in maintaining those blessings which we enjoy without molestation and intolerance from enemies outside our province, and to make once for all a strong and lasting rally to the old watchword of "No Surrender."[13]

By far the most bitter comment on the issue of interference (even though denied by Sifton and Greenway as we have seen) came in the partisan Liberal journal which seven years earlier had begun the campaign for national schools. The embittered partisanship of the Brandon Sun was an integral part of the campaign, and its flavor is deserving of lengthy quotation. Its front page response to dissolution read as follows:

> Anything less than an overwhelming victory for Mr. Greenway and his colleagues means the destruction of our national school system and the success of Federal aggression. There has never before in the history of Canada been so clear a case of unjustifiable interference by one Province in the affairs of another. The Roman Catholic clergy of Quebec have demanded that separate schools be restored in Manitoba, in direct defiance of the will of the people of the Province of Manitoba.
>
> The question submitted to the electors is whether they will support their own government, in resisting such coercion (Quebec proposes to force the Canadian parliament to coerce Manitoba) [sic] by every lawful and constitutional means. This question can only be decided now. There will be no opportunity to reconsider. If the Government is not overwhelmingly returned then the plain meaning of

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[12] MFP, January 15, 1896.

[13] Ibid., January 9, 1896.

the result will be that our people do not approve of the firm stand which has been taken.

The rhetoric of "Provincial rights," "national schools," "no interference" reached fever pitch in this attack on Catholicism:

> The most momentous question that has ever stirred the breast of the people of Canada is now left for decision with the people of this Province who are the first interested. The battle ground upon which will be fought the question of National Schools, Provincial Rights and Non-Interference has been selected, and it is right here in the Province, at the head of which is the Government which had the courage to undertake the task of ridding the country of an incubus which was financially and morally a burden on it. From this hour the citizens whose aim it is to burst the bonds with which it is intended he shall be bound, to break the chain that would forever fetter him to the dictation and rule of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and thus reduce himself and his children to the serfdom and the martyrdom from which his forefathers escaped only by the baptism of blood, should not allow a moment of time to waste between now and the 15th of January.[14]

The Sun further argued that a "secret understanding" existed between the Roman hierarchy and the opposition whereby the latter's opposing position to national schools would be defined. It was "generally understood," claimed the Sun, that the money used for campaigning against National Schools by the opposition came from the Roman church.[15]

Citing figures to show that the numbers of indictable offences and inmates in penitentiaries were significantly higher amongst Roman Catholics when compared to all Protestant denominations combined, the Sun made the following rather startling conclusion:

> It is only after careful investigation of the facts that we find that the large majority of the ignorant and vicious in the larger and smaller centers of population profess to belong to the Roman Catholic Church. If we find that the results of the teaching of any church, sect, or school are not in harmony with the highest conceptions of citizenship, then it is for us to protest and if possible assist in finding a remedy. We advocate the establishment and continuance of National Schools on these grounds, and thus take exception to the policy of the co-ercionists which it must not be forgotten is to destroy our present system.[16]

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[14] The Brandon Sun, December 26, 1895.

[15] Ibid., January 9, 1896.

[16] Ibid., January 9, 1896.

Such, then, was the taste of this bitter campaign as it revolved once again around the Manitoba School Question, and the extent of its heat and bitterness did certainly blind the voters to the other issues of the day. And what of those other matters?

Government Expenses and Bonded Debt.

The Greenway Government found itself under attack for having fostered, over the years, $2,500,000 in bonded debt when there had been none under the Norquay Government. This bonded debt included, according to the critics, $90,000 on a Chicago fair junket, $60,000 of which was taken from monies budgeted for municipalities; paying off the $40,000 balance on the Ryan and Haney deal; and $1,000,000 spent for unnecessary railway expenses and expenses incurred by "relatives and heelers" in a reformatory which serviced but one boy, an asylum which paid salaries to members of Greenway's family, and a number of well bores all of dubious nature. The Brandon Mail suggested precise ways of cutting back on future expenditures. Approximately $13,000 annually was being spent in interest on the incomplete HBR. By repairing the existing forty miles and hence meeting federal standards the province would be able to receive federal land grants. Many Oppositionists, including the Mail, called for a reduction in the number of representatives in the legislature and in the cabinet, abolition of the Lieutenant-Governor's office, and a cut-back in numbers of government officials.[17]

The Provincial Treasurer, D. H. McMillan, and Attorney-General and Provincial Lands Commissioner Clifford Sifton, attempted to account for the bonded debt by pointing to municipal bonds, public buildings, railway indebtedness and roads aided, plus $400,000 cash on hand. These cabinet ministers always made the point that there had been no opposition in the legislature as the estimates were approved.

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[17] The Brandon Mail, January 9, 1896.

Railway Issues.

The now perennial cluster of railway issues was rounding out to: the questions of freight rates, and the competition that might keep them down; the Ryan-Haney pay-off which Municipal Commissioner Hon. J. D. Cameron said had been "exploded years ago" and "showed the desparate straits" of the opposition "to revamp it at this time"; the costs of new lines like the proposed South Eastern Railway which was unpopularly blocked by the government; and an issue which was heatedly debated in Winnipeg: a tax exemption for the Winnipeg Transfer Railway for twenty years as the company was purchased by the NPR. Winnipeg's only surviving Conservative candidate, T. W. Taylor, claimed that the provincial government had approved the exemption in spite of recommendations to the contrary from the city council. "As long as there is a power above the council to take away its revenue in that way, how could the city taxes be reduced?", Taylor asked. The candidates debated the status of the corporation and J. D. Cameron tried to defend the government position on the Transfer Railway by explaining: "The exemption of the Winnipeg Transfer Railway Company from taxation had been petitioned for by the Board of Trade on the very reasonable ground that the other railways were exempt, and had been granted for these reasons."[18]

Local Issues: Winnipeg.

The other major local issue in the Winnipeg political arena was the criticism of the government's action in refusing Winnipeg's request for power to submit a by-law to test the feeling of the people as to whether Sunday street cars should be allowed. The refusal was reviewed as outright paternalism--the provincial government doing the thinking for the city of Winnipeg. P. C. McIntyre, Taylor's opponent in Winnipeg North defended his government's action by arguing that Winnipeg was not yet big enough to make Sunday trams a necessity. He claimed street railway employees were against the move because for them it would mean seven days work for six days pay.[19]

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[18] MFP, January 15, 1896.

The government was under heavy fire in Winnipeg. The closing of an immigration office in North Winnipeg was condemned even by McIntyre. Taylor and his supporters argued that Winnipeg contributed two-fifths of all the taxes raised in the province, with only three of forty representatives and with monies going for such matters as the killing of wolves, which he described as: "the levying of taxes on the city to pay for the killing of wolves, while most citizens needed the money thus unjustly taken from them to keep the wolf from the door...." Taylor loathed the tactics of government spokesmen in Winnipeg in seldom moving beyond discussion of the school question. "And nowas to *the* question," he said rhetorically. "What is the question? My idea would be that the question was the city's interests. But my opponents say not. They make the school question the question of the campaign."[20]

There seems little doubt that the hurried election call nipped in the bud the development of genuine opposition throughout the province and particularly in Winnipeg. Nine Greenway followers were elected by acclamation, including two of the three seats in Winnipeg. It would not be too difficult to document that the majority of candidates were amongst the richest and most influential men in the various communities.[21] In

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[19] *MFP*, December 27, 1895.

[20] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1896.

[21] We might consider both the influence of "friends of the government" and of the wealthy. It was not the whole-hearted intent of this researcher to uncover such information at the time the study was being carried out but consider the following: C. Pilling still employed as a government agent in the Land Title's Office under Sifton and again under a cloud of suspicion (*Brandon Mail*, November 21, 1895); Joseph Martin, whose vituperative comments first forced commitment of the Greenway Government in its national schools position became counsel for a private waterworks company and won their rights from the legislature to build so that the city's intent to build its own waterworks was refused (*MFP*, January 14, 1896); $36,000 drawn from the government treasury for five members of the Greenway family in four or five years (*Brandon Mail*, January 9, 1896); R. P. Roblin

Winnipeg, on the other hand, several meetings were called in an attempt to run Labor-orientated candidates. The time was too short. The Trades and Labor Council held a large meeting in late December in which they decided against support of any of the existing candidates. In what proved to be the only contested seat: Winnipeg North, the credentials of both Taylor and McIntyre as the true representative of the workingman became a bitterly argued personal issue. An earlier Labor meeting had failed to produce their own candidate even though it was understood that three quarters of the electors in Winnipeg North were workingmen.[22]

Sectional Issues.

In the country, on the other hand, the Patrons of Industry and several independents were already organized so that the Patrons had a platform to set before the electorate in rural ridings which raised most of the major issues of the day. "No money for sectarian schools"; "no fees and emoluments to members of the legislature." Salaries were considered the means of avoiding gouging by professionals demanding exhorbitant fees common in the day. The Patrons called for more attention to agriculture, economy and morality in all government departments. They advocated a prohibition law "as fast as possible." They also wanted financial assistance for colonization and railroads, especially to Lake

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21 (cont'd) has a 40,000 bushel elevator in Nesbitt (*Brandon Mail*, October 31, 1895); Alfred Doig, MPP for Cypress, hardware merchant and amongst the oldest settlers. "He has a trade of over $20,000 a year and extending annually" (*Brandon Mail*, December 5, 1895); the government candidate in Beautiful Plains is called "the richest man in the north-west part of the Province" (*MFP*, Dec. 30, 1895); a Mr. Almack, government-supporting candidate in Russell "one of the largest cattle-buyers in the province" (*MFP*, Jan. 7, 1896). Even the most hurried glance at the "Sketches of Members" in Arnott J. Magurn's *The Parliamentary Guide and Work of General Reference*, (1898-99), pp. 229-233 reveals much more of the same.

[22] *MFP*, December 27, 1895.

Dauphin and the the HBR. Finally, they even proposed equal suffrage for women.[23] The public statements of the Patrons made it clear that the concern for checking the activity of the "grain combines" and railway monopolies was similar to the concern of city-workingmen who lived and worked at the mercy of the major companies and their alleged protectors in office.[24] One issue debated between Taylor and McIntyre was whether in fact the railway workers would even be able to find time to cast their ballots.

An interesting footnote on the role of the Patrons in this campaign was their decision to withdraw their candidate in opposition to Premier Greenway in the constituency of Mountain. Apparently the Patrons were convinced that opposition to Mr. Greenway could only be interpreted one way, that is: opposition to national schools. The power of that issue to cloud all other matters was again in evidence.

Thomas Greenway could not, however, ignore the increasing ability of farmers to organize themselves and articulate their own interests. In his opening address to his electors in Mountain, following his announcement of dissolution, he spoke of his government's "prudence" and "economy" as it attempted to ameliorate the condition of the farmers by developing and diversifying agricultural industry. Later, at Boisevain, he claimed it was the policy of his government to "promote the interests of farmers," and pointed to the establishment of cheese and cream factories, plus grants for local exhibitions, as indicative of his government's concern.[25]

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[23] MFP, December 27, 1895. After several withdrawals seven Patrons remained as candidates.

[24] Consider the following letter of resolve from the Patrons: "That this association views with alarm the action of the grain combine in this country: and we call upon all farmers especially the Patrons to rise en masse and press upon our governments the urgent necessity of freeing us once and for ever, from these manipulators of our prosperity in this Western land. The Dominion Government brought us here and gave us free homes; now they allow roads and grain combines to rob us, by law, of the products of our industry, obtained from our lands, which makes the gift worse than nothing...We also suggest that our local government should fill the breach at once and arrange for the placing of our grain upon the world's markets independent of middlemen." A letter signed by W. C. Paynter, secretary of the Beulah Patrons of Industry. The Brandon Mail, Sept. 19, 1895.

[25] The Brandon Mail, January 2, 1896 and MFP, January 6, 1896.

An issue like the wages paid to agricultural laborers was of much quieter vintage. It was raised by a letter to The Brandon Mail by a William H. MacIntosh who charged that farm laborers were "cheated out of their wages." He claimed that such laborers should be "put on the same level as mechanics and builders," where a "Lien Act" could assure them their wages "by making farm laborers' wages a preferable claim to 'Chattel mortgages'."[26]

Prohibition.

As the temperance society, the Royal Templars, demanded prohibition pledges from all candidates, and the Patrons called their program a "prohibition platform," the Greenway Government was forced to defend its apparent inactivity in this area. In an interview with the Royal Templars, Premier Greenway was cited as showing how monies spent on enforcement of penalties for infractions of existing liquor laws had increased from $35 in 1888 to $1,381.90 in 1893. The reduction in severity of penalties *per se* was brought about because they were considered too steep and would have meant absolute ruin for many.[27] In his address to his own electors he explained fully his position on prohibition.

> ...we have pursued a consistent course throughout. Our position has always been that we were prepared to enact and enforce prohibitory legislation if the legislature possessed the constitutional power to do so. The question of the power of the legislature has been referred to the courts and the case referred is now standing for judgement. In so far as we shall be held to possess prohibitory powers we shall, if returned to power, proceed to exercise the same without delay.[28]

The Electoral System.

Finally, the Greenway Government was widely criticized for its conduct of the technicalities in the electoral process. Areas of several constituencies, for example, Woodlands and Carillon, were still unaware of the pending election, if reports be true, until after the new year.[29]

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[26] The Brandon Mail, January 9, 1896.

[27] MFP, January 8, 1896.

[28] The Brandon Mail, January 2, 1896.

The perennial problem of stacked voters' lists, or names omitted, was most serious again in this election and the use of partisan registration clerks was still at issue. While opponents like T. W. Taylor complained of 1200 names left from the voters' list in Winnipeg North, and since Ottawa was about to defer its own Franchise Act in favor of provincial ones, even government supporters spoke out. The Brandon Mail carried the following account of the activities of a government agent, one Mr. McNaught.

> When such a paper as the Hamiota Hustler, edited and owned by a life long Liberal, Mr. Middleton, gets off the following comment on the Local Government's manipulation of the voters' lists in that constituency, there must be something radically rotten in that constituency.

The editorial went on to describe how forty-three names had been excluded from the voters' lists and then quoted the Hamiota paper.

> We have been informed that Mr. McNaught visited this part of the division, [Saskatchewan constituency] and left instructions for a full and complete list of names to be sent in and also to mark with an X all names who were not likely to vote favorable, the registration clerk would then know what names to leave off....[30]

The Free Press commenting on both federal and provincial franchise acts explained: "There can be no dispute that party friends are made the registration clerks, who are appointed to compile the lists, and that alone is a fatal objection to the law." Charges of "cooked" lists in favor of the ruling party, said the paper, "are known to be justified in too many instances."[31]

On January 15th, 1896 in the constituency of Saskatchewan a Mr. David McNaught, former Councillor and Mayor of Rapid City was re-elected as a member of Greenway's government, along with thirty-one other Liberal supporters. Opposition remained at five Conservatives, two Patrons and two independents.

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[29] MFP, January 3 and 4, 1896. It is interesting to note that Carillon constituency was won by the French-speaking Conservative stalwart Roger Marion and Woodlands by the leader of the opposition, R. P. Roblin.

[30] The Brandon Mail, December 5, 1895.

[31] MFP, January 14, 1896.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1896.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Liberals	31	11,902	46.5	77.5
Conservatives	5	9,954	38.9	12.5
Patrons of Industry	2	2,323	9.1	5.0
Independents	2	1.434	5.6	5.0

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1896.

Major.

1. The Manitoba Schools Question. (Cluster).
   - (a) Dissolution over question.
   - (b) Threat of remedial legislation - provincial autonomy. (Federal, Concern).
   - (c) Use of issue as a dodge.
   - (d) Prior or secret agreements. (Speculative).
   - (e) Economic arguments - pro and con. (Specific, Instrumental).
   - (f) Educational arguments - pro and con.
   - (g) Role of the Catholic Hierarchy. (Sectional, Underlying).
2. Government Expenses and Bonded Debt. (Right).
   - (a) Greenway nepotism. (Personality).
3. Railway policies. (Perennial, Cluster).
   - (a)Freight rates and competition. (Sectional)
   - (b) Costs of new lines.
   - (c) Tax Exemption for Winnipeg Transfer Railway. (Local).

Local or Sectional.

Sunday street car by-law.
Closing of immigration office - north Winnipeg. (Local).
Winnipeg's share of provincial taxes. (Local).
Attention to agriculture. (Sectional, sometimes Left).
    (a) Plight of agricultural laborers. (Unprompted).
Colonization and Hudson's Bay Railroad. (Perennial).
Railway workers - time to vote. (Local and Sectional).

Minor, Perennial.

Prohibition legislation.
Electoral system.
    (a) Delayed election announcements. (Local).
    (b) Bogus voters' lists.
    (c) Partisan registration clerks.

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS

Following are the official returns of votes cast at the general election, Jan. 15, 1896, and at each bye-election held since :—

AVONDALE.

Dickie (L.) 377
Hartney (C.) 252
Hughes (I.) 169

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS.

Sirett (I.) ...(PATRON).... 391
Davidson (C.) 353

BIRTLE.

Mickle (L.) .... Accl.

BRANDON CITY.

Adams (L.) 501
Kelly (C.) 492

CARILLON.

Marion (C.) 240
Jerome (//) ...(I).......... 213

CYPRESS.

Delz (I.) 496
Andrews (C.) 412
Davidson (I.) ...(PATRON).. 262

DAUPHIN.

Burrows (L.) 569
Campbell (C.) 577

DELORAINE.

Young (L.) 482
Drew (C.) 273

DENNIS.

Crosby (I.) ...(PATRON).... 393
Kennedy (L.) 354
Frame (C.) 278

Crosby died, and new election held July 15, 1897.

Kennedy (L.) 641
Elder (I.) 383

EMERSON.

McFadden (C.) ...(PATRON)... 232
Ross (I.) 203
Christie (L.) 198

KILDONAN.

Sutherland (C.) 406
Bird (L.) 377

KILLARNEY.

F. M. Young (L.) 582
Clark (//) ...(PATRON)... 332

LANSDOWNE.

Norris (L.) 591
Todd (C.) 352

LAKESIDE.

Rutherford (L.) .... Accl.

On resignation of Mr. Rutherford, new election held, Nov. 19, 1896.

McKenzie (L.) 290
McCuaig (I. 248

LA VERANDRYE.

Pare (C.) 292
Lagimodiere (//) ...(I)......... 251

LORNE.

Riddell (L.) 466
O'Malley (C.) 452

MANITOU.

McIntosh (L.) 329
Cruthers (C.) 251
Swanson (I.) ...(PATRON) 217

MINNEDOSA.

Myers (L.) .... Accl...

MORDEN.

Duncan (L.) 360
Borthwick (I.) ...(PATRON). 324

MORRIS.

Mulvey (L.) 665
Martin (C.) 431

MOUNTAIN.

Hon. T. Greenway (L.) .... Accl.

NORFOLK.

Rogers (L.) 671
Lyons (C.) 501

NORTH BRANDON.

Hon. C. Sifton (L.) 434
Sargent (C.) 190

Mr. Sifton resigned, and new election held Dec. 19, 1896.

Fraser (L.) 359
Postlethwaite (I.) 231

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

Hon. R. Watson (L.) 625
Cooper (C.) 414

RHINELAND.

Winkler (L.) 229
Bowman (C.) 82

ROCKWOOD.

Jackson (L.) 489
Toombs (C.) 449

ROSENFELD.

E. Winkler (L.) 170
Pieper (C.) 106

RUSSELL.

Fisher (I.) 337
Almack (L.) 312

ST. ANDREW'S.

Jonasson (L.) 447
Baldwinson (C.) 367

ST. BONIFACE.

Prendergast (//) ...(I)........... 357
Lauzon (C). 278

Mr. Prendergast resigned ; new election held Feb. 10, 1897.

Bertrand (L.) 208
Lauzon (C.) 352

SASKATCHEWAN.

McNaught (L.) 369
Ferguson (C.) 215
Shanks (I.) 107

SOUTH BRANDON.

Graham (L.) 432
Nichol (C.) 138

Mr. Graham resigned ; new election held Nov. 20, 1897.

Fowler (L.) .... Accl.

SOURIS.

Campbell (L.) .... Accl.

SPRINGFIELD.

Smith (L.) .... Accl.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN.

Hettle (L.) 464
Miller (C.) 441

Mr. Hettle died ; new election held Nov. 27, 1897.

Johnson (C.) 518
Nicol (L.) 368

WESTBOURNE.

Morton (L.) .... Accl.

WINNIPEG, NORTH.

McIntyre (L.) 906
Taylor (C.) 668

WINNIPEG, CENTRE.

Hon. D. H. McMillan (L.) .... Accl.

WINNIPEG, SOUTH.

Hon. J. D. Cameron (L.) ...... Accl.

WOODLANDS.

Roblin (C.) 560
Main (L.) 221

DATES OF GENERAL ELECTIONS

Since Confederation

1870	December 27	1886	December 9
1874	December 23	1888	July 11
1878	December 18	1892	July 23
1879	December 16	1896	January 15
1883	January 23		

HUGH JOHN MACDONALD

AND THE

REEMERGENCE OF THE ISSUES

NOVEMBER 16 TO DECEMBER 7, 1899

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberals	Thomas Greenway	40
Conservatives	Hugh John Macdonald	39
Independents	- - - -	4
	40 Single Member constituencies	

The compromise that was achieved on the Manitoba School Question between the new Laurier Liberal Government and the Greenway Government of similar partisan position meant that for the first time in almost twelve years the submerged issues could surface. In a deft political move R. P. Roblin temporarily stepped aside to allow the extremely popular Hugh John Macdonald to lead an invigorated Conservative Party, now able to draw the attention of the electorate to something other than Manitoba schools, and make it stick.

Some historians, like Chester Martin and James A. Jackson, have seen the inability of the Greenway Government to provide the desired changes in regard to such matters as prohibition, extended boundaries, use of crown lands and increase in federal subsidies as the decisive issues in 1899.[1] Our own reading of the press of the day indicates that the failures of the railway policy and, relatedly, the cost of elevator services; the seeming extravagance of the government and its deficit; the immigration policy resulting in an influx of Eastern Europeans; and the hand of the Hon. Clifford Sifton in all of these matters, now as the Minister of the Interior in Prime-Minister Laurier's cabinet; were the major matters of controversy in

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[1] See Martin, "Political History," pp. 130-132; and James A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970), p. 163. See note on Laurier compromise supra p. 742.

November-December, 1899.

In all likelihood the absence of Mr. Sifton left the Greenway Government bereft of its major leadership ability locally, while at the same time the move made possible his nationally-hailed leadership, the local manifestations of which leant themselves to the areas of greatest controversy in the 1899 campaign.

Major Issues: (1) Government Expenditures.

William Flowers Sirett, Independent MPP for Beautiful Plains, called the financial administration of the provincial government, "a marvellous demonstration of economic management."[2] But there were others who had very good reasons for thinking otherwise.

The leader of the opposition Hugh John Macdonald reminded the electorate that members of the Greenway Government had been accused of tampering with the public accounts since the day they took office. Candidate Dr. W. J. Neilson in Winnipeg North made reference to the Ryan-Haney deal and the Chicago World's Fair expenditures as part of this history which he claimed now made up an $800,000 government deficit.[3]

To the many charges that government expenditures greatly exceeded revenues and that accounts were not open to public purview in an itemized manner, the weekly version of the Sun printed comparative figures indicating that expenditures had greatly decreased from 1887 to 1889, the last days of Norquay and the first of the new government. Conservative opponents replied with the contention that the reductions in expenditure alluded to were inaccurate, because they constituted a comparison of the boom days of the late Norquay Government to the tight money days, as the economy now rose from a serious recession.

The Provincial Treasurer, the Hon. D. H. McMillan, answered the charges of extravagance and deficits by citing figures to indicate the vastly increased acreage in use, the increasing yield of grain, and the "large number of flourishing towns and pleasant villages which have sprung into existence." He claimed the province was "in the midst of prosperity and plenty" and attributed it all to a government which had the interests of farmers at heart, a government whose "energetic railway policy" accounted in large degree for the "present prosperity of the province."[4]

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[2] The Western Sun (Brandon), November 23, 1899.

[3] MFP, November 29, 1899.

In his opening address to his devoted electors in Mountain constituency Premier Greenway, too, had taken credit for the apparent prosperity of the time, claiming the government's finances had been handled with "care and honesty." "I deprecate as unpatriotic and utterly unjustifiable," he said, "the efforts that have been made for partisan motives to excite alarm concerning the financial condition of the province. The fact is that the province has ample resources to justify its expenditures and its credit never stood higher in the money markets of the world than at the present time."[5]

Meanwhile, opposition candidates and newspapers continued to cite per capita expenditures which made Manitoba appear as the highest spending province in the Dominion, save perhaps for British Columbia.

Hugh John Macdonald continued his attack regarding the tampering with, and concealment of , funds. He spoke out publicly against the Provincial Treasurer and made specific his charges in reply to government claims of spending reductions. "But was their saving what they claimed?" he asked, and then answered by saying:

> No, Colonel McMillan said that while the Norquay government spent in administrative expenditures $268,199 for the last year of their regime, the Greenway government did the same work for $176,000. This... was not the case. The administrative expenses...amounted to $316,000, the difference being charged to the public service account, when it really belonged to the civil government account. The government claimed that they had reduced the expenses by abolishing the deputies of departments. They had not done this, but simply changed the name of the

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[4] MFP, November 25, 1899.

[5] The Western Sun, November 29, 1899.

official, now calling the office that of chief clerk instead of deputy minister.[6]

Major Issues: (2) Railway Costs and Services.

The charges of extravagance and skull-duggery in the public accounts were most often related to, perhaps, the most important issues for most Manitobans: the railway and agricultural policies of the Greenway Government.

The major complaints laid against the Greenway Government were related to the high costs and poor service of existing rail lines. Certain areas like Birtle, Manitoba were not yet properly serviced by a rail line and this fact thus became the local issue in Lansdowne constituency where T. C. Norris defended government policies, claiming that the railway would connect his constituency with Birtle within two years.[7]

The amount of railway bonuses was severly criticized, particularly as in the case of the Northern Pacific Railway no real competition to the CPR had resulted, nor had freight rates been reduced. Some government spokesmen insisted that no more guarantees would be offered to the NPR; and others claimed that in fact the NPR extensions had benefited the province, certainly by bringing in lumber in competition to a former Rat Portage lumber combine.[8]

In regard to one particular extension of the NPR, west of Portage La Prairie and further to Waskada, a disagreement between the contractor Mellen and Premier Greenway over guaranteed bonding seemingly moved Mellen to build without government subsidy and, hence, without conditions like low freight rates. Mr. Greenway's falling out with Mellen and the explanation the latter offered of his dealings with the provincial government in a widely published letter were matters of great attention in the campaign. But Premier Greenway himself had overseen a reduction from 24¢ to 14¢ per hundredweight and the building of the Ontario and Rainy River line to Port Arthur was designed, he claimed, to assure a future cut to 10¢ per hundredweight.[9]

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[6] MFP, November 29, 1899.

[7] The Western Sun, December 1, 1899.

[8] Ibid., November 23, 1899.

The alleged excessive bonding on this Rainy River line had also to be defended by the Provincial Treasurer. Donald Mann and William McKenzie were being granted a thirty-year tax exemption and $2,000,000 in property rights by Premier Greenway, the same Thomas Greenway who had fought Mann when the latter was in the employ of John Norquay as a sub-contractor for the CPR. So it was that the railway issues had never really subsided. Whether viable competition had been established over the years or whether generous government support had simply encouraged several powerful "capitalist" enterprises to set their own rates and standards of service -- these were the major, province-wide, once perhaps speculative, now very evident, issues of 1899.

So it was, too, that one articulate farmer in the campaign, a Mr. Percival, claimed that the Ontario and Rainy River had been given $48,000 per mile for construction when, he claimed, it could have been constructed for $11,000 per mile.[10]

While Premier Greenway promised either lower freight rates via existing lines or a new line to ensure them, Hugh John Macdonald doubted that any new line could assure the 10¢ per hundredweight rate. The Conservative paper, Brandon Independence, argued that small reductions in freight rates deceived the people about their original high costs. The newspaper argued that subsidised costs of railroads were an indirect taxation on the citizens of the province, while control and reduction of rates were "all imaginary and delusive."[11]

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[9] MFP, November 23, 1899 and Western Sun, November 23, 1899.

[10] MFP, November 20, 1899.

[11] Brandon Independence, November 2, 1899.

Greenway supporters replied to Conservative attacks by pointing to the prior connections of Hugh John Macdonald to the CPR as its solicitor and opposition spokesman James Fisher who was said to have served in the "same" capacity "for another railway." The Western Sun said of Macdonald that "he has been a CPR solicitor so long, that he is not likely to advise anything or do anything contrary to the interests of the company that has paid him $5,000 a year for a long time."[12] For the second time in recent memory Hugh John had resigned his solicitorship with the CPR. He had once before resigned to join the Tupper Government in Ottawa and returned when that government was defeated.

Provincial Treasurer Colonel McMillan attacked Mr. Macdonald at a Winnipeg meeting and spoke of the new opposition leader as a lawyer:

> ...whose whole training and practice has been to protect these railway corporations. I would like to warn the people of this city how you trust any man who has been allied with railway corporations. (Loud cheers). Mr. Macdonald feels this himself; and he said some time ago, when "the writs are issued I will resign." I believe he has resigned. Well, Mr. Macdonald is an old hand at resigning. (Laughter and cheers).

Provincial Treasurer McMillan continued his good-humored but pointed attack by asking: "Is there any gentleman present here tonight, who if he had an action to bring against the CPR, would employ Mr. Macdonald? I am sure not. And yet are we to do differently with the provincial business..."[13]

The government seemed prone to employ these personal attacks or issues in regard to the related controversy: the control of grain elevators. R. P. Roblin, had, since 1892, become an increasingly important figure in the elevator business. He was charged during the campaign with paying less per bushel of wheat than other buyers at similar locations. Hence, most of the popular attacks on the government complaining of poor grain storage facilities, high handling charges, and rates prejudiced in favor of "line companies" which put farmer-owned loading platforms and elevators out of business were countered with attacks on the inconsistency of the opposition

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[12] The Western Sun, November 23, 1899.

[13] MFP, November 25, 1899.

position. The issue is perhaps an example of a controversy in which both sides are correct in their charges. The CPR and NPR rates were certainly designed to speed up the use of boxcars and, hence, opposed to slower means of loading grain by farmers. The rates may in fact have been deliberately biased against the nearly sixty farmer-owned elevators in the hopes of putting them out of competition with the railway-elevator combine.[14] On the other hand, R. P Roblin seemed tight-lipped on the elevator monopoly question as The Western Sun pointed to an absence of any plank advocating an end to monopoly in the Conservative platform. Those Conservatives who did speak out, like T. E. Greenwood of North Brandon, seemed unsupported by the man "bent on fastening the monopoly in a more acute form upon the farmers of the west," i.e., R. P. Roblin.[15]

This continued frustration with apparent combines and monopolistic activity led members of both parties to begin to argue for government control of rail lines and elevators. A. J. Andrews, mayor of Winnipeg in 1898-99 and Conservative candidate in Winnipeg Center, was the most forthright of any who talked public ownership. At a Conservative meeting early in the campaign the Free Press carried the following account.

> The reason he [Andrews] advocated the public ownership of railways was that the nature of their undertaking makes them monopolistic. History shows that railways will not compete. The more parallel roads there are in a country the greater tax will be put on the people of that country...Any institution which tended to become a monopoly should be owned and operated by the people.[16]

Colonel McMillan, as Andrews' opponent, was prompted thereby to take a stand on government ownership. He argued that it would be best to await possible reductions from the major lines. His proposal for a government-built line also sounded more protective of existing lines:

> If...it is found that the existing corporations do not reduce the rates

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[14] Margaret McWilliams claims as much in her Manitoba Milestones (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1928), p. 182. See also Jackson, Centennial History, p. 166-67.

[15] The Western Sun, December 1, 1899.

[16] MFP, November 20. 1899.

> to the extent which the volume of trade gives the people of Manitoba the right to expect, then he would be in favor of the government building and operating a line of railway to one of the lake ports rather than to give a large sum of the public money to some other corporation to secure such a road.[17]

There was a close interconnection between the clusters of railway, agricultural and general policy issues. The debt accumulated on rail lines like the Manitoba and North Western meant that one-fifth of the provincial income had to go to pay off interest on these loans for railroad building, or so charged Mr. Macdonald.[18] The Winnipeg Telegram spoke of the "reckless bonusing" of the Greenway Government which, the paper argued, discouraged immediate building in favor of waiting for government bonuses. The Conservative platform, this Conservative paper reminded its readers, had called for railways built without bonuses or built by "ourselves." "Either reduce taxation by the profits of operation, or operate them at a cost and let the people get the benefit of cheaper rates," read this particular plank in the Conservative platform.[19] And while farmers loaded their own grain on box-cars, often in protest, candidates continued to bemoan the situation. In a reference to contined high tariffs on farm implements, farmer and Independent candidate S. Percival said of the government that "instead of increasing the price of commodities which the farmer had to sell, they had increased the price of commodities which they had to buy."[20] The government was also criticized ~~accused~~ for having exaggerated the estimates of Manitoba crops, hence, aiding depression of the world market prices. Premier Greenway was being urged to publish the provincial crop bulletin with haste to rectify the situation.[21]

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[17] MFP, November 20, 1899.

[18] Brandon Independence, November 23, 1899.

[19] The Winnipeg Telegram as cited in Brandon Independence, November 16, 1899.

[20] MFP, November 20, 1899.

[21] Carried originally in the Liberal Neepawa Press and as cited in the Brandon Independence, November 9, 1899.

Remnants of the School Question.

The major school question in 1899, a question which once again related to general policy, was the Canadian Senate's decision not to grant interest to the Manitoba Government on the $14 million worth of school lands held in trust for the province. The Greenway Government was able to argue that it had tried to obtain additional monies for educational purposes and would try again. Government members also pointed to trebled increases in grants given to schools in the province and inferred that Hugh John Macdonald had opposed any grants from interest on the $14 million. Government spokesmen like Attorney-General Cameron attacked Mr. Macdonald on his record which apparently involved this opposition to the Senate's granting interest to Manitoba. Hugh John Macdonald was charged with appealing to racial and religious bigotry: attacking Roman Catholics in largely Protestant constituencies and *vice versa*.[22] It is possible such charges arose out of Mr. Macdonald's stands on Eastern European immigration, to be examined shortly. N. Clarke Wallace, former federal Conservative Finance Minister and past Grand Master of the Orangemen, campaigned in the province, and he too was seen as fomenting religious hostility against the Liberals. Stuart Mulvey, another former Grand Master, was equally the center of debate as he attacked Roman Catholics and remedial legislation. Liberal candidates still attempted to arouse fears that the Conservatives, if elected, would make a "shambles" of the previous school legislation. The question, it appeared, had been settled four years earlier and little heat or light was generated on the matter. There were undoubtedly attempts to "whip up" Catholic or Orange votes. Both Stuart Mulvey in Morris constituency and N. Clarke Wallace in Avondale constituency south west of Brandon were cited as examples of such attempts to appeal directly to the Orangemen. Such sources as *Le Manitoba* and candidates like Colin Campbell were accused of appealing directly to the Catholic vote as they countercharged Stuart Mulvey and what they in turn called "Protestant bigotry."[23] But the matter was no longer decisive, no longer substantive. Even its instrumental value: demanding attention over other issues; had been cut away by resolution to the apparent satisfaction of most Manitobans.

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[22] *MFP*, Nov. 27, 1899.

[23] *MFP*, Dec. 4, 1899 and *The Western Sun*, Nov. 28 and Dec. 8, 1899.

Immigration Policy.

The new controversies over race and religion were now, almost inevitably, to be associated with the flood of new immigrants. The influx of Prostestant Ontaricans and Americans ended equal French and Catholic influence. The growing number of Eastern Europeans, also under Clifford Sifton's care as Minsiter, caused an outcry during this campaign that such immigrants were "pauper alien support" for the government which would control their votes in direct proportion to the immigrant's sense of indebtedness.[24] Hugh John Macdonald, on the other hand, was called upon to answer the charge that he had claimed that all voters should be able to read the Manitoba Act in English.

There is no question historically but that Minister of the Interior Mr. Sifton was encouraging emigration from Eastern Europe in an unprecedented fashion. The Liberals were under attack for not having placed government agents in the East European countries to inspect the calibre of emigrant.[25] The bitterness which displayed itself through anti-East European spokesmen like the Brandon Independence and Winnipeg Telegram was only slightly tempered by the leader of the opposition, if the latter paper was correct in its report.

> At Portage La Prairie, Mr. Hugh John Macdonald took occasion to make another vigorous protest against Doukabour and Galacian immigration and to reiterate in the most emphatic manner that he is firmly determined to protect the franchise from degradation and abuse by being given to such ignorant aliens. These declamations evoked a storm of applause, more emphatic and prolonged than that which had greeted any of his preceding remarks. It is significant that this experience is not peculiar to Portage La Prairie.

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[24] Independence Supplement (Brandon), Nov. 30, 1899.

[25] From the Winnipeg Telegram as cited in Brandon Independence, Nov. 2, 1899.

> There can be no doubt to anyone who has taken the trouble to gauge popular feeling in this province that there is the greatest possible resentment against the miserable classes of foreign immigrants which Mr. Sifton, for his own purposes, is dumping down on our prairies in such wholesale numbers; and this resentment is quite independent of party lines. The true Liberals are as strongly opposed to the flooding of the country with hordes of ignorant slaves as are the Conservatives. This resentment is based to some extent on economic grounds; but is also largely caused by apprehension as to the social effect of these importations. The danger of placing the balance of power in this province in the hands of ignorant serfs utterly unfitted for the responsibilities of self-government, unacquainted with British institutions, knowing nothing of and caring nothing for, the merits of our political disputes, and peculiarly susceptible to undue and corrupt influences, is keenly realized by thinking men of both political parties.[26]

More Liberal papers like the Portage Liberal were able to call charges like the above "nonsensical assertions" and to point out that Galacians had been first brought into the country by the Conservatives; that both Galacians and Doukhobors were making good settlers; and that there was nothing to the argument that they deprive others of work since workingmen had been in short supply the previous year.[27]

However, such Liberal arguments were not always convincing. At the very moment that racial and religious strife had seemingly been resolved its new version had come to the fore.

Prohibition Legislation.

Another major plank in the Conservative platform called for the speedy implementation of prohibition laws. Hugh John Macdonald claimed he was determined to go "as far as the law allows" on prohibition legislation, but thought that the city of Winnipeg could be exempted from certain such laws. He was, therefore, attacked as inconsistent on such proposals by the Free Press.[28]

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[26] Brandon Independence, Nov. 23, 1899. The Doukabours were a Russian religious sect. Galicians were Slavonic peasant farmers from the provinces of Galicia and Bukowina, which lie beyond the Carpathian mountains and at this time formed the northeast corner of the Austrian Empire.

[27] The Portage Liberal as cited in Brandon Independence, Nov. 23, 1899.

[28] MFP, November 27, 1899.

In his major address to his constituents Premier Greenway made reference to the jurisdictional decision on prohibition recently made by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

> As that judgement was considered ambiguous in some respects we proceeded to procure the opinion of eminent counsel thereon. When the question came up for consideration during the last session of the legislature I stated it was the intention of the Government at the next session to introduce legislation prohibiting the sale of liquor to the extent of the powers of the province in that regard, and such statement still stands as our declared policy.[29]

There seems little doubt that the previous provincial plebiscite and a more recent Dominion vote in which Manitoba again was recorded in favor of prohibitory legislation, meant an electorate impatient with its government on this issue.

Sifton was still attacked on liquor questions, this time in the Brandon Independence for allegedly allowing Albert Edward Philip to grant a permit illegally to take liquor into the Yukon. The charge was seemingly made by Sir Charles Tupper at a large Brandon rally. This very personal issue involving the moral integrity of Sifton and Tupper, the latter the federal Conservative leader who, it seems, was instrumental in influencing Hugh John Macdonald to serve as provincial leader, was argued throughout the campaign and serves as an indication of attitudes towards liquor questions quite different from the present day. Clifford Sifton called Sir Charles Tupper an old man and a liar, challenging the Conservative press to print Mr. Tupper's Brandon speech in full. The Sun reports as follows:

> Mr. Sifton...commented on the strange spectacle of the leader of a great party coming all the way from the east to deliver a speech against him in his own town, and then the organ of his own party was so ashamed of the speech, so conscious that the leader was wrong, so afraid to repeat what he said in such a way as to be responsible, that no report of that speech was to found in any other solvent newspaper (applause and cheers).[30]

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[29] The Western Sun, November 23, 1899.

[30] Ibid., December 8, 1899.

Personal and Local Issues.

The presence of Messrs. Tupper, Wallace, George Foster (former federal Conservative Finance Minister) and others, led to charges of interference against this "brigade of strangers." Conservatives answered by claiming the Liberal ministers like Clifford Sifton had been taking an active part in the provincial campaign before them.

Hugh John Macdonald was particularly under attack for having come, said the Free Press editorially, "completely in the hands of Sir Charles Tupper politically..."

> ...to see what Mr. Macdonald would support if he was made premier we have to look at the sentiments not of Mr. Macdonald personally, but of Sir Charles Tupper, and his policy. Those sentiments and that policy would commit us to railway aggrandisement, the promotion of the interests of corporations, the re-enactment of a high protective tariff, the re-introduction of the Remedial Bill and other reactionary features of the policy of Sir Charles Tupper.[31]

Clifford Sifton in turn was criticized for having offered Hugh John Macdonald a military commission to serve in the Boer War, allegedly to make it embarrassing should Mr. Macdonald refuse. Such personal issues were important in this election of old and new personalities of some import.

Hugh John Macdonald's relative youth was seen as an advantage and Premier Greenway's health and age had become a problem, if not a decisive issue. Mr. Macdonald noted that Thomas Greenway had only been in his office for six weeks in the last session, charging that the Premier hoed potatoes while his people needed him. He had been in power so long that he had become master and not servant to the people, said the provincial Tory leader.[32]

In Winnipeg former mayor A. J. Andrews was certainly themost interesting and controversial candidate. He could be attacked by Liberals for not seeming to support Hugh John Macdonald and his policies openly. But Andrews knew Winnipeg well; he was running against the Provincial Treasurer; he forced D. H. McMillan to talk about public ownership of rail lines; and he fostered public debate about the initiative, referendum and proportional representation for the first time in provincial campaign history. While Andrews received support from groups like the local Fabian society, he was called unpatriotic by the Free Press which condemned his "dangerous innovation" advocated "in the heart of an election campaign."[33]

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[31] MFP, Nov. 27, 1899.

[32] Ibid., Nov. 29, 1899.

In an editorial entitled "Mr. Andrews a Revolutionist" the paper warned:

> The electors of Central Winnipeg may well be afraid of voting for a candidate who advocates the overturning of our system of government who will at one stroke topple over the constitution under which we live, and forfeit all the advantages in government for which patriots in the Mother Country have fought and suffered and handed down to us as perhaps the most priceless heirloom that man ever bequeathed to posterity.[34]

And while the perennial charges against stuffed ballot boxes filled the air, particularly in places like Dauphin, and candidates called for better drainage and workmen's compensation acts; this wide-open and vibrant campaign concluded with a resounding win for the son of Canada's first Prime-Minister.

Six of the nine constituencies in Clifford Sifton's federal electoral district voted against the Liberals although eleven of the twenty-two seats won by the Conservatives were won by less than sixty votes.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS -- 1899.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Conservatives	22	23,135	49.2	55.0
Liberals	17	23,282	49.5	42.5
Independents	1	601	1.3	2.5

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[33] MFP, December 7, 1899.

[34] MFP, December 1, p. 4.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES — 1899.

Major, Province-wide.

1. Government Extravagance and Deficits. (Charges of Corruption).
2. Railway policies — high costs and poor service. (Cluster).
    - (a) Cost and control of elevator services. (Left).
    - (b) Freight rates. (Federal).
    - (c) Portage Extension.
    - (d) Bonding of Rainy River line.
    - (e) Railway bonuses.
3. Agriculture Policy. (Cluster).
    - (a) Elevator service. (See railway policy)
    - (b) High tariffs on farm implements.
    - (c) Wheat prices.
4. Immigration Policy. (partly Federal).
    - (a) Partisan interference. (Federal).
    - (b) Role of Clifford Sifton. (Personality).
    - (c) H. J. Macdonald's protests. (Personality).
5. Schools.
    - (a) Interest on school lands. (Federal).
    - (b) Grants.
    - (c) Fomenting religious hostility. (Sectional).

Minor.

Prohibition Legislation.
- (a) Sifton versus Tupper charges of illegal permits. (Personality).

Interference in Election by Outside Politicians.

Stuffed Ballot Boxes. (Local).

Better Drainage. (Local, Perennial).

Workmen's compensation.

Personality.

Hugh John Macdonald.
- (a) Solicitor for CPR.
- (b) Charges of racial bigotry. (Sectional).
- (c) "Tool" of Sir Charles Tupper.

Clifford Sifton.
- (a) Role in immigration policy. (Federal).
- (b) Liquor permit charges.
- (c) Offer of commission to H. J. Macdonald.

Thomas Greenway's age.

A. J. Andrews — "revolutionist". (Left).
- (a) Ideas of public control. (New).
- (b) Initiative, referendum, proportional representation. (New).

Stuart Mulvey — "religious bigotry." (Sectional).

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

The following figures give the particulars of the vote in the Manitoba Provincial Elections, held December 7, 1899, as per the official declarations made by the returning officers in the different constituencies:—

CONSTITUENCIES.	GOVERNMENT.	Votes	OPPOSITION.	Votes	INDEPENDENT.	Votes
Avondale	T. Dickie	512	J. Argue	559		
Beautiful Plains	R. C. Ennis	800	J. A. Davidson	710		
Birtle	C. J. Mickle	603	W. M. Howard	424		
Brandon City	C. Adams	561	S. W. McInnes	569		
Carillon	M. Jerome	337	M. Marion	241		
Cypress	A. Doig	574	G. Steele	671	McLennan	198
Dauphin	T. A. Burrows	1293	R. Hunt	779		
Deloraine	C. A. Young	625	R. Kerr	537		
Emerson	R. Hamilton	313	D. H. McFadden	479		
Gimli	S. Jonasson	371	B. L. Baldwinson	331		
Kildonan & St. Andrews	D. F. Reid	553	O. I. Grain	810		
Killarney	F. M. Young	658	O. Lawrence	788		
Lakeside	J. McKenzie	479	R. D. Lynch	393		
Lansdowne	T. C. Norris	672	A. Fenwick	840		
La Verandrye	W. Lagemodiere	334	T. Pare	297		
Lorne	Jas. Riddell	769	[illegible]. Umphrey	711		
Manitou	J. L. Brown	519	R. Rogers	577	J. Woods	56
Minnedosa	R. H. Myers	691	T. H. Jackson	490		
Morden	D. N. McMillan	589	J. H. Ruddell	553		
Morris	S. Mulvey	640	C. H. Campbell	528		
Mountain	T. Greenway	555	J. T. Gordon	428	S. Percival	89
Norfolk	J. G. Barron	733	R. F. Lyons	790		

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS—Continued.

CONSTITUENCIES.	GOVERNMENT.	Votes	OPPOSITION.	Votes	INDEPENDENT.	Votes
North Brandon	A. C. Fraser	478	T. E. Greenwood	445		
Portage la Prairie	R. Watson	477	W. Garland	640		
Rhineland	V. Winkler	271	W. J. Potter	152		
Rockwood	S. J. Jackson	473	P. Riley	538		
Rosenfeldt	E. Winkler	241			W. Hespeler	258
Russell	W. S. Crerar	431	M. A. Mullins	466		
St. Boniface	S. A. D. Bertrand	303	J. B. Lauzon	368		
Saskatchewan	J. H. McConnell	534	W. Ferguson	549		
Souris	A. M. Campbell	404	A. E. Thompson	412		
South Brandon	F. O. Fowler	510	W. Henderson	455		
Springfield	T. H. Smith	406	E. F. Hutchings	373		
Turtle Mountain	J. S. Reekie	562	J. Johnson	753		
Virden	W. J. Kennedy	559	J. Simpson	593		
Westbourne	T. L. Morton	603	D. Wilson	485		
Winnipeg Centre	D. H. McMillan	1364	A. J. Andrews	1349		
Winnipeg North	P. C. McIntyre	1018	Dr. W. J. Neilson	1247		
Winnipeg South	J. D. Cameron	1223	H. J. Macdonald	1263		
Woodlands	A. F. Martin	407	R. P. Roblin	563		

Total vote polled 47,014. Total votes registered 63,849.

Owing to an error, the polling in Gimli did not take place until December 14, nor in Dauphin until December 15. Mr. Hespeler, after the election, declared himself against the Government.

LIBERAL VITRIOL

AND

CONSERVATIVE VICTORY

JUNE 25 TO JULY 20, 1903.

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Conservatives	R. P. Roblin	40
Liberals	Thomas Greenway	39
Labour	----	2
Independents	----	7

40 single member constituencies.

Premier Rodmond Palen Roblin and the Major Issues.

Hugh John Macdonald had attempted to serve the province honestly. He held expensive railway deals at bay; passed, as promised, a far-reaching prohibition act; and was then maneuvered out of the party to be defeated in a federal election in Brandon and replaced by R. P. Roblin as Premier and Conservative leader. Within the first few years of the new century, Manitobans had watched as Doukabours marched through their province; they observed the formation of successful protest movements which would be effective in the 1903 campaign: the Political Reform Union advocating boundary expansion and the use of the initiative and right of ratifying and vetoing legislation on the part of the electorate. Also in early 1903, the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association was formed in Brandon and immediately spoke out against elevator combines, controls on the selling of grains, and the absence of facilities like box-cars for the efficient shipping of grain.

R. P. Roblin as Premier failed to implement Mr. Macdonald's temperance act, deciding instead to stall by asking the citizens of the province via a referendum if they desired such implementation. In disgust over such inconsistency, proponents of prohibition called for their supporters to show their displeasure by boycotting the referendum. The result was the defeat of the referendum and complete frustration with R. P. Roblin on this question by the prohibitionists.

W. L. Morton believes that Premier Roblin's strength in the campaigns of 1903, 1907, and 1910 was his ability to capitalize on his attempts at boundary expansion and in 1903, at least, his projected agriculture college.[1] As it turned out, eleven constituencies were promised the college in the 1903 campaign.[2] In the face of such "heroic" political activity the Liberal platform seemed long on criticism and short on alternatives during this period.

Rodmond Palen Roblin, therefore, was a key figure in the kinds of issues over this entire period, and, as we will see, increasingly so. His personal involvement in two key issues in 1903, prohibition and grain handling, might be worth our initial attention. And Thomas Greenway received no less attention on the prohibition issue. One of the most talked about pieces of writing during the campaign was a letter to the Free Press from W. Redford Mulock, the prohibition leader who had led the boycott of the recent referendum. Mulock's letter attacked Greenway for not having heeded the request of W. W. Buchanan, leading Methodist prohibitionist, to initiate prohibition legislation and make the referendum a question of endorsation of that legislation. Instead, Mulock claimed, Greenway attacked Buchanan as a partisan Conservative. The Free Press picked up the same charge and spoke of Buchanan's "uncompromising hostility to the Liberals" as it traced his opposition to Liberals in Ontario even when they seemingly supported prohibition legislation.[3]

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[1] Manitoba: A History, p. 286.

[2] As charged by Thomas Greenway. MFP, July 1, 1903.

Buchanan, as editor of the prohibition tabloid Liberator, had charged that liquor interests had influenced the Greenway platform and Liberal council. There was no denying the presence of such influential persons as party organizers, although the Free Press did attempt to deny that any significant role had been played by them in actually making or speaking to resolutions on the question.

The heat of this issue is well illustrated in Mulock's letter when he describes Buchanan's support of prohibitionists regardless of party.

> Party men do not appreciate that kind of thing and I can at least believe Mr. Greenway when he says: "The course of such a man is inexplicable to me. I do not understand it." Mr. Greenway cannot understand a man standing steadfast to principle when the temptations to emolument and public office beckon him aside. No man knows better than Mr. Greenway that if office or material reward would have turned Mr. Buchanan from his purpose as a reformer, he would be a star today in the Liberal galaxy. He preferred to spread Liberal doctrine and to promote the interests of the people while less worthy and less able men have taken the plums. But the time of the temperance performer has come, and if Mr. Greenway was a shrewd leader he would do his party the good service of greeting rather than repelling those who are fired with the moral enthusiasm of a great reform, and ready to sacrifice themselves for a noble cause.[4]

However, Thomas Greenway could reply that his government had done more than the Roblin Government to limit the liquor traffic. The number of liquor licenses granted in Greenway's twelve years of office had fallen from 218 to 162.[5] Under Premier Roblin such licenses were increasing. The Conservative platform, which had promised legislation "in the direction of prohibition as the powers of the province will allow," had been avoided by the additional referendum in a move which the Liberal platform called a matter of "inconsistency, bad faith and political duplicity." Government defenders claimed that Premier Roblin himself was consistently and openly opposed to prohibition, and that it was Mr. Greenway who was deceptive. Provincial Secretary D. H. McFadden defended the Conservative position by reminding voters that Mr. Greenway had done nothing in the face of the two previous referenda, and that Hugh John Macdonald's prepared legislation was subjected to endorsation only because of a strong opposition outcry. The defeat in the referendum was considered the end of the matter for Premier Roblin, McFadden claimed.[6]

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[3] MFP, May 18, 1903, pp. 3-4.

[4] MFP, May 18, 1903, p. 3.

[5] Ibid., p. 3.

Still, the issue raged and most temperance supporters began to take the line urged by delegates to a large Methodist Conference in Winnipeg, to vote for prohibition candidates since party men were not to be trusted.[7]

. . . .

Certainly the height of criticism directed against any one candidate must have been that which confronted R. P. Roblin in regard to his role as elevator owner and grain handler. The Free Press noted that Mr. Roblin had denied the existence of an elevator combine, both in the provincial legislature and before a House of Commons committee when he argued against federal involvement. His more recent comments in reaction to the elevator combine were summed up by opposition leader Greenway as follows:

> I understand that at Rosebank he [Mr. Roblin] undertook to divide himself politically. He said at that place that no elevator combine should rob him and that he had shipped nineteen cars of wheat from a loading platform, the establishment of which he had done his utmost to prevent. Now, after loading platforms have been made legal, and Mr. Roblin sees the advantages of them, we have the diverting spectacle of Premier Roblin asserting that the elevator combine should not rob Farmer Roblin. Yet this Premier Roblin was the largest stock-holder in the Dominion Elevator Company and went to Ottawa to prevent by all possible means the passing of the law authorizing the shipment from the loading platform. (Laughter and Cheers).[8]

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[6] At a speech in Emerson, April 11, 1903 as cited in J. Castell Hopkins, ed., The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1903 (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company Ltd., 1904), p. 187. (Hereafter cited as CAR with appropriate date.)

[7] MFP, June 11, 1903.

[8] MFP, July 1, 1903, p. 10.

The Manitoba Free Press noted that Manitoba farmers tended to take their grievances to Ottawa since more assistance could be expected there than from the Manitoba Government. Under the latter's grain act farmers were to have no more than one car in turn as they loaded wheat, yet Mr. Roblin was seen to have several on his siding at one time. Some farmers were refused cars while Mr. Roblin filled his nineteen. Car lots of grain got a larger margin of profit, greatly increasing the demand for cars. It was only under such tremendous pressure that elevator owners were forced to raise the price of open market grain.

Nor was Premier Roblin's railway policy devoid of criticism on this subject since Canadian Northern buyers paid no more for grain than the CPR, even though they had projected lower costs. Non-CPR routes seemed to have much fewer cars available and were much more subject to grain blockades by protesting and unhappy farmers.[9]

Premier Roblin, speaking in Portage La Prairie, claimed he "had always tried on every opportunity to give farmers the right to load direct on cars." The newspaper report of his address noted that "he defied any living man to deny this."[10]

The Whitehead Drainage Contract.

The Whitehead contract for drainage in the Boyne marsh was the other major campaign issue which circled about particular personalities. Premier Roblin and Hon. Robert Rogers, his Minister of Public Works, had called for a commission of inquiry into the administering of the drainage district. In the case of the Whitehead contract Mr. Roblin charged that the public contractor Charles Whitehead had received $45,000 from the Greenway Government without turning so much as a shovelful of earth. Mr. Roblin later added that just before the Greenway Government resigned after losing the 1899 election an attempt was made to pay Whitehead another $11,000.

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9 MFP, July 3, 1903, p. 4. from the Dufferin Leader.

10 MFP, July 11, 1903, p. 8.

Hon. R. Watson, then Minister of Public Works, had allegedly written the bank guaranteeing that $30,000 would be paid Whitehead.

As the campaign proceeded a series of counter-charges began, since, as Mr. Greenway observed:

> By his contract Mr. Whitehead was entitled to certain advances on accounts of material. He sold out his contract to Mr. Macdonell who in turn turned it over to the present contractor, Mr. Manning. Both of these latter got and are getting from Mr. Roblin's Government precisely similar advances to those received by Mr. Whitehead.[11]

Via a front-page story "Contractor Held Up By Ministers," the Free Press charged that George H. Macdonell, successor to the Whitehead contract, had been "held up" by the Conservative Public Works Minister at the time, D. H. McFadden, who allegedly demanded $5,000 before estimates would be paid.

The implication was that the present Public Works Minister, Mr. Rogers, had also carried on the fine tradition in order to feed party funds. A long series of irate denials appeared in the Conservative Winnipeg Telegram resulting finally in charges laid against the editor of the Free Press, J. W. Dafoe, and his arrest shortly thereafter. The libel case carried on during the length of the campaign.

Railway Issues.

Railways once again placed center-stage amongst the most hotly contested matters in 1903. Margaret McWilliams in her history of Manitoba during these years noted that the construction of major rail lines opened up ever more land to ever more settlers. "The Canadian Pacific," she wrote, "slow to hear the calls of settlers for railways when there was no competition, entered now into a feverish activity in the construction of branch lines." The Canadian Northern also rushed to get its share of the contracts which now were aided by government subsidies and guaranteed railway bonds in place of the land grants of earlier years.[12] Such was the climate, then, for the cluster of issues centering on railway matters in 1903 and later campaigns up to 1914.

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[11] CAR (1903), p. 191.

[12] Manitoba Milestones, pp. 177-78.

The serious charges against the Roblin Government were legion. Opponents claimed that the Conservatives had misapplied trust funds from both the proceeds of the Manitoba and North-Western Railway lands and school land moneys. The Conservative Government was charged with having failed to obtain 256,000 acres which were due to it in compensation for Mr. Greensay's prior failings in regard to the Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay Railway. Opponents also claimed that something in the area of $20,000,000 constituted a contingent liability "assumed through the Canadian Northern and Northern Pacific arrangements," resulting in no compensation to the government but producing instead, poorer service and diminished competition. And finally, Mr. Roblin was accused of renegging on a contract between Hugh John Macdonald and a Mr. J. P. Macdonald of a New York syndicate for a Winnipeg to Duluth line, a fourth alternative east of Winnipeg. Mr. Roblin had seemingly denied knowledge of the latter contract and later reversed his position by citing improved contracts as his reason for breaking the Macdonald deal, as the campaign progressed.[13]

More specifically, Thomas Greenway charged that the proceeds of 542,000 acres of land at $2.25 an acre were being used for current expenditures, rather than "for meeting the debentures and accrued interest which still constituted a government liability."[14] Roblin responded to this charge by claiming that the government had not only received revenue from the Manitoba and North-Western lands but "$110,506 had also been expended upon them over and above the receipts."[15]

The two parties laid similar charges against one another over the legispayment of a lapsed subsidy of close to $150,000 to the CPR without legislative authority, the Conservatives charging that such a payment had been made in 1892 by the Greenway Government, and Greenway supporters charging that such payments on the "secret pledge" were only now being made by Mr. Roblin. The Neepawa Register, staunch Roblin supporter, denied editorially that the Premier was paying anything on the matter but, rather, was making expenditures on branch lines to Macgregor, Forrest, Waskada and Snowflake, which were all additions to the lines of construction in the "secret pledge."[16] This same pro-government weekly featured further comments on the question as banner statements on its masthead compared the railway policies of Messrs. Roblin and Greenway.

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[13] CAR (1903), pp. 185ff; MFP, May 27, 1903, p. 8, and July 3, 1903, p. 1, featuring photographs of letters indicating Mr. Roblin did know about the J. P. Macdonald contract.

[14] CAR (1903), p. 189.

[15] CAR (1903), p. 186.

> The Roblin government gave nothing to the Canadian Northern Railway and obtained a control of rates that put thousands of dollars into the pockets of the farmers in this vicinity last fall, and will put more this fall. The Greenway government gave the Northern Pacific a huge bonus and got nothing in return. They made a present of $150,000 to the CPR and got nothing for it. They introduced no real competition in railway service.[17]

Both parties argued as to whose railway policy had encouraged competition and reduced freight rates. The previous tax-exemptions under the Greenway Government were compared to Premier Roblin's new policy of taxing major corporations like railways and banks. Mr. Roblin also made well-spaced announcements regarding freight-rate reductions. On June 6th in Neepawa he spoke of a "hoped-for reduction" of two cents per hundredweight on the Canadian Northern lines which would be added to a previous two cent reduction. He then appealed to the voters to support their Conservative candidate, the Provincial Treasurer.

> What does our total reduction of four cents per hundred pounds mean to you farmers on your wheat. It means that on every 5,000 bushels it is putting $120 in your pockets; and I ask you Liberal farmers who enjoy the benefits of that money, who may have $100 to $500 added to the value of your product, how can you as honest men, true to yourselves and to your best interests, have the will to vote against John A. Davidson who was instrumental in securing to you these benefits?[18]

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[16] Neepawa Register (neepawa, Manitoba), June 3, 1903. See also CAR (1903), pp. 179, 187-8; and MFP, May 26, 1903, p. 10.

[17] Neepawa Register, June 17, 1903.

[18] CAR (1903), p. 188; and Neepawa Register, June 10, 1903, p. 2.

When the promised reductions did not take place by the announced date the opposition press played up the matter with front-page stories.[19] Greenway attempted to remind voters that final control of freight rates on the Canadian Northern lay in the hands of Dominion authorities, not provincial.

A further repercussion of rail policy, as previously noted, affected the availability of cars for the shipment of grain. That shortage was continental, Premier Roblin took pains to point out, but the presence of cars on the CPR lines and their relative absence on Canadian Northern routes allowed the opposition ammunition for criticizing the government's total rail policy. The full advantage of government support for the Canadian Northern and reduced freight rates was passing farmers by.

Government Expenditures.

The ever-expanding constellation of issues related to railway matters enveloped the questions of over-all government expenditures as well. The Liberal Party platform had as its first plank a condemnatory statement charging that "in contempt of its pledges" the Roblin Government had added $200,000 annually to current expenditures. Messrs. Roblin and Davidson pointed to a cash surplus of $317,000 as they explained increased expenditures. The Neepawa Register reported Provincial Treasurer Davidson to answer charges of extravagance as follows:

> He wished to deny this most emphatically. Since the Roblin government had been in power, the population of the province had increased fully one-third, and was it to be expected that in a progressive, thriving country, the expenses of administration and public institutions would be allowed for a moment to remain at a standstill?[20]

Davidson spoke of a million dollars worth of deficits created by the Greenway Government, $248,000 of which the "Roblin government had to meet with an empty treasury" as they came into office. He boasted that revenues and expenditures had now been equalized in three short years.

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[19] See MFP, July 8, 1903, p. 1.

[20] Neepawa Register, June 19, 1903.

Hugh John Macdonald was more specific about the $248,000 deficit.

> The Greenway government had placed the province under mortgage and had refused to allow a commission to investigate the finances of the province until when he (Mr. Macdonald) came into power it was necessary to appoint a Royal Commission whose report showed the true state of affairs. There was an overdraft of $76,000 at the Imperial Bank, $15,000 of trust money had been misappropriated and there were unpaid bills of $150,000, a total deficit of $248,000. By careful financing and taxing of the wealthy corporations Hon. Mr. Davidson had changed this deficit into a surplus.[21]

Premier Roblin denied Thomas Greenway's original charge of extravagance by pointing out that his government had in fact spent more money than Mr. Greenway's but, "had not spent $200,000 more as had been stated, but $24,000 more per year, and had spend only 13 per cent of their revenue for running the machine while the Greenway Government spent 22 per cent."[22]

Mr. Greenway's response to the claim for a $317,000 surplus is worth citing in full.

> By the sale of public lands alone the present Government during its first three years in office obtained $368,927 in excess of the receipts of my Government from the same source during the preceeding three years. These moneys, thus obtained by realizing upon the Province's capital, account for the $317,000 which the Provincial Treasurer claims to have on hand and for $40,000 more. The surplus therefore is not an excess of the ordinary receipts over the ordinary expenditures, obtained by business methods and economical management, but simply represents the money equivalent of land alienated from the public domain. It is not a surplus at all.[23]

The means of making an appearance of a surplus involved, from the Liberal point of view, the misapplication of the Manitoba and North-Western Railway lands trust funds and similar funds for school lands. Hence, the major education issue centered about the fact that the Conservative Government had "forced" the Dominion Government to pay the interest due the province on the school lands held in trust by the Dominion. Premier Roblin used such monies to obtain free school books for all grades up to the fourth grade and had set aside another $60,000 for the building of the Agriculture College. Monies so set aside for normal schools and the Agriculture College were done without "authority and right," the Liberals claimed.

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[21] Neepawa Register, June 10, 1903.

[22] Ibid.

[23] CAR(1903), p. 190.

Education Issues.

In late June a deputation resulting from a major meeting of Winnipeg Catholics visited the Premier. They cited a long series of unheeded grievances and a longstanding refusal of the Winnipeg School Board to listen to their requests. The "Catholics of the City of Winnipeg" resolved to take their complaints to Ottawa if the Roblin Government refused to take action to redress their grievances. The Catholics claimed they had no rights by law, for, under the Laurier-Greenway amendments, 1363 of the 1488 schools were home to Catholic minorities bereft of rights or privileges of any kind. The group was particularly concerned about the burden of double taxation.[24] The Free Press claimed that Premier Roblin, making reference to the "final settlement" between Wilfrid Laurier and Clifford Sifton, had said that it "leaves the Province no option in the matter. I am therefore unable to hold out any inducement or to make you any promise.[25]

Former Liberal minister and Greenway candidate in Winnipeg South, J. D. Cameron, attacked R. P. Roblin as having been one who precipitated the original school crisis, one who had oppposed the settlement of 1867, and one who was deceiving the Catholics of Winnipeg, since his government could constitutionally restore Catholic schools if it so chose.[26]

Throughout the campaign the Roblin Government prided itself on having increased grants for education purposes, and on having supplied "good well-bound school books," and not the "poorly bound and mis-printed school texts of the school book combines in Toronto." The government offered school texts at a cost to the province of "less than one-half the old price, and supplied free of cost to the pupil."[27]

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[24] MFP, June 22, 1903; and June 29, 1903.

[25] MFP, June 29, 1903.

[26] CAR (1903), p. 191, and MFP, July 14, 1903, p. 6.

Minor and Local Issues.

The perennial question of corrupt electoral practices once again arose in 1903. While Liberals called for new voters' lists prepared by municipal clerks, charges of "plugging the voters' lists" rang throughout the province. One country judge was tried and found guilty of improper practices during the campaign. The Free Press in a lead story cited the following statement addressed to registration clerks from Conservative Party organizer W. H. Hastings.

> You should always bear in mind that your position is just as important as that of an inside scrutineer on the day of election, and you should always be on the alert to take advantage of any kind and all conditions that may arise which will result in a gain for the party.

The statement continued by asking the clerks to record voting intentions and grievances. The letter to local agents signed by Hastings spoke of the party plan to encourage early voting registration.

> My Dear Sir,--Whenever an application has to be made to put one of our friends upon the list upon the ground that such person is absent from the Electoral district, be sure and make arrangements that such applications will be made the first day of the sittings of the Registration Clerk.
>
> Post our friends upon this at once because after the first day every person applying to put the name of an absentee on the list will be closely examined as to how he can swear that such absentee is a British subject...Our agents in the different districts will be instructed to take this precaution after the first day whenever a party applies to put the name of a Grit absentee on the list and for that reason all our applications should be made the first day.[28]

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[27] Neepawa Register, June 24, 1903. The Neepawa Register, July 15, 1903, and MFP, June 29, 1903 cite comparative expenses on education by Messrs. Greenway and Roblin, which are approximately $429,000 for three years under Mr. Greenway and $502,000 under Premier Roblin for the same period of time.

[28] MFP, May 22, 1903, p. 1.

A related issue concerned the habit of insisting that registrants read the Electoral Act in English, a requirement which allegedly excluded as one report suggests, 16,000 Polanders, and Galacians.[29] In Stuartburn, heartland of Galacian immigration, the following account is clearly illustrative of the province-wide issue and its partisan indignation.

> The registration clerk Mr. Batton had been told by Mr. McFadden (Provincial Secretary) that the law was intended to prevent any Galacians from going on the list of electors and governed himself accordingly. The first man to apply to go on was Mr. Orland Post, a naturalised American, who had been twenty-four years in Canada. "Where are your papers?" asked the clerk. "In Ottawa, with my homestead papers" was the reply. "All right, you may go on the list," said Mr. Batton. The next to go on was a Galacian. "Where are your naturalisation papers," he asked. "At Ottawa," was the reply. "Well, you've got to produce them right here before you can go on the list," said Mr. Batton. An affadavit that the applicant was naturalized was not accepted. But not to be beaten, the Liberals wired to Ottawa, and before the close of the registration period astonished their opponents by producing 250 naturalised certificates. The clerk then changed his tactics and insisted on the applicants passing the educational test before he would look at his papers.[30]

There was widespread complaint, as well, about the distances which had to be travelled to reach registration stations. T. M. Daly Brandon Conservative M.P. turned the voting lists criticisms back on the Liberals under whom dead men and absentees were common on the lists. The Free Press cites Daly's words at a Selkirk meeting.

> ...when they have the right to vote men do not mind walking four or five miles to put their names on the list. (jeering and a voice: I walked 60 miles) Mr. Daly--"Good for you; you are a man after my own heart. Anyone who will walk 60 miles in order to get his name on the lists must be a good citizen and I hope that when election day comes you will poll your vote."
>
> ..."Against the Roblin Government" came back strong and clear.[31]

Changes in the Manitoba election act, therefore, were subject to widespread criticism. Some opponents had expected a reduction in the total number of seats. Instead, redistribution resulted in the same number, forty, and left itself open to charges of gerrymandering. Winnipeg with one-fifth of the population had but one-thirteenth of the seats. It was also charged that Premier Roblin had wiped out the constituencies of Lorne and Woodlands to set up Dufferin so that he couldn't lose.[32]

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[29] MFP, June 29, 1903, p. 7.

[30] MFP, July 1, 1903, p. 10.

[31] MFP, June 29, 1903, p. 7.

Mr. Roblin claimed that the gerrymandering charge could not hold up since three of the four seats wiped out were held by Conservatives. He also noted that the constituencies had attempted to preserve municipal boundaries.[33]

One of the first spokesmen for equal suffrage for women took part in the campaign. T. W. Glover spoke on the matter having recently seen the practice at first hand in New Zealand. Labor meetings which now put forward their own candidates featured both men and women positing equal suffrage.

The labor movement was still young and centered in north Winnipeg. It complained of a lack of representation for workingmen and while it was admitted that class legislation was not desirable "men were forced to adopt it to protect themselves."[34]

In other matters of a minor and/or local nature the government was criticized for calling such a hasty election, announced on June 30th by Premier Roblin for July 20th. The campaign concluded during exhibition week in Winnipeg and Thomas Greenway complained bitterly:

> I would like to know how exhibitors are to get their stock to the exhibits. If they go to the fair they must disenfranchise themselves; if they stay at home to vote they will greatly injure the fair...Again, I ask why all this hurry? Isn't it because of the fear that light will be thrown on dark places...In the interest of the farmers of this province I protest against this lack of consideration for the convenience of the electors and the welfare of the exhibition.[35]

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[32] MFP, May 26, 1903, p. 1; and July 6, 1903, p. 10.

[33] Neepawa Register, March 11, 1903.

[34] Brief mention of the Labor campaign is made as per above in MFP, July 9, 14, and 17, 1903.

[35] MFP, July 2, 1903, p. 1.

J. T. Gordon, Conservative candidate in Winnipeg South, responded to this particular charge by saying that it was better to have the election early in the fair week than later and that had it been later it would have hurt small-town fairs much more.[36]

In its July 11th issue the Free Press covered its entire front page with alleged electoral bribes, constituency by constituency. Referring to "Roblin's Mammoth Unparalleled Lottery" the newspaper mockingly spoke of "ten grand prizes": the agricultural college promised to some ten or eleven constituencies. "Second prizes" consisted of branch lines for all doubtful seats. Judicial buildings, land titles offices and normal schools rounded out the "prizes" many to be paid "with money filched from the public schools."

The Conservatives attacked the Liberals for employing Dominion civil servants in their campaign. Thomas Greenway disowned any support so given and joined critics of the government in condemning Premier Roblin's seeming dismissal of provincial civil servants for alleged Liberal partisanship. Premier Roblin was criticized by Mr. Greenway for supporting Borden's tariff policy of "extreme protection" and abolition of the preferential tariff, blamed for failing to obtain crown lands from the Federal Government, and blamed as well by the Free Press for wrecking a multi-million dollar development agreement between the city of Winnipeg and the CPR.[37] But in spite of all such issues Mr. Roblin returned with a striking victory, himself gaining the strongest majority of any candidate as his party won 31 of the 40 seats with all ministers returned.

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[36] MFP, July 4, 1903, p. 4.

[37] CAR (1903), p. 190; and MFP, July 13, 1903, p. 1.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1903.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Conservatives	31	26,929	50.6	77.5
Liberals	9	23,740	44.6	22.5
Labour	--	1,013	1.9	--
Independents	--	1,550	2.9	--

Winnipeg Labo vote = 11.2 per cent.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1903.

Major, Province-wide.

1. Government Extravagance - - Greenway and Roblin Governments.
   (a) Whitehead Drainage Contract. (Separate).
2. Railway Issues. (Cluster).
   (a) Misapplied trust funds.
   (b) Compensation monies.
   (c) Roblin reneges on Duluth-Winnipeg line. (Personal).
   (d) Corporation taxes and competition.
   (e) Freight rates.
   (f) Availability of box-cars. (Sectional, Local).
3. Prohibition Legislation. (General, Public).
   (a) Greenway's failure to implement. (Personality).
   (b) Roblin's reluctance re: Macdonald Act. (Personality).
4. Grain Handling.
   (a) Elevator combine.
   (b) Box-car shortage. (See Railway Issues). (Local).

Minor and Local.

Education.

- (a) Rights of Catholics. (Sectional).
- (b) Taxation for schools.

Electoral System.

- (a) "Plugged" voters' lists. (Perennial).
- (b) Partisan registration clerks. (Perennial).
- (c) Distances to registration stations. (Local).
- (d) Redistribution and gerrymandering.
- (e) Women suffrage. (New).
- (f) Electoral bribes.
- (g) Role of civil servants.
  - (i) Right to vote.
  - (ii) Interference in electoral process.

Tariff Policy. (Underlying).

Election Call Conflicts with Exhibition. (Local, Temporary).

Use of Crown Lands.

Winnipeg-CPR Development Agreement. (Local).

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Held July 20, 1903.

The following returns are official, except in the cases of Birtle and Swan River, and in these two cases the figures given are accurate:—

ARTHUR.

Allan E. Thompson, Con.	547
John Williams, Lib.	499
Con. maj. 48.	

ASSINIBOIA.

Joseph H. Prefontaine, Lib.	415
Charles G. Caron, Con.	398
Lib. maj., 17.	

AVONDALE.

James Argue, Con.	641
Cornelius W. Miller, Lib.	435
Con. maj., 206.	

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS.

John A. Davidson, Con.	838
James R. McRae, Lib.	710
Con. maj., 128.	

BIRTLE.

Charles J. Mickle, Lib.	584
John H. Leich, Con.	293
Lib. maj., 291.	

BRANDON CITY.

Stanley W. McInnes, Con.	765
Alex. C. Fraser, Lib.	723
Con. maj., 42.	

CARILLON.

Albert Prefontaine, Con.	399
Arthur Hébert, Lib.	308
Con. maj., 91.	

CYPRESS.

George Steel, Con.	855
William Little, Lib.	756
Con. maj., 99.	

DAUPHIN.

John R. Gunne, Con.	797
John A. Campbell, Lib.	656
Con. maj., 141.	

DELORAINE.

Edward Briggs, Con.	457
George Patterson, Lib.	429
H. L. Montgomery, Ind.	437
Con. plurality, 20.	

DUFFERIN.

R. P. Roblin, Con.	1,150
James Riddell, Lib.	731
Con. maj., 419.	

EMERSON.

D. H. McFadden, Con.	436
George Walton, Lib.	417
W. R. Mulock, Ind.	77
Con. plurality, 19.	

GILBERT PLAINS.

Glen Campbell, Con.	598
Thomas Young, Lib.	396
Con. maj., 202.	

GIMLI.

B. L. Baldwinson Con.	Accl.

GLADSTONE.

David Wilson, Con.	829
Thos. L. Morton, Lib.	693
Con. maj., 136.	

HAMIOTA.

David Jackson, Lib.	762
Wm. Ferguson, Con.	740
Lib maj., 22.	

KILDONAN AND ST. ANDREWS.

M. J. O'Donahoe, Lib.	718
O. J. Grain, Con.	713
Lib. maj., 5.	

KILLARNEY.

George Lawrence, Con.	713
Reuben Cross, Ind.	299
G. B. Monteith, Lib.	282
Con. plurality, 414.	

LAKESIDE.

E. D. Lynch, Con.	537
Wm. Fulton, Lib.	469
Con. maj., 68.	

LANSDOWNE.

H. E. Hicks, Con.	915
T. C. Norris, Lib.	899
Con. maj., 16.	

LA VERANDRYE.

Wm. Lagimodiere, Lib.	348
J. B. Lauzon, Con.	337
Lib. maj., 11.	

MANITOU.

Robert Rogers, Con.	923
Donald D. Campbell, Lib.	548
Con. maj., 375.	

MINNEDOSA.

W. B. Waddell, Con.	751
Neil Cameron, Lib.	670
Con. maj., 81.	

MORDEN.

J. H. Ruddell, Con.	616
G. H. Bradshaw, Lib.	528

Con. maj., 88.

MORRIS.

C. H. Campbell, Con.	620
Napoleon Comeault	500

Con. maj., 120.

MOUNTAIN.

Thomas Greenway, Lib.	911
Daniel A. McIntyre, Con.	567
Rev. M. Wilson, Ind.	254

Lib. plurality, 344.

NORFOLK.

R. F. Lyons, Con.	941
J. D. Hunt, Lib.	753

Con. maj., 188.

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

Hugh Armstrong, Con.	742
Edward Brown, Lib.	711

Con. maj., 31.

RHINELAND.

Valentine Winkler, Lib.	355
H. P. Hansen, Con.	284
Hermann Dicks, Ind.	148

Lib. plurality, 71.

ROCKWOOD.

Isaac Riley, Con.	616
Alex. R. Leonard, Lib.	516

Con. maj., 100.

RUSSELL.

W. J. Doig, Lib.	475
A. L. Bonnycastle, Con.	351

Lib. maj., [illegible]

ST. BONIFACE.

Horace Chevrier, Lib.	593
Joseph Bernier, Con.	592

Lib maj., 1.

SOUTH BRANDON.

A. H. Carroll, Con.	508
John Watson, Lib.	496

Con. maj., 12.

SPRINGFIELD.

W. H. Corbett, Con.	353
T. H. Smith, Lib.	245
D. A. Ross, Ind.	193

Con. plurality, 108.

SWAN RIVER (Polling, Aug. 3).

J. M. Robson, Con.	503
A. J. Cotton, Lib.	272

Con. maj., 231.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN.

James Johnson, Con.	741
J. S. McEwan, Lib.	475
J. F. Hunter, Ind.	142

Con. plurality, 266.

VIRDEN.

John H. Agnew	674
F. W. Clinigan	649

Con. maj., 25.

WINNIPEG CENTRE.

T. W. Taylor, Con.	1,276
J. A. McArthur, Lib.	1,123
Wm. Scott, Ind.	422

Con. plurality, 153

WINNIPEG, NORTH.

Sampson Walker, Con.	1,106
J. W. Cockburn, Lib.	1,057
Robert Thoms, Ind.	591

Con. plurality, 49.

WINNIPEG, SOUTH.

J. T. Gordon, Con.	1,807
J. D. Cameron, Lib.	1,633

Con. plurality, 174.

DATES OF GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Since Confederation.

1870	December 27
1874	December 23
1878	December 18
1879	December 16
1883	January 23
1886	December 9
1888	July 11
1892	July 23
1896	January 15
1899	December 7
1903	July 20

BEHIND THE BOUNDARY ISSUE

OR

THE RISE OF BOSS-MACHINE POLITICS

FEBRUARY 16 TO MARCH 7, 1907

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Conservatives	R. P. Roblin	41
Liberals	Edward Brown	40
Labour	(Kempton McKim)	1

41 single member constituencies

Boundary Extension: The Key Issue.

The Canadian Annual Review for 1907 claims that the winter of 1906-07 was the bitterist ever on the prairies. For Manitoba that bitterness included not only the railway-crippling storms of December and January but, the fruitless meetings of November 1906 with Prime-Minister Laurier over boundary extensions. The creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan made northward expansion of Manitoba the exasperatingly central issue of the 1907 Manitoba election. Robert Rogers, Premier Roblin's Minister of Public Works, summarized the Manitoba Government's "conspiracy" contention and its history on the eve of the election announcement.

> Two years ago, when the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were being formed, the Government of which I have the honour to be a member sent a delegation to Ottawa to press upon the Federal Government the claims of Manitoba for an addition to her area. We were told by Sir Wilfrid Laurier that it was definitely decided that we could not extend westward. We then claimed the northerly portion lying between the extreme north-westerly corner of Manitoba and the 60th parallel and extending eastward to the Hudson's Bay and the westerly boundary of Ontario. Sir Wilfrid told us that a large

> portion was to be included in Saskatchewan, but as a result of our protest we found, four days later, when he brought down the Autonomy Bills that he had left this portion over for future disposal and we were subsequently invited to go to Ottawa and press our claims for it, and what do you suppose we found--that Sir Wilfrid had invited Ontario and Saskatchewan to meet with us and compel us to enter into a contest with them for what was rightfully ours, the Premier of Ontario admitting that he was present only because of Sir Wilfrid's invitation and Premier Scott of Saskatchewan declaring that the sole basis of his visit was because of a secret pledge given by Sir Wilfrid, in the room in which our conference was going on, that when the time came to dispose of the territory it would be given to Saskatchewan. That is where Sir Wilfrid Laurier was on Nov. 12th, 1906, and to this day we have not a single note of encouragement, not a ray of hope, from the Government at Ottawa.[1]

Only three weeks earlier the entire Manitoba House (save for Liberal reservations regarding "hostile" language) had unanimously supported a resolution protesting the detachment of Keewatin from Manitoba jurisdiction, and the creation of provincial rivalry for areas previously understood to be under Manitoban supervision. The "unjustifiable delay" from November to the end of February, during which time no legislation had been submitted to Parliament regarding boundary extension, prompted Premier Roblin to ask electors to "no longer tolerate violation of constitutional liberty."[2] The centrality of the issue was eloquently put forward by Roblin in his election manifesto of February 16th;

> The question is one above party considerations and ambitions and calls for immediate and patriotic action. The request for enlargement has been incessant for many years; has been admitted to be a reasonable one, and yet it is unheeded, and obstacles are placed in the way of its consummation by the Ottawa authorities, and devices and trickery are employed to that end. Other provinces are invited to lay claims to the territory to which Manitoba is entitled. The Province of Saskatchewan has even been promised all the Keewatin territory north of the Nelson River. Ontario claims the inclusion of a large tract of territory on the other side, and the intention appears to be to toss to Manitoba the remaining fragmants, if any, and to shut it out from a port of Hudson's Bay.

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[1] Speech of February 15, 1907 at Manitou as cited in CAR, (1907), pp. 573-74.

[2] MFP, June 3, 1910, p. 4. An editorial summarizing the 1907 campaign claims the delay as "the issue."

> The Ottawa authorities have violated all fundamental rules and principles regarding the application of Manitoba for enlargement and I impeach them before the bar of public opinion. I charge them with designedly depriving Manitoba of that to which it is entitled, with barring the way to its further growth and development, with despotism and deceit.[3]

Premier Roblin, not unlike his predecessors, viewed a provincial victory for a government opposed to Federal positions as a means of conveying the will of the province to Ottawa. On February 28th he spoke of rolling up "such a majority as would send dismay and consternation into the hearts of the Government at Ottawa."[4] On the same day, came a categorical denial on the part of the Federal Government that any deals with any parties inside or outside Manitoba had been made. Since Manitoba Conservatives charged that Edward Brown (former Portage Mayor and new Liberal leader) was involved in an arrangement whereby boundary extensions of a limited nature might be made to suit local Liberal purposes, any such agreements were also denied categorically by Federal spokesmen.

In his manifesto to the electors, Edward Brown had argued that the boundary extension was a Dominion matter and was being used by the government to cloud the "real issues." He expressed confidence that the matter would be dealt with in the then-present session of Parliament, affirmed his support for a just arrangement for Manitoba, and then noted that the matter:

> ... has never been a political issue in this Province, the Liberals being the first to protest against the iniquitous arrangements of 1881 which confined us within our present narrow limits, and they have always loyally supported even the present Government on this question, although they have protested against the injury done to Manitoba's claims by the undiplomatic and improper methods used in attempting to make party capital out of it.

Brown then referred to the manner in which the question was being used by the government in the campaign: "No attempt to divert your attention from the Government's record by hysterical appeals on this subject, or by deliberately untrue and misleading statements as to the Liberal demands for extension of boundaries should be allowed to divert your attention from the real issue of this campaign."[5] On a later occasion he opined that "Dominion issues were so much a part of the Government platform that the people should set them free to devote their whole time to those engrossing subjects."[6]

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[3] CAR (1907), p. 573.

[4] Ibid., p. 575.

In correspondance between Sir Wilfred Laurier and prominent Liberals at the time of the campaign it appears that Brown was most anxious to have the matter resolved. One historian of the period sums up the issue and the opposition's difficulties well, when he writes:

> In Manitoba as long as the boundary question remained unsettled the Roblin Government faced an Opposition that was seriously handicapped. Though it has been suggested that Laurier refused to offer Manitoba acceptable terms for boundary extension because his provincial allies did not want Roblin to obtain credit for the settlement, the fact is that by 1907 the Manitoba Liberals wanted the question settled. They were finally convinced that a generous agreement would benefit their cause, if only by removing the matter from the realm of controversy.[7]

A related matter to the boundary extension question was the disposition of "swamp lands" in the Province. All lands which were two-thirds under water in summer could be claimed by the province. The Roblin Government noted that only 1,282,680 acres of the 2,051,165 denoted as swamp land had been given over to provincial control by federal authorities. Premier Roblin added this grievance to his boundary dispute with Prime-Minister Laurier as he spoke of the latter's "gross unfairness" in administering the swamp lands.[8]

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[5] Edward Brown's February 18 election Manifesto as cited in CAR (1907), p. 581.

[6] CAR (1907), p. 583.

[7] G. R. Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," Canadian Historical Review, XXXIX (March, 1958), p. 13. The correspondence included J. W. Dafoe to Laurier, January 7, 1907; Rev. George Bryce to Laurier, February 22, 1907; E. Brown to Laurier, January 7, 1907 and Laurier to Brown, January 11, 1907.

[8] CAR (1907), pp. 565-6, 568 and 573.

Other Major Issues.

The other major issues which must be examined in this campaign include the more general claims of management or mismanagement of the provincial economy and in particular land policy; the rise of the Grain Grower's Association and its attempt to get representation in the provincial Grain Exchange; railroad policy, particularly as it relates to grain handling; the government role in telephones; a variety of schooling questions and the issue of flying the Union Jack at schools; and, finally, liquor laws and demands for prohibition.

. . . .

The Roblin Government and, in particular, Provincial Treasurer J. H. Agnew, were able to boast of record high revenues, surpluses and grants for education, agriculture, hospitals, municipalities and public buildings.

Edward Brown complained that good crops and increased immigration were the true sources of the "good times," rather than government policy. Comparisons between the Roblin and Greenway budgets were unfair, Brown said, since surpluses might be expected to be even larger than they were at present, what with vastly increased federal subsidies. In his Manifesto, Brown tried to draw the attention of the electorate to the increased direct and indirect debt of the province which paralleled the surpluses.

The major claim of mismanagement was levelled by the opposition over the sale of almost $1\frac{1}{4}$ million acres of land at low prices and into too few hands. It was a matter, as well, of eating up assets without paying off debts. The Canadian Annual Review summarized Brown's attack on land mismanagement noting that:

> ...he [Brown] alleged that 60 per cent of the public lands of the Province, passing into the hands of the Government, had been disposed of and the money used as ordinary revenue-- selling the

> lands at an average of \$2.86 at a time when Dominion lands, C.P.R. holdings, etc., had averaged from \$9 to \$12 per acre. Of these land blocks, ranging from 1,000 to 256,000 acres, were said to have been sold to friends of the Government at prices ranging from \$1.56 to \$3.50 an acre.[9]

. . . .

The farmers of Manitoba still felt the effects of what they called a "grain combine" of dealers who controlled the prices and shipment of grain in the province. One year earlier members of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association had organized their own co-operative, the Grain Growers' Grain Company, Ltd., and pressed to have representation on the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, which tended to control the elevator system and grain trade generally. D. W. McCuaig, president of the Manitoba Grain Grower's' Association brought charges of "conspiracy in restraint of trade" against three members of the Grain Exchange. Premier Roblin was forced to respond to increasing complaints by promising a conference of all interests once the election was completed--a conference whose recommendations, he said, would receive prompt action from the government. Since Liberal policy, as propagated during the campaign, called for careful investigation of the conditions described by the farmers and for the possibility of government-owned elevators, the Roblin Government was anxious to quell concern on the matter. On March 2nd the government requested from McCuaig a statement as to whether the government had dealt fairly with the Grain Growers. McCuaig's affirmative reply was read, then, at a public meeting the following day.[10]

Grain handling was an equally serious issue as a matter of railway policy. The government position was reasonably straightforward: government assistance and guaranteed bonding to the Canadian Northern

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[9] Report of Edward Brown's February 18th election manifesto. CAR (1907), p. 580.

[10] Based on discussions of these events of the campaign found in MFP, July 8, 1910; McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones, pp. 182-83; and CAR (1907), pp. 475-76, and pp. 576-77.

Railway had resulted in one thousand additional miles of railroad at no new cost to the province and with complete control over freight rates. Such a policy could amount to annual savings of $2,000,000. The increase in revenue from new taxes assessed to railways and other corporations meant monies available for municipalities, for their roads, bridges and drainage.

Brown and the Liberals noted the grain blockades of the recent months and the fact that Canadian Northern's second-hand equipment was made much more immobile in the January storms than that of the CPR. The Liberals complained that genuine railway competition was still lacking in the province as the present Government engaged in bond guarantees which the Liberal platform called "wholesale and indiscriminate." The Liberals argued that the bond guarantees should have resulted in government control of the Canadian Northern Railway. The government support of the Canadian Northern was so broad as to move the Free Press to complain in head line fashion "Shall we have a Government-controlled Railway or a Railway-controlled Government?" "Shall we have a Premier who will give orders to William Mackenzie or one who will take orders from him?"[11]

The Roblin Government had another one thousand miles to boast about: that of the poles for long-distance telephones. Authorization had been created whereby municipalities could begin work on their own telephone systems, or request provincial control and assistance. A resolution from the Union of Manitoba Municipalities praised the Government's policy of promoting local options. The resolution expressed satisfaction with the government's willingness to recognize "municipal rights in regard to the ownership and control of public utilities," and was widely used throughout the campaign.[12] Brown and the Liberals called for complete government ownership and warned that the Roblin policy would foster great municipal debt and unwarranted "small competitive systems." In reply, as the issue moved to a personal level, the government charged that Brown's advocacy of public ownership was a very recent phenomenon. He had, it was alleged, requested a charter to construct and operate telephone lines in Ontario, Manitoba and the North-West Territories through the North-West Telephone Company. Brown was forced to admit that he had signed such a charter as an obligation to a friend but not because of any other interest in the company.[13]

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[11] MFP, Feb. 18, 1907 and CAR (1907), pp. 140, 572-3, 580-1, 584.

[12] CAR (1907), p. 578. Premier Roblin's policy at the time of the 1907 campaign was to build only the long distance lines, leaving local lines to municipalities. MFP, June 7, 1910, p. 4.

Education Issues.

As we have already noted the Roblin Government prided itself during the campaign on its increased expenditures on education. Opposition spokesmen believed, however, that a higher interest rate on the Dominion-held school lands and funds (if some were to be invested) could ensure more aid to the University. Such an income might also provide monies for equipment in rural schools and higher teachers' salaries. The Liberals associated any increased grants and attention to education with the need for a full-time Minister of Education, which the province did not as yet have.

The most contentious educational matter was the call for compulsory education by the Liberals.

Attendance in many primary schools throughout the province was extremely low, and throughout this entire period schools began to close to save operation costs. Premier Roblin stood unreservedly opposed to compulsory schooling legislation, fearing that it might re-open the Manitoba School Question. For the proposal for compulsory schooling was, quite naturally, opposed by Roman Catholics. In Winnipeg on February 26th at a major political meeting the Premier said of Brown's compulsory schooling proposal:

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[13] CAR (1907), pp. 577, 582-3.

> I will never be a party to starting such fires of antagonism as burned from 1890 to 1896. Mr. Brown comes in and is willing again to set the prairies on fire with his incendiarism and to put an end to good-will and brotherly love. If you want another School question vote for Mr. Brown, for his reference means the re-opening of the School question.[14]

The stance taken by Premier Roblin and his supporters further fed the rumors which filled the air in early 1907 that some "secret understanding" existed between the Roblin Government and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Behind the scenes there was no doubt that the school question had never really been closed.[15]

Even more talked about than compulsory schooling was the compulsory flying of the Union Jack at schools. The House had passed legislation calling for erection of flag poles, and "use of a 'national British flag' during school hours at every school house in the Province." To the opposition contention that inclement weather made the compulsory flag-flying unmanageable, the government supporters reminded them that the bill "excepted such times of inclement weather or storm as would injure the flag, when it could be hung on the walls inside." The legislation also made teachers responsible for carrying out the ruling subject to loss of their teaching certificate. A school might also be penalized by losing a government grant if any injury was done to a flag. The Liberals took strong exception to the penalties in the act rather than the compulsory flag-flying itself. The Canadian Annual Review of 1907 notes that Premier Roblin saw the flag policy as "wise and patriotic, and calculated to help in blending the various nationalities of the settlers into one common citizenship."[16]

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[14] CAR (1907), p. 576.

[15] Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 295; and Cook, "Church, Schools and Politics," pp. 11-13. The question serves as an example of what we have chosen to call a "speculative" issue, i.e., at the time of the campaign there was no evidence offered that such "secret understandings" existed. The studies footnoted above do cite correspondance which was carried on during this period which indicate that, at the very least, some "secret understanding" was being attempted, certainly on the part of Archbishop Langevin and the Papal Delegate Msgr. Sbaretti as they pressured Prime-Minister Laurier. These church leaders wanted to link a new school agreement with boundary extensions.

Minor Issues.

The bitter campaigning which was indicative of the 1907 election was very evident in the matter of the government's liquor policies. The government was under strong attack for having reneged on Hugh John Macdonald's policy and estranging the temperance supporters. The Liberal party under Brown noted the increase in liquor licences granted under the Roblin Government and claimed that drunkenness in Manitoba was unmatched anywhere in Canada. In their platform the Liberals wanted local options to determine the granting and rejection of liquor licenses. At his own nomination meeting at Portage La Prairie, Edward Brown made reference to "liquor interests" which, he said, "were the power behind the throne." In his opening salvo of the campaign, Brown had charged that the Manitoba Government had "interfered with the prosecution of offenders against the license law and openly allied themselves with the liquor traffic. Are you content to allow the liquor dealers to elect candidates and rule the Legislature?", he asked.[17]

Leading Methodists spoke out bitterly against the government's liquor and license policies. An official statement issued by the Manitoba Conference on Temperance and Reform appeared on February 15 and called on all Methodists to support only those candidates known to favor prohibition. Rev. C. W. Gordon (alias Ralph Connors of writing fame) found fault not with the legislation of the government but with its lack of enforcement. In a letter to the Free Press, Rev. S. C. Bland of Wesley College (a new addition to Manitoba's University) called the government "intolerable" on the issue:

> No Government, as far as I know, has ever betrayed and flouted Temperance people like the present Government of Manitoba. Their scorn of pledges, their broken faith, their multiplication of licenses, their thrusting of licenses upon protesting communities, do not merely

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[16] CAR (1907), pp. 566, 573, 582.

[17] Ibid., pp. 581 and 582.

> stir my indignation as a temperance man and a Christian, they make every drop of British blood in me tingle.[18]

The government replied to these heated attacks by reviewing throughout the campaign their record of legislation in the area, which included: an end to restaurant licenses in cities; one license per firm in any locality; no wholesale licenses in rural areas; windows in all bars; and a number of related license limitations including an overall limit of one license for every 1200 persons in Winnipeg and, in other towns, two for the first 500 persons and one for each additional 600 residents.

Premier Roblin, Mr. Rogers and Provincial Treasurer J. H. Agnew read the increase in licenses differently from their opponents, pointing out that, while there might be more licenses, there were not more licenses per capita. They also noted that the cost of obtaining a license had risen from $196 to $414 in the last seven years.[19]

. . . .

The campaign was filled from start fo finish with charges and counter-charges of corrupt election practices. As W. L. Morton wisely notes, the election was a battle between two highly proficient electoral machines, one provincial and one federal. Roblin maintained that his electoral act was fair, so much unlike the last federal election in which the "thin red line" of red ink applied by Liberal returning officers had stricken Conservative names from the voters' lists. Furthermore, Liberal-appointed judges had refused to condemn the actions when they were appealed.[20]

One historian summarized the electoral practices of February-March 1907 by noting:

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[18] MFP, Feb. 22, 1907, and CAR (1907), pp. 584-85.

[19] CAR (1907), pp. 568 and 577.

[20] Manitoba: A History, p. 294 and CAR (1907), p. 573.

> Direct bribery of voters, plural voting, mass enfranchisement of newly-arrived immigrants, ballot-box stuffing--all were the order of the day. Favoritism in employment, public-works construction, railway building, mail-delivery contracts, liquor-license granting and withholding--all were employed as a matter of course. Charges of electoral fraud were so common that it became a routine practice for party leaders to meet in order to cancel out each other's lists of protested elections following a provincial or federal vote.[21]

However, in 1907 the growth of "party-boss" and "machine" politics had not yet reached its zenith, nor were Manitobans as much moved by such charges when the expansion of their provincial boundaries promised so much. Premier Roblin was returned with a healthy majority.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1907.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Conservatives	28	31,068	50.6	68.3
Liberals	13	29,427	47.9	31.7
Labor	--	939	1.5	--

Labor vote in Winnipeg = 5.4 per cent.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1907.

Major, Province-wide, Perennial.

1. Boundary Extension.
    (a) The issue as a dodge.
    (b) Disposition of swamp lands.
2. Management of the Economy.

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[21] Jackson, Centennial History, p. 172. In describing the 1907 campaign in retrospect the Manitoba Free Press of June 2, 1910, p. 4, comments: "Here in Winnipeg expert election crooks who had been imported from Chicago to take charge of this work for the Roblin Government's machine enriched the lists in the Government's interests by stuffing them with between 500 and 1000 faggot names...taken from the directory of another city."

Major, Province-wide, Perennial. (cont'd.)

3. Railway Policy.
    (a) Movement of grain. (Sectional).
    (b) Grain combine. (Left).
    (c) Bond guarantees and public control. (General).

Minor.

1. Prohibition Legislation. (Perennial, Moral).
    (a) Reneging of government.
    (b) Licensing policies.
2. Education.
    (a) Grants, equipment, salaries.
    (b) Full time Minister. (New).
    (c) Compulsory education.
    (d) "Secret understandings." (Speculative).
    (e) Flying the Union Jack. (Right).
3. Grain Growers' Representation on Wheat Board. (Sectional, Federal).
4. Telephones. (New).
    (a) Private versus public ownership.
    (b) E. Brown conflict of interest in private company. (Personality).
5. The Electoral System. (Charges of Corruption).
    (a) Partisan Returning officers. (Perennial).
    (b) Bogus voters' lists. (Perennial).
    (c) Partisan judges.

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Dissolution, February 28th, 1907; polling, March 7th, 1907; return of writs, Mrach 31st, 1907.

ARTHUR.

John Williams (L)	536
A. M. Lyle (C)	533

Lib. maj., 3.

ASSINIBOIA.

Aimé Bernard (C)	550
J. H. Préfontaine (L)	311

Con. maj., 239.

AVONDALE.

James Argue (Con.)	590
W. H. B. Hill (L)	451

Con. maj., 139.

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS.

James H. Howden (C)	791
Alex. Dunlop (L)	679

Con. maj., 112.

BIRTLE.

Charles J. Mickle (L)	617
Thos. W. Thompson (C)	380

Lib. maj., 237.

BRANDON CITY.

Stanley W. McInnis (C)	1,210
J. W. Fleming (L)	1,081

Con. maj., 129.

CARILLON.

Albert Préfontaine (C)	423
Mastai Gervais (L)	318

Con. maj., 105.

CYPRESS.

George Steel (C)	783
Adam Forbes (L)	672

Con. maj., 111.

DAUPHIN.

John Campbell (L)	830
James G. Harvey (C)	709

Lib. maj., 121.

DELORAINE.

Robt. S. Thornton (L)	602
Edward Briggs (C)	561

Lib. maj., 41.

DUFFERIN.

R. P. Roblin (C)	931
A. E. August (L)	760

Con. maj., 171.

EMERSON.

George Walton (L)	582
D. H. McFadden (C)	477

Lib. maj., 105.

GILBERT PLAINS

Glenlyon Campbell (C.)
By accl.

GIMLI.

Sg. Jonasson (L.)	621
B. L. Baldwinson (C.)	465

Lib. maj., 156.

GLADSTONE.

J. W. Armstrong (L.)	743
D. Wilson (C.)	662

Lib. maj., 81.

HAMIOTA.

Wm. Ferguson (C.)	737
M. B. Jackson (L.)	636

Con. maj., 101.

KILDONAN & ST. ANDREWS

Orton I. Grain (C.)	792
M. J. O'Donohoe (L.)	751

Con. maj., 41.

KILLARNEY.

George Lawrence (C.)	642
R. L. Richardson (L.)	486

Con. maj., 156.

LAKESIDE.

E. D. Lynch (C.)........	460
Peter McArthur (L.)	433
Con. maj. 27.	

LANSDOWNE.

T. C. Norris (L.)........	859
R. E. Hicks (C.)........	763
Lib. maj., 96.	

LA VERANDRYE.

J. B. Lauzon (C.)	361
Wm. Lagimodiere (L.)...	338
Con. maj., 23.	

MANITOU.

Robert Rogers (C.)......	832
G. E. Davidson (L.).....	512
Con. maj., 320.	

MINNEDOSA.

W. B. Waddell (C.)......	792
R. W. Pearson (L.)......	686
Con. maj., 106.	

MORDEN.

B. J. McConnell (L.).....	544
Geo. Ashdown (C.)	454
Lib. maj., 90.	

MORRIS.

Colin H. Campbell (C.)...	825
John P. Molloy (L.)......	825

Returning officer, after recount before a judge, gave his casting vote for Mr. Campbell.

MOUNTAIN.

J. B. Baird (L.).........	1,031
D. A. McIntyre (C.).....	598
Lib. maj., 433.	

NORFOLK.

Robert F. Lyons (C.)....	799
Wm. Walker (L.)........	646
Con. maj., 153.	

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

Hugh Armstrong (C.)....	868
Edward Brown (L.)......	645
Con. maj., 223.	

RHINELAND.

Valentine Winkler (L.) ..	364
Cor. Bergman (C.)	321
Lib. maj., 43.	

ROCKWOOD.

Isaac Riley (C.).........	676
Ira Stratton (L.)........	620
Con. maj., 56.	

RUSSELL.

A. L. Bonnycastle (C.)....	605
T. A. Wright (L.)........	596
Con. maj., 9.	

[illegible]T. BONIFACE

Joseph Bernier (C.)......	749
Horace Chevrier (L.)....	688
Con. maj., 61.	

SOUTH BRANDON.

Alfred H. Carroll (C.)....	418
James M[illegible]ddick (L.). .	409
Con. maj., 9.	

[illegible]PRINGFIELD.

D. A. Ross (L.)..........	540
John Little (C.)..........	359
Lib. maj., 181.	

SWAN RIVER.

J. W. Robson (C.).......	387
J. P. Jones (L.)..........	348
Con. maj., 39.	

TURTLE MOUNTAIN.

James Johnson (C.)	649
John Morrow (L.).......	462
Con. maj., 187.	

VIRDEN.

John H. Agnew (C.).....	730
John G. Rattray (L.)....	645
Con. maj., 85.	

WINNIPEG CENTRE

T. W. Taylor (C.)........	2,314
J. A. MacArthur (L.)....	2,047
Con. maj., 267.	

WINNIPEG NORTH.

J. F. Mitchell (C.).......	2,244
Alex. Macdonald (L.)....	1,874
Con. maj., 370	

WINNIPEG SOUTH.

James T. Gordon (C.)....	2,122
R. E. Chaffey (L.).......	1,988
Con. maj., 134.	

WINNIPEG WEST.

T. H. Johnson (L.)......	2,011
Thomas W. Sharpe (C.) .	1,785
[illegible] McKim (Lab. Can.)	939
Lib. maj., 226.	

DATES OF MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Since Confederation.

1870	Dec. 27
1874	Dec. 23
1878	Dec. 18
1879	Dec. 16
1883	Jan. 23
1886	Dec. 9
1888	July 11
1892	July 23
1896	Jan. 15
1899	Dec. 7
1903	July 20
1907	March 7

ANOTHER VICTORY

FOR

"HARD HEADED

PRACTICAL BUSINESSMEN"

JUNE 20 TO JULY 11, 1910

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Conservatives	R. P. Roblin	41
Liberals	T. C. Norris	38
Labour	(F. J. Dixon)	1
Socialist Party	George Armstrong	3
Independents	----	3

41 single member constituencies

Major Issues: (1) Boundary Extension.

Premier R. P. Roblin opened the 1910 campaign in Carman on June 22 and gave his reasons for the hurried election call. Mr. Roblin claimed he wanted to counter the opposition charges that the general administration of his government was not meeting with public approval. He believed that his new elevator policy should be approved by the public. The loss of a by-election to a Grain Grower candidate and popular pressure of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association farmers had prompted him to engage in government ownership of grain elevators. Also, according to to the Roblin perspective, the failure of meetings and correspondance with Sir Wilfrid Laurier to get an equal boundary arrangement for Manitoba as that achieved by Saskatchewan and Alberta prompted him to want a further expression to Ottawa of resentment by the electorate.[1] It would appear that of the three matters responsible for the election call Premier Roblin considered the "boundary issue" the major matter of contention. It may well have served the same purpose as the Manitoba School Question had for Thomas Greenway in 1892 and 1896. In fact, just such charges were made by the Liberals. J. W. Dafoe editorialised in his Liberal Free Press that the boundary issue was a "fake" without which the Conservative Government would have no means to divert public attention. The newspaper also charged editorially that Mr. Roblin wanted to get the election over before serious talks with Prime-Minister Laurier began--lest the matter be worked out and he be left without the popular grievance.[2]

Perhaps the clearest statement of the Liberal position was offered by Edward Brown, replaced as Liberal leader by T. C. Norris, and now running as a Liberal candidate in Winnipeg South. Brown was confident that the boundary issue could be settled in a short time by a friendly government and the request for all natural resources. He spoke at his Winnipeg South nomination as follows:

> The Liberal party say to the people of Manitoba today, that, if they are returned to power, we will ask the Dominion Government to give us the lands, timbers, minerals and fisheries of that immense territory that is to be added to this province in the near future, and no estimate in the shape of a subsidy would warrant the government in accepting such a settlement as against what we propose to get. (Applause). The Liberal Party in Manitoba will adhere to this position, and we will undertake, if we are returned to power, to get the natural resources of that territory, or we will get nothing. I will promise the electorate this, that if we do not get fair treatment from the Dominion Government, so far as I personally am concerned I shall be prepared to forsake my own party and denounce the Dominion Government on this question. (Applause). My own impression is that the whole question can be satisfactorally settled in a very short time.[3]

Brown's language and promises do appear to have reflected the concern of the electorate on this matter.

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[1] MFP, June 23, 1910, p. 1., and CAR (1910), p. 483.

[2] MFP, June 8, 1910, p. 4, and June 17, 1910, p. 4.

[3] Ibid., June 24, 1910.

Major Issues: (2) Elevator Policy.

If column space in newspapers is any indication, however, the issue which drew more attention than the boundary extension question was the three-month-old policy of grain-elevator control by the Government. The Canadian Annual Review for 1910 claims that by 1910 Manitoba had become the largest wheat market in North America. There seems little doubt that Premier Roblin's decision to purchase, erect and operate grain elevators had been motivated by the strength of the farmer movement. Ten thousand farmers had petitioned him one year earlier and the loss of the "safe" Birtle seat in a by-election to a Grain Grower candidate was likely influential, at least such were the interpretations of his actions laid against Mr. Roblin.[4] Some of his opponents were of course businessmen and independent grain dealers who claimed that since no monopoly existed government control was unwarranted.[5] But opposition also came from the Grain Growers themselves as well as the Liberal Party. The major concern which these two bodies shared was the degree of independence of the government-appointed elevator commission. Both groups wanted control by the legislature over a non-partisan commission. Premier Roblin approached the issue by pointing to the purchase and control of a business "hitherto in the hands of corporations at Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis."[6] The Liberal leader, on the other hand, explained his party's platform on the elevator issue as follows:

> We differ from the Government in one particular, and that is that if we are going to make the matter a success (and it is no use placing legislation upon the statute book unless we intend to make it a success) we must appoint an independent commission answerable to the

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[4] So said T. C. Norris at his nomination at Lansdowne. MFP, June 20, 1910, p. 1. See also Ralph Hedlin, "Edmund O. Partridge," Papers of Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 15 (1960), p. 65. E. O. Partridge was president of the Grain Growers' Company and urged government control of elevators.

[5] CAR (1910), p. 479.

[6] Ibid., p. 492.

> legislature, which means the people themselves. The political pull must be taken out of the conduct of the elevator bill. You cannot allow politicians and political partisanship to enter into the buying and selling of wheat and make it a success. (Applause).[7]

R. A. Bonnar, Independent candidate in the Assiniboia constituency just outside Winnipeg, and solicitor for the Grain Growers, voiced the Growers' concerns throughout the campaign. He warned of growing distrust of the government because of the early election call before the workability of the government's policy could be judged. The commissioners, or at least two out of the three including D. W. McCuaig, were out campaigning as things now stood. Protests continued to come before the government regarding the early call, and Bonnar charged that one hundred local Grain Growers Associations had petitioned the government requesting a commission independent of government control, only to be ignored.[8] Bonnar explained that the elevator bill had been hastily redone, based on a speedy appeasement to the Grain Growers. To this explanation Premier Roblin reminded the electorate that it was Bonnar who had drafted the bill for the Grain Growers upon which the final bill was based, the same bill which he now called "terrible."[9]

But Bonnar's role continued to be significant as the Free Press noted in a front page story on July 5.

> The information that Mr. Bonnar is recounting from his actual experience in treating with the government is rapidly becoming one of the features of the campaign. The unequivocal statements coming from him about the trickery and insincerity of the Roblin machine is causing a furore in the farming communities.

Bonnar claimed his close contact with twenty thousand Grain Growers revealed distrust of the Roblin Government and the fear that the government intended to break up the G.G.A. Speaking at Franklin on July 5th, he made reference to Premier Roblin's former role as elevator owner; Robert Rogers' involvement in the grain business; and Attorney-General Colin Campbell's law firm's role as solicitors for the Grain Exchange.

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[7] MFP, June 14, 1910, p. 14.

[8] Ibid., July 5, 1910, p. 1.

[9] Ibid., July 2, 1910, p. 1. and counter-charge July 6, 1910, p. 3.

> I am here to warn you that in dealing with the Government you are dealing with an enemy. You all know that the Premier bitterly opposed the Manitoba Grain Act, which has given such relief to Western farmers. You know that that Government withdrew $75,000 from the Home Bank as soon as the Manitoba farmers became shareholders in it. You know that Rogers, Roblin and Campbell have been mixed up with the Grain Exchange, and at the same time, posed as your friends. You know that they have refused to give direct legislation because it would compel them to be honest. Are these the actions of friends to the farmers? If I have made my case plain it is my counsel that it is your duty to protect yourselves.[10]

Major Issues: (3) Charges of Corruption.

Bonnar's statement, above, moves beyond the elevator issue alone and into the third area of greatest controversy: the honesty and general efficiency of the Roblin administration. For someone like Edward Brown there was but one issue in the campaign and that a moral one: "the character of the Premier of Manitoba himself." Brown noted that all calls by T. C. Norris for investigations into government spending had gone unheeded even when Norris claimed he would resign if only a Conservative investigation failed to prove his charges of corruption correct.[11]

The stance of the opposition was not unlike that proclaimed in 1907. The Liberals were highly critical of public land sales by the government. Such sales were not bringing good prices and valuable assets were being lost forever to Manitoba, many of them to friends of the government.[12]

The government's position was that "no one Government in Canada" could present a balance sheet "that recommends itself so quickly and readily to the investors of the world as does the balance sheet presented each year by the provincial treasurer."[13] Premier Roblin observed that increased revenue and expenditures were a sign of the province's health. He pointed to a $3,000,000 dollar surplus in ten years of governing; a $41,000,000 excess of assets over liabilities; and $500,000 in various grants. To charges of increased costs in government, he answered at the close of the campaign in Winnipeg: "We intend to increase the cost of civil government to an even greater extent; for it means increased revenue and enlarged opportunities for the people. It would be impossible to reduce the cost of civil government in this country without impairing the efficiency of the public service."[14]

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[10] MFP, July 6, 1910, p. 1.

[11] Ibid., June 24, 1910.

[12] Ibid., June 2, 1910, p. 4, and June 27, 1910, p. 5.

[13] Ibid., June 23, 1910, p. 1.

The Liberals argued that land prices were down under Mr. Roblin's administration and that revenue was much less than it might otherwise be. Figures cited in the Free Press indicated that the government had sold almost one and one-half million acres at an average of $3.23 per acre, whereas school lands sold by the Dominion were going for three to five times that amount. Norris had estimated a loss to the province of five million dollars by this "wasteful administration." In addition, whatever funds were collected were used for current expenditures to shore up the balance sheets, the Liberals charged.[15] In a reference to the sale of lands and their use as accounting for government surpluses, Edward Brown asked of the government's budgeting:

> What are some of the leading features of their financial administration? They can be summed up in these words: the debt has increased fourfold without any corresponding benefit whatever to the people of this province. The indirect debt has been increased 11-fold; the cost of running the machine has been increased $1,500,000; and the province has been impoverished by the sale of the finest assets the province could have.[16]

A number of land deals involved various political leaders. And while these issues might be left to be discussed under the "personal" classification they were really "public" issues rather than limited to any one personage. A large part of the lack of confidence in the Roblin administration, as expressed in the 1910 campaign, was related to various improper land deals and conflicts of interest.

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[14] MFP, July 9, 1910, p. 7.

[15] Ibid., June 2, 1910, p. 4.

[16] Ibid., June 24, 1910.

Perhaps the most serious charge was that levelled against Premier Roblin over his involvement in the Eli Sand Company. The specific charges upon which an investigation had been requested and voted down were as follows: (1) that R. P. Roblin with an interest in the Gunn sand pit had secured the building of a spur track of Canadian Northern to the sand pit in question at no cost to himself by using government credit and political influence; (2) that the guarantee for the building of the spur line was "without the knowledge, consent and authority of the Legislature"; (3) that large quantities of sand were later given free by the Canadian Northern to the Eli Sand Company at a time when the Manitoba Government was extending substantial financial assistance to Canadian Northern; (4) that on March 10th, 1909, Premier Roblin had lied to the House when he declared that he had retired from the Eli Sand Company as of December 31, 1907. (The Free Press published a balance sheet of the Eli Sand Company's figures in Hugh Sutherland's handwriting dated December 31, 1908 which noted that he and Mr. Roblin would share $6,671.16 as shareholders in the company.)[17]

Hugh Sutherland claimed that Mr. Roblin had in fact received a $1,000 cheque after retiring from the company but such a sum was for "previously undivided profits." He claimed that the published balance sheet included receipts and taxes for two years on real estate in which Premier Roblin was interested, but had nothing to do with the sand company.[18]

Mr. Roblin's only comment, as he concluded his campaign in Winnipeg, was reported in the Free Press as follows.

> This issue he said did not affect the future of Manitoba and therefore it was not his purpose to deal with things of that character. "No man can stay the tongue of the scandal-monger. Since the days of Adam men have been willing to make insinuations to destroy, if they can, the private character of a man, to gratify their spleen and enmity."[19]

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[17] MFP, June 9, 1910, p. 1, and CAR (1910), p. 495.

[18] Ibid., June 9, 1910, p. 10.

[19] Ibid., July 9, 1910, p. 7.

The Eli Sand deal was just the first in importance in a long list of corrupt land deals and forms of electoral corruption which were alleged in this heated campaign. "In 1904 Ridd and Gerrie, two officials in the Roblin Government, bought 6,000 acres of land for $2.40 per acre and sold it within 5 weeks for $10 per acre, clearing over $50,000 on the transaction," or so said part of a full page on the Liberal case to the electorate in the June 27th issue of the Free Press. Other charges in connection with land deals involved Provincial Treasurer Hugh Armstrong supposedly speculating in land while a member of the House.[20] Messrs. Roblin and Rogers were said to have held one-tenth of the interests in five million acres of Manitoba and North-West Railway lands allegedly achieved in large part by the use of Forester group monies.[21] The Winnipeg Telegram on June 28th implied that Edward Brown, the former Liberal leader, had tried to have the right of way for the national trans-continental interchange at St. Boniface changed to increase the value of his own land. Brown threatened to sue the Telegram for fifty thousand dollars. In a similar charge several days later the Free Press noted that Robert Rogers had "sold some ninety acres of property in St. Boniface to the CPR less than two years ago, clearing forty thousand dollars by the transaction and evidently considers himself under obligation to ensure that it will be possible for the CPR to get its money out of the land by compelling the use of this property for stockyard purposes." The Free Press believed that a government commission's refusal to consider other sections of land for a public-owned stockyards was explained by these transactions of the Minister of Public Works.[22]

The seemingly never ending charges of corruption and conflicts of interest did not stop at land deals. Hugh Armstrong, the Provincial Treasurer, charged that "during the Session of the Legislature, of all the men who sat on the Opposition side, there were only two who were not drawing money from the Treasury of the Dominion, only two who were not in one form or other, directly or indirectly, in the employ of the Liberal Government at Ottawa."[23] Robert Rogers claimed that the Liberals were making use of what he called "election crooks from a neighboring Province" all of whom were assisting in the Liberal campaign. He went on to say that "there is a strong army of paid officials of the Dominion Government going up and down this country trying to defeat the will of the people."[24] "Interference" from other provinces and from Ottawa became a perennial issue in Manitoba's provincial elections as would become increasingly evident in the early twentieth century with the addition of the two new Prairie provinces.

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[20] MFP, June 6, 1910, p. 4.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., July 1, 1910, p. 2.

The Liberals made claims that W. H. Hastings, former Conservative campaign organizer, had salaries paid to him from 1907 to 1909 out of the Provincial Treasury "in the guise," said the Free Press, "of payments in legal services." "In 1909 Mr. Hastings was the highest priced public servant in Manitoba, drawing more money than the Prime Minister himself."[25] Commenting further on the employment of "party hacks" by public funds, the Free Press claimed that many members of the License Department (liquor licensers), police department, Attorney-General's and Agriculture Departments were political workers. The newspaper cited figures to attempt to show that budgets seemed raised in election years, presumably to pay salaries of party workers. The Free Press also complained of a "large sum" of money which the Legislature put at the disposal of the Minister of Public works.[26] The implication was that such monies were used as "election bribes"--the promise of roads and bridges or the sums of money which would assure them. Such appeals were allegedly made by Conservative candidates in constituencies like Dauphin, Carillon and Springfield[27] which would confirm the conclusion of Lionel Orlikow that

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[23] CAR (1910), p. 493.

[24] Ibid., p. 493-94.

[25] MFP, June 4, 1910, p. 4, and CAR (1910), p. 495. The latter cites Hastings' 1909 salary at $7,375, a sizeable amount for 1910.

[26] MFP, June 8, 1910, p. 4.

[27] Ibid., June 18, 1910, and June 22, 1910, p. 4.

"the Conservatives drew strength from southwestern rural Manitoba primarily inhabited by farmer citizens of Ontario. Support from immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, who had been forced to settle in the poorer areas of the province, had been gained by extensive public works."[28]

By far the most dramatic charge of corruption centered around the alleged selling of a judgeship by the well-known Liberal Horace Chevrier. Ex-M.L.A. Robert Rogers first made the charge in Baldur on June 17th:

> When we had a vacant Judgeship in the Province a very few months ago and there was considerable delay as to who should be appointed to this important position, the delay was owing to the fact that a leading Liberal, a man recognized as probably the most trusted friend Sir Wilfrid Laurier has in this province, was trying to sell that Judgeship for the sum of $10,000, claiming that the money was necessary to go into the campaign to defeat the Roblin Government.[29]

Attorney-General Campbell named Chevrier on June 20 and referred to him as "another of the Liberals, who ran away from St. Boniface to seek a seat in another constituency, offering to sell a judgeship, the proceeds of the sale to be used to defray expenses of his party in the coming elections."[30]

Mr. Chevrier denied the charge, demanded and waited for a retraction as the campaign began in earnest, and then filed a $25,000 suit.[31] He claimed that the only judgeship he had given any thought to was a vacancy which was eventually filled by a man other than Judge Prudhomme whom Chevrier favored. However, Mr. Chevrier claimed he favored Mr. Prudhomme because he had confidence he would serve "with dignity and credit to the French-Canadian race." "But," he insisted, "in his case, as in all cases in which I have used my humble influence to assist a fellow-countryman I have done so, and will ever do so willingly and cheerfully without thought of profit or hope of reward."[32] J. F. Prudhomme, brother of the County Court Judge named above, intended to substantiate the Attorney-General's charges, and as the public waited expectantly J. F. Prudhomme died of a heart attack on July 2nd.

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[28] Lionel Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1915," Papers of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 16 (1961), 51.

[29] CAR (1910), p. 494.

[30] MFP, June 21, 1910.

[31] Ibid., June 24, 1910, p. 5.

Even Wilfrid Laurier entered the fray, first by acknowledging charges of "a rake-off on contracts" without further comment, and continuing:

> ...but an attack upon the honor of the judiciary is too serious to be allowed to go unchallenged. I do not believe there is the slightest foundation for the assertion of Mr. Rogers, and as far as this Government may be concerned, I give it the most unqualified denial. On behalf of the Government I add that if it were true that a Judge had paid a single dollar to any one in connection with his appointment, that judge would not be fit to be on the Bench and the charge, if true, would warrant impeachment.[33]

Roorbacks and Dodges.

We have examined only a sampling of what were perhaps the more major charges of corruption in the 1910 campaign, and we have yet to explore others under issues connected with liquor licenses, educational matters and local questions in the Winnipeg area. The plethora of such charges, however, allowed the application of the notions of election "roorbacks" and "dodges" by a Free Press editorial:

> It begins to be evident that the present Provincial general election campaign is to be marked by a series of campaign accusations launched by the Roblin Government against their opponents. Every campaign sensation of that character launched after the issue of the writs is prima facie subject to a heavy discount by the public.
>
> "If this is true why has it not been made public before?" "Why has it been held back and sprung as an election roorback?"
>
> The charges against Roblin are not roorbacks. They have not been held back until the campaign.[34]

The Free Press also cited an example of what, for purposes of classifying these countless issues, we have called an "election dodge." Under the by-line "An Original Political Dodge" the newspaper described a barrel of beer being delivered by a dray to T. H. Johnson's committee rooms (Liberal candidate Winnipeg West). Fortunately, the paper records, no one signed for the keg [35] so that in these days of temperance concerns no charges of intemperance could be laid against Johnson and his campaigners. The implication in the story was that one party, the Roblinites, was responsible for a matter which it imputed to the other, the Johnson Liberals. Thus we have a classic definition of a variety of issues we have called "the political dodge."

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[32] MFP, June 21, 1910.

[33] MFP, June 24, 1910, p. 1, and CAR (1910), p. 494.

[34] MFP, June 27, 1910, p. 4.

Social Issues: (1) Liquor Control and Local Option Voting.

W. L. Morton insists that an unequivocal policy on prohibition and compulsory schooling was a serious deficiency in an otherwise improved 1910 Liberal platform.[36] The only issues which received serious discussion in regard to liquor questions were the local option voting practices instituted by the Roblin Government, and the question of liquor licenses and those granting the licenses. The Liberal Party believed that local residents should be able to determine the existence of licenses in their own neighborhoods. The secretary of the Local Veto Association of South-West Manitoba wrote to the Free Press to suggest that the initiative and referendum, the hotly debated forms of direct legislation to be discussed in due course, should be employed in any local option clause.[38]

S. Hart Green, Liberal candidate in Winnipeg North, expressed concern over the ability of the government to "hold hotel keepers at abeyance" by the power of the liquor license controls.[39] A more general concern was expressed over license inspectors. Liberal leader Norris claimed that "most of the agencies which control the trade [i.e. liquor] are composed of Tory heelers of the worst kind. The inspectors who go over the province are strong party men." Norris proposed to take the matter out of politics by establishing an independent commission of County Court judges.[40]

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[35] MFP, June 28, 1910, p. 5.

[36] Morton, Manitoba A History, pp. 317-318.

[37] CAR (1910), p. 491.

[38] Letter from H. L. Montgomery of Deloraine, MFP, June 9, 1910, p. 8.

[39] MFP, June 10, 1910, p. 16.

Social Issues: (2) Education.

In educational matters Premier Roblin pointed to the work establishing the Agriculture College at Tuxedo Barracks on the Assiniboine River just outside Winnipeg; took full credit for greatly increased expenditures on education in the province; spoke of cheaper school books; and at the close of the campaign came around to promising a technical school, hence, answering the criticism that he alone of all the provincial premiers had refused to "fully" "and "cordially" reply to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's commission on technical education.[41]

In response to Premier Roblin's claim of increased expenditures on education Green calculated that in ten years the Conservative Government had administered a 25 per cent increase in revenue; received a 765 per cent increase in school grants from Ottawa and offered a mere 19 per cent increase to provincial primary schools.[42] Edward Brown made the same argument at his nomination meeting at Winnipeg.

> Notwithstanding the fact that the government has collected ten million dollars more during the ten years of their administration than their predecessors, they are giving exactly the same amount to rural schools of this province that the Greenway Government did during their turn of office. That, is a very striking illustration of their utter lack of appreciation of the value of education."[43]

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[40] MFP, June 20, 1910, p. 1, at the nomination of Norris for Lansdowne.

[41] The latter point was made by S. Hart Green, MFP, July 6, 1910, p. 1. Premier Roblin said just several days later that he would establish a school. MFP, July 9, 1910, p. 7.

[42] MFP, June 10, 1910, p. 16.

[43] Ibid., June 24, 1910.

The most heated and controversial school question was the matter of compulsory education which was growing in importance and taking on something of a perennial nature. Estimates of the numbers of children not in school or not registered were from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent.[44] And much of the concern arose out of just such registration figures. "Every child, no matter where and how born, should be given an equal opportunity" said Liberal W. Shaw of Gilbert Plains constituency in support of compulsory education.[45] On July 1st the Provincial Sunday School Convention resolved in favor of compulsory schooling.[46]

Premier Roblin was unalterably opposed to compulsory education simply for fear of re-opening the Manitoba School Question. He spoke out against its Liberal advocates by declaring that Dalton McCarthy, Joseph Martin and Clifford Sifton had agreed that a compulsory clause would invalidate the school legislation of 1890 and so the clauses, he said, "were struck out." "Subsequent litagation showed that the opinion of these gentlemen were well founded," Mr. Roblin continued. "Now, however, the smaller men that have come to light in these days say that they want compulsory education and they move to that end. The purpose is to set the people at each other's throats in this province again. They desire to re-open the whole school question."[47]

As we noted in the 1907 campaign certain aspects of this issue make it speculative in nature since much of the correspondance and negotiation going on between people like the Papal Delegate Mgr. Sbaretti and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, with attempts by the former to link boundary extensions with concessions for Catholics, was guesswork in the open.[48] Certainly, knowledge of, or, at least, fear of, such plans motivated much of the Conservative attack on compulsory schooling. French-Canadian Conservatives likely had quite different reasons for opposing compulsory schooling as evidenced by candidate Joseph Bernier and his attack in St. Boniface on A. Dubuc, Liberal candidate. Bernier claimed that "Norris wanted to foist a system of education upon the province that would compel the Catholics to send their children to schools they objected to." Turning to attack his Liberal opponent Bernier continued: "Vote for Dubuc if you want to curtail your freedom in having your children educated in schools of your choice--but vote for the Roblin Government and his candidate, against Protestant fanaticism, if you want to protect your schools."[49]

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[44] Orlikow, "Reform Movement," p. 56, and S. Hart Green speaking specifically of Winnipeg, MFP, July 6, 1910, p. 1.

[45] MFP, June 14, 1910, p. 1.

[46] Ibid., July 2, 1910, p. 6.

[47] Ibid., June 23, 1910, p. 1.

The Campaign in Winnipeg.

Local issues in Winnipeg took on renewed significance in part because of the size and increasingly important role of the city in provincial affairs, and also in part because of the new parties and independent candidates concentrated in the Winnipeg area.

S. J. Farmer had organized the Provincial Labour Representation Committee to support the Social Democrat F. J. Dixon in Winnipeg Center. Liberals agreed to support Dixon in order to avoid a split in anti-Conservative voting. The Representation Committee included such names as J. S. Woodsworth. Dixon's colleagues supported compulsory schooling and raised totally new questions in the campaign. They desired non-partisan factory inspectors, and taxation of land values. They were convinced that having a "labour man" in the field would attract attention to the needs of those they represented. "The working men would never get anything more from legislatures than they were prepared to take," they declared.[50]

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[48] Cook, "Church, Schools and Politics," pp. 13-17.

[49] MFP, July 6, 1910, p. 3.

The recently organised Socialist Party fielded candidates for the first time in three of the four Winnipeg ridings. S. Hart Green, the first Canadian-born Jewish candidate to confront north end Winnipeg appealed to voters with youthful vigour and biting criticism of the Roblin administration. Green charged that Premier Roblin had neglected the north end of Winnipeg and was "in league with the big real estate operators whose interests lay in other parts of the city."[51] He spoke at length, as did other candidates, of the monopoly held by the Winnipeg Street Railway Company which controlled all gas, electric light and street railway franchises in the city in 1910.[52] Furthermore, the Winnipeg Street Railway Company was in turn owned by Canadian Northern and its controllers Mackenzie and Mann. The electric street railway monopoly was the paramount issue for Winnipeg politicans with even former Mayor A. J. Andrews, a Conservative candidate in Winnipeg West, pledging himself to work "to give Winnipeg all the necessary powers when the time comes."[53]

But back in Winnipeg North where the first Jewish member of any legislature in Canada was about to be elected, S. Hart Green was being tagged "socialist" in his views. He quickly became a leading spokesmen for Labor. While the Roblin Government pointed to a new Workmen's

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[50] MFP, June 1, 1910, p. 13.

[51] Ibid., July 1, 1910 and Arthur A. Chiel, The Jews in Manitoba: A Social History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 175.

[52] Archibald B. Clark, "Municipal Institutions" in The Prairie Provinces, Vol. XX of Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions by One Hundred Associates, ed. by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (23 vols.; Toronto: Edinburgh University Press, 1914), p. 409.

[53] MFP, June 15, 1910, p. 4. Andrews may have had little choice in his point of view since his Liberal opponent T. H. Johnson had on three occasions presented legislation to allow Winnipeg its own right to sell current for electric lighting. All three motions had been defeated but Johnson, the pride of the Icelandic community, was not, and even better days were in store. See W. Kristjanson, The Icelandic People in Manitoba, Wallingford Press, Winnipeg: 1965.

Compensation Act as evidence of its concern for the workingman, Green warned of the possibility that, "unless properly prodded, the Roblin Administration might not implement the new...Act,"[54] since it was not due to come into effect until 1911. Green's sympathy for Labor and Roblin's lack of it was seemingly evidenced as Green spoke about the Canadian Pacific railwaymen strike of August to October 1908. Ministers Rogers and Campbell, Green reminded his electors, had acted as peacemakers, promising the railwaymen that they would stand up for them if they returned to work. His account is evidence of his Labor sympathies and this new dimension to issues in the province.

> Before coming to the men, these two ministers of the Roblin government had been to see the Canadian Pacific Railway. Then they went to the men and promised that, if they would go back to work, the Manitoba Government would stand behind them and see that the promises of the railway were kept. The men went back to work--all that the company was pleased to take back. Some have not been taken back to this day. Gentlemen. Messrs. Rogers and Campbell received just $150,000 for selling the men in the Canadian Pacific railway strike. You have never found an instance yet where the workingman has been sold out in any way by the Liberal government, and you never will.[55]

Minor Issues: (1) Telephones.

In other matters the government's purchase of the Bell Telephone System in 1908 came under attack with opposition candidates citing figures from telephone experts to show that one million dollars too much had been paid for the ownership. T. C. Norris was particularly indignant because legislative approval had not been given to the transaction. "There was never such a trampling down of the rights of the people exercised by any government in the Dominion of Canada," Mr. Norris claimed. "You cannot tell me any place where any amount of money has been paid without having been first voted by the legislature. But here $3,500,000 were so spent. It was a direct violation of the constitutional rights of the people. (Applause)."[56] The Liberals campaigned for a non-partisan telephone commission responsible, not to the government, but to the legislature.

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[54] Chiel, Jews in Manitoba, p. 175, and MFP, June 10, 1910, p. 16.

[55] MFP, July 6, 1910, p. 1.

Methodist leader W. F. Osborne, who took it upon himself to oppose Premier Roblin in his own constituency, enlarged the question by declaring at Dufferin, "The fact that, even on the verge of an election, the government was not announcing any further reduction in telephone rates, was proof of the dangerous conditions in which the business was owing to the extravagant price originally paid and owing to the draining of the telephone treasury for purposes of general revenue."[57]

The government cited its own experts to indicate that the right price had been paid for the system and, further, that the system's success could be measured by a doubling of subscribers and the employment of six hundred men. The chairman of the Telephone Commission, Premier Roblin said, claimed that the system "could not be duplicated for the price paid and that the system was paying even after a reduction in rates of sixty thousand dollars per year."[58]

Minor Issues: (2) Transportation.

The perennial cluster of railway issues was largely laid to rest by 1910. Several opposition candidates publicly admitted that considerable success had been achieved by the Conservative administration. Candidate Green was still critical of the taxation policy vis-a-vis railway corporations, since, as he pointed out, the CPR paid no taxes and the government prevented all city and municipal taxation of railways. Since the government had the right to impose a three per cent tax on railways instead of the present two per cent, Green advocated raising the rate to three and giving over the additional monies to the cities and municipalities.[59]

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[56] MFP, June 20, 1910, p. 1.

[57] Ibid., June 22, 1910, p. 15.

[58] Ibid., June 23, 1910, p. 1.

[59] Ibid., June 10, 1910, p. 16.

In place of concern for railways there was a growing awareness of the need for a unified road system for automobiles. The old policy of "filling up the muskeg" would have to be replaced by direct aid to municipalities for road building and plans for the unification of said roads. Meetings of the Good Roads Movement in Manitoba projected such concerns.[60]

Minor Issues: (3) Electoral Reform.

Finally, there was a growing concern for various electoral and legislative reforms of a far-reaching nature. The movement for women's suffrage had been promoted vehemently by the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Manitoba since 1893 and now in convention at Carman they were among the most vocal groups in Canada.[61] Female suffrage had a sizeable number of advocates in the campaign, at least within the ranks of the independents and Liberals.

In 1909 the Grain Growers had endorsed the various forms of direct legislation and during the campaign Frank E. Coulter of Oregon, who was later in the year responsible for organizing the Direct Legislation League of Manitoba, visited Winnipeg North.[62] Issues of the Grain Growers' Guide were important to explaining and propagating the role of direct legislation.[63]

It was the Mordern Chronicle which took the trouble to explain the various forms to Southern Manitoba voters and indicate its applicability to the issues of the 1910 campaign.

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[60] MFP, June 4, 1910, p. 21.

[61] CAR (1910), p. 313. Nellie McClung attended the meeting at Carman. The spark was that at a local option vote in Carman women were disenfranchised by an order-in-council. See Nellie McClung, The Stream Runs Fast (Toronto: Thomas Allen Ltd., 1945), p. 63. The WCTU had included Icelandic women who were certainly pioneers on this issue in Manitoba. See Kristjanson, Icelandic People, p. 371.

[62] MFP, July 8, 1910, p. 2.

[63] For further information see W. L. Morton, "Direct Legislation and the Origins of the Progressive Movement," Canadian Historical Review, XXV (September, 1944), esp. p. 281.

> By the initiative, the people can enact any law they wish. By petition the electors can require the government to submit a particular law or a general principle to the vote of the people and if it is carried by the people it must become law. On the other hand by the referendum the people can vote on any bill passed or proposed by the legislature. In a word, the people can directly control the legislator...the Canadian Northern deal, the telephone bargain, and the elevator bill would be referred to the people and the final word would remain with them.

The newspaper felt that direct legislation would have its greatest value in moral issues.

> Questions such as the liquor question can be settled by this system without the matter being made a party issue. Under the present system, practically every question is a party question, but under direct legislation the people would pass on a question, and whatever government was in power would require to carry out and enforce the legislation, and if the government of the day did not do so it would very likely be turned out.[64]

The Liberals included direct legislation as the first plank in their platform and at his nomination T. C. Norris claimed that direct legislation could have checked the telephone purchase. He assured voters that his party was not entering the matter blindly, pointing to the Swiss experience as a successful precedent.[65]

But for Rodmond P. Roblin and Robert Rogers, whose better arguments would be reserved for a later campaign, their record of fine public works in railways, elevators, telephones, education and workmen's compensation meant that such "hard-headed practical businessmen" could regard the reform spirit beginning to rise as "a fad inspired by subversive American Republican principles."[66]

In fact, if there be any accuracy at all to Free Press reporting in 1910, Premier Roblin concluded his campaign in Winnipeg on July 8th, 1910 by saying of direct legislation: "I am not in favor of it for the reason that I do not understand it."[67]

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[64] Mordern Chronicle as cited in MFP, June 18, 1910, p. 4.

[65] MFP, June 20, 1910, p. 1.

[66] Orlikow, "Reform Movement," p. 51.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1910.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Conservatives	28	38,056	50.6	68.3
Liberals	13	33,092	44.0	31.7
Labour	--	1,939	2.6	--
Socialist Party	--	1,237	1.6	--
Independents	--	838	1.1	--

Labour and Socialist vote in Winnipeg = 16.7 per cent.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1910.

Major, Province-Wide.

1. Land Policy and Economy Pledges. (Charges of Corruption).
    - (a) Eli Sand Co. - conflict of interests.
    - (b) Graft and partisan use of civil servants.
        - (i) Selling of judgeship.
    - (c) Election campaign bribes.
2. Grain Elevator Policy. (Sectional).
3. Boundary Extension. (Dodge).

Minor, Social.

1. Local Option voting for Liquor Licensing.
2. Bell Telephone System Purchase.
3. Education.
    - (a) Compulsory education.
    - (b) Concessions to Catholic schools. (Speculative).

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[67] MFP, July 9, 1910, p. 7.

Minor, Social.

3. Education-cont'd.
    - (c) Expenditures.
    - (d) Agriculture and Technical Colleges.
4. Transportation.
    - (a) Aid for road-building.
    - (b) Taxation for railway companies.
    - (c) Railway Bonding, competition, etc. (Dead).

Minor, Political.

Electoral Reforms. (Liberal Left).
- (a) Women's suffrage.
- (b) Direct legislation.

Participation of out-of-province politicians. (Perennial).
Beer delivery to T. H. Johnson. (Dodge).

Minor, Local.

Electric Street Railway monopoly. (Left).
Real estate speculation. (Left).
Implementation of Workmen's Compensation Act. (Sectional).
C.P. Railwaymen - strike and aftermath (Left, Sectional).

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Dissolution, June 20, 1910; nomination, July 4; polling, July 11, 1910; return of writs, July 20, 1910.

ARTHUR.

A. M. Lyle, (C.)	777
John Williams, (L.)	602
Lyle, maj.	175

ASSINIBOIA.

A. Bernard, (C.)	924
R. A. Bonnar, (Ind.)	322
John Colvin, (Ind.)	66
Bernard, maj.	602

AVONDALE.

J. Argue, (C.)	708
J. Madill, (L.)	626
Argue, maj.	82

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS.

Hon. J. H. Howden, (C.)	Accl.

BIRTLE.

Geo. I. H. Malcolm, (L.)	758
E. Graham, (C.)	648
Malcolm, maj.	110

BRANDON CITY.

Hon. G. R. Coldwell, (C.)	1,402
S. H. McKay, (L.)	1,150
Coldwell, maj.	252

CARILLON.

A. Prefontaine (C.)	619
H. Chevrier, (L.)	544
Prefontaine, maj.	75

CYPRESS.

George Steele, (C.)	875
F. H. Mitchell, (L.)	699
Steele, maj.	176

DAUPHIN.

J. G. Harvey, (C.)	1,107
J. A. Campbell, (L.)	1,054
Harvey, maj.	53

DELORAINE.

J. C. W. Reid, (C.)	743
R. S. Thornton, (L.)	737
Reid, maj.	6

DUFFERIN.

Hon. R. P. Roblin, (C.)	1,267
W. F. Osborne, (L.)	811
Roblin, maj.	456

EMERSON.

D. H. McFadden, (C.)	766
George Walton, (L.)	757
McFadden, maj.	9

GILBERT PLAINS.

S. Hughes, (C.)	970
W. Shaw, (L.)	865
Hughes, maj.	105

GIMLI.

B. L. Baldwinson, (C.)	900
W. H. Paulson, (L.)	450
X. J. Solmundson, (Ind.)	450

GLADSTONE.

J. W. Armstrong, (L.)	957
W. McKelvey, (C.)	777
Armstrong, maj.	180

HAMIOTA.

W. Ferguson, (C.)	848
E. Henry, (L.)	751
Ferguson, maj.	97

KILDONAN AND ST. ANDREWS.

Orton I Grain, (C.)	1,131
A. R. Bredin, (L.)	1,043
Grain, maj.	88

KILLARNEY.

G. Lawrence, (C.)	726
G. Robinson (L.)	519
Lawrence, maj.	207

LAKESIDE.

C. D. McPherson, (L.)	570
E. D. Lynch, (C.)	502
McPherson, maj.	68

LANSDOWNE.

T. C. Norris, (L.)	1,196
W. Fenwick, (C.)	944
Norris, maj.	252

LA VERANDRYE.

W. Molloy, (L.)	439
J. B. Lauzon, (C.)	430
Molloy, maj.	9

MANITOU.

Hon. R. Rogers, (C.)	1,065
J. E. Gayton, (L.)	610
Rogers, maj.	455

MINNEDOSA.

J. W. Thompson, (L.)	971
W. B. Waddell, (C.)	937
Thompson, maj.	34

MORDEN.

B. J. McConnell, (L.)	630
J. A. Hobbs, (C.)	586
McConnell, maj.	44

MORRIS.

Hon. C. H. Campbell, (C.)	746
R. L. Ross, (L.)	573
Campbell, maj.	173

MOUNTAIN.

J. B. Baird, (L.)	1,086
E. L. Taylor, (C.)	814
Baird, maj.	272

NORFOLK.

R. F. Lyons, (C.)	822
Frank Avery, (L.)	647
Lyons, maj.	175

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

Hon. H. Armstrong, (C.)	912
E. A. McPherson, (L.)	711
Armstrong, maj.	201

RHINELAND.

V. Winkler, (L.)	480
Hugh McGavin, (C.)	357
Winkler, maj.	123

ROCKWOOD.

J. Riley, (C.)	792
Ira Stratton, (L.)	738
Riley, maj.	54

RUSSEL.

A. L. Bonnycastle, (C.)	900
W. Valens, (L.)	892
Bonnycastle, maj.	8

SOUTH BRANDON.

A. H. Carroll, (C.)	535
E. H. Dewart, (L.)	525
Carroll, maj.	10

SPRINGFIELD.

D. A. Ross, (L.)........	807
C. P. Fullerton, (C.)...	661
Ross, maj...........	146

SWAN RIVER.

D. D. McDonald, (L.)..	465
J. W. Robson, (C.)....	436
McDonald, maj......	29

ST. BONIFACE.

J. Bernier, (C.).........	1,022
A. Dubuc, (L.).........	760
Bernier, maj.........	262

TURTLE MOUNTAIN.

J. Johnson, (C.)........	742
W. Hanley, (L.)........	580
Johnson, maj.........	162

VIRDEN.

H. Simpson, (C.).......	985
D. McDonald, (L.).....	800
Simpson, maj.......	185

WINNIPEG CENTRE.

T. W. Taylor, (C.)......	2,012
F. Dixon, (Lab.).......	1,929
W. S. Cummings, (Soc)	99
Taylor, maj..........	83

WINNIPEG NORTH.

S. Hart Green, (L.)....	2,173
J. F. Mitchell, (C.).....	1,553
Ed. Fulcher, (Soc.)....	902
Green, maj..........	620

WINNIPEG SOUTH.

L. McMeans, (C.)......	2,545
Ed. Brown, (L.).......	2,496
McMean, maj........	49

WINNIPEG WEST.

T. H. Johnson, (L.)...	2,578
A. J. Andrews, (C.)....	2,538
G. Armstrong, (Soc.)..	246
Johnson, maj.........	40

DATES OF MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Since Confederation.

1870..	Dec.	27
1874..	Dec.	23
1878..	Dec.	18
1879..	Dec.	16
1879..	Jan.	23
1883..	Dec.	9
1886..	July	11
1888..	July	23
1892..	Jan.	15
1896..	Dec.	7
1899..	July	20
1903..	March	7
1907..	June	11
1910..		

THE RISE OF REFORMERS--

MEN AND WOMEN

JUNE 15 TO JULY 10, 1914

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Conservatives	R. P. Roblin	49
Liberals	T. C. Norris	45
Socialist Party	George Armstrong	4
Labour (Independents)	- - - -	3
Other Independents	- - - -	2

49 single member constituencies.

Platforms and Prompted Issues.

In 1912 Manitoba became the shape of the province we know today with an increase of 179,020 square miles added to her territory, and as well, 6,100 additional persons added to her northern population, and between $2,100,000 and $2,600,000 in cash and over $500,000 annually in revenue increases, added to her coffers. The Roblin regime went to the polls claiming there was no Liberal criticism of the wise financial administration of fourteen years which had at long last brought about the much-debated boundary extensions.

Premier Roblin cited a dozen areas of achievement including increased agriculture expenditures, public utilities, new hospitals, construction of the provincial university, work on the Parliament buildings, a system of taxation on banks and corporations, railway extension at no cost to the citizens, restriction of the liquor trade, and the building of a public market and abattoir.[1] From Mr. Roblin's perspective the major issue of the campaign was the fine record of his government and the refusal of opponents to recognise and acknowledge the achievements.

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[1] MFP, June 20, 1914, p. 17; and June 27, p. 20. Also CAR (1914), p. 600.

The major matters of contention from the Liberal perspective were education--the call for compulsory education, bilingualism in schools and the "Coldwell amendments" of 1912 affecting these matters; temperance and the failure of local option votes to enforce it; direct legislation; women's suffrage; and the ugly partisanship of the Roblin administration and its political machine. Since these were the matters raised by T. C. Norris in his manifesto, and by Liberals in their election platform, Premier Roblin could say of his own program:

> These dozen matters are the matters with which are inseparably connected the material interests of the people of this province. And yet the opposition having the boldness to ask for the confidence of the people, put forth their so-called policy without even mentioning them seriously and without even doing as much as suggesting that the policy or conduct of the Government has been unwise or improper in a single instance. Read the platform over for yourselves and note whether you find a useful suggestion on any of the subjects mentioned. Instead of proposals to benefit the great material interests of the Province, the Opposition offer direct legislation, women's franchise, etc.[2]

Premier Roblin concluded, as he so often did, by dismissing the Liberals as "a party of fads and fancies." The above address is important in that it clearly points to the growing isolation of political attitudes held by staid practical men like R. P. Roblin who were committed to achieving material prosperity and development, for whom the growing concern for social and political reforms were alien. The years between 1910 and 1914 had brought an increased growth in reform-minded groups. The reform-mindedness of older agencies like the Grain Growers' Association prompted them as well, to desert the Conservative Party. Many of these "radical" groups supported the Liberals in this campaign, as we will indicate, but only as a temporary measure in hopes of bringing down the Roblin machine to make room for the desired reforms. Since the Liberals had failed of such reforms in Ottawa, to establish an alternative to both Liberal and Conservative parties which would ensure such reforms would increasingly become the goal. But third party or non-partisan concerns were yet to be realised and had just begun to be articulated in media like the Grain Growers' Guide.

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[2] MFP, June 27, 1914, p. 20.

Telephones.

Premier Roblin seemed correct in his claim that the Liberals were not addressing themselves to the management or even constitution of most government projects. Some debate ensued over the telephone system, however. The Free Press complained of high rates and poor service, making reference to a 1912 investigation which showed political manipulation, factionism, incompetence and graft in the administration of the system. While Mr. Roblin cited figures to show that the cost per telephone of the Manitoba takeover from Bell was considerably cheaper than in Saskatchewan and Alberta, T. C. Norris reminded the electorate that the difference was that Saskatchewan's service was new and Manitoba's old. Mr. Norris also informed electors that Saskatchewan telephone costs were higher only because they covered three times the long-distance mileage of Manitoba and included $400,000 worth of poles given over to municipalities.[3]

"Partisan Administration": The Key Issue.

General charges of partisan administration and extravagant expenditures were the more hotly debated matters in 1914, and cases a-plenty could be cited on both sides. Premier Roblin's inclination to pride his government for increased expenditures on government projects was met by Norris and his Liberals who complained of government expenditures which vastly outstripped population growth. Mr. Norris referred to monies turned over to the Winnipeg Telegram as the "party bill." He spoke of a seven million dollar public debt growing to nineteen millions in Mr. Roblin's hands, and all this hidden by dishonest accounting procedures.[4]

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[3] MFP, June 27, 1914, p. 20; and July 4, 1914, p. 4.

[4] Ibid., June 30, 1914, p. 4.

Mr. Roblin replied to the Norris attack by claiming that the journals of the House would show that T. C. Norris had never raised his voice against a single expenditure proposed. Mr. Roblin denied that the provincial debt was any more than three million dollars grown to five, and that growth strictly for the building of the new parliament buildings.[5]

Rumors circulated in regard to those same parliament buildings to the effect that some serious graft was afoot, and oppositionists complained bitterly of the increased costs over original estinates of most government buildings.[6]

One of the most serious evidences of a partisan use of funds was the deployment of $93,000 worth of public works' funds in the Gimli constituency in a 1913 by-election. The case was the most widely-used example of what opponents of the Roblin administration meant by abusive partisanship. So much "expended in this one district in one summer while farmers elsewhere in the Province have been waiting for years for some assistance to enable them to get to market," said T. C. Norris in his manifesto of June 20th.[7]

Premier Roblin replied with his characteristic boldness as he spoke to a group of railwaymen: "I'm proud of it because it helped 500 families which we put in there--20,000 souls. I will spend $200,000 to help the 100,000 people I expect to put in the north country."[8]

The long list of charges against the administration, many of them proven in court (some during the campaign) included the plugging of voting lists; use of the Telegram for party purposes so that no opposition ads would be accepted; demanding contributions from contractors in return for reward of contracts; buying of votes; use of judges, prison officials, hotel-keepers, returning officers, liquor license inspectors and immigration officers to buy votes and prejudice voting lists and practices in favor of the Roblin Government.[9]

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[5] MFP, July 3, 1914, p. 8.

[6] See Jackson, Centennial History, p. 182 and McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones, p. 196.

[7] CAR (1914), pp. 591-92; and MFP, June 22, 1914, p. 4.

[8] MFP, June 29, 1914, p. 4.

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[9] Consider the following description of the 1914 campaign and government corruption: "After receiving the contract for the construction of the Manitoba Agricultural College, one firm had to contribute $22,500 to the Conservative war chest. Generous distributions of liquor and money would send out hordes of men to vote at a number of polling booths under different names. There were many names to go around for them--one voters' list contained seventeen residents on a vacant lot. To forestall Liberal complaints on election day, the government cancelled the licenses of those Justices of the Peace who happened to be Liberal. Another stratagem was the changing of F. J. Dixon's telephone number at campaign headquarters on election day. A needed redistribution of seats was completed, but the city of Winnipeg with one-third of the province's population was quite under-represented with six seats out of forty-nine. The only two Conservatives to lose their seats with the 1914 redistribution had happened to vote against the government on one of the rare occasions when such a thing occurred." (Orlikow, "Reform Movement," p. 58.)

T. Peterson in his "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba," Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces, ed. by Martin Robin (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1972), p. 74, cites two interesting examples of the plugging of voters' lists during the 1914 campaign. The first was investigated by the Free Press in the Interlake village of Komarno during voter registration. "Wasyl Krucekowski appears again on the same list as Wasyl Kluczkowski...Alex Cymbaluk blossomed forth twice as Alex Cybulak. John Blowatczuk admitted that he was on the list again as John Clavacz. Leon Ukramik was first on the list as Leon Szpakowski...there were dozens of others like him. A large measure of the credit for this is freely given to F. S. Szablewski the debonair land inspector, whose success in 'organizing' is giving him a 'stand-in' with the bosses of the Conservative machine." (Originally cited in MFP, May 21, 1914.)

The second example also comes from the Free Press (June 27, 1914.) "The wildest excitement prevails among the Indians...over the election campaign. On Thursday, the whole thing was made plain by the arrival from Winnipeg of a party of expert naturalization and registration operators, who explained that the scheme is to put through bogus naturalization papers making the Indians citizens."

"One group will have their faces darkened and will be naturalized and registered as Hudson's Bay Railway sleeping car conductors; other groups will be naturalized as newcomers to this country from continental Europe."

Two cases which resulted in conviction and/or confession of wrong-doing were the confession of John J. Pickersgill that he as a Liquor License Department employee had made fake affadavits acting under orders of the Assistant Chief License Inspector and charges were also upheld against a police constable, a clerk and two lawyers in an attempt to arrange an escape for convicted murderer John Krafchenko, who had previously been of service to the Conservative Party. See MFP June 30, 1914, p. 1; and CAR (1914), pp. 605-606.

The Conservative Telegram attempted to "pooh-pooh" such charges and proffer counter-charges particularly of plugged voters' lists and extensive use of Saskatchewan "Liberal machine workers."[10]

The Roblin administration had been roundly condemned for its practices. A Liberal Party convention had spelled out the charges of "partisan administration" as the first plank in its election platform.

> The present Government of Manitoba merits the condemnation of the people of the Province because it has been inefficient, extravagant and partisan in administration; it has governed the Province for the benefit of individuals; it has diverted to party uses a large and growing proportion of grants for public purposes; it has manipulated for partisan purposes the constituencies of the Province so as to deprive many of them of the basis of approximately equitable representation in the Legislature; in the face of positive and definite charges made by members of the Legislature on the floor of the House it has refused to grant any inquiry into such charges; it has repeatedly violated the British tradition of justice, having a subservient magistracy and Provincial police, utilized the processes of law for partisan purposes; it has instigated and encouraged political corruption and used the Civil Service for that end; it has condoned political crimes and has fostered and protected drinking dives and gambling resorts under the guise of clubs...[11]

In his election manifesto T. C. Norris had warned the electors of what seemed to him "the most serious problem" to be faced by Manitobans: "whether or not domination of public affairs by machine rule shall continue." Mr. Norris claimed that long years in office had surrounded the government with "an organized gang of political workers who have grown bold in their manipulation of matters pertaining to elections and patronage." He then questioned how long Manitobans of whatever political persuasion would "stand for rule by this machine." He concluded: "It has become the dominating influence in our political life. Is it your wish that we should have five years more of it? This is not a question of party. I appeal to all right thinking citizens--Conservatives, Independents, and Liberals, alike, to sweep this organization out of existence...I call upon the true citizenship of Manitoba to clean up the mess that exists in this province."[12]

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[10] The Telegram, (Winnipeg), June 13 and July 9, 1914, as cited in CAR (1914), pp. 605-606.

[11] As cited in CAR (1914), p. 589.

As the campaign progressed Mr. Norris spoke of the "abundance of evidence" that the "energies and activities of a political machine such as has never before existed in Canada" was in operation. Norris spoke of an "army of civil servants...carrying on their nefarious work in every constituency in the province."[13] The Grain Growers' Guide joined the attack by claiming:

> The time has come when the best interests of the Province will be served by retiring the Roblin Government from power. It has been accused, and with some reason, of dissipating the resources of the Province by selling large areas of public lands to political friends at much less than their value; it has used the machinery intended for the enforcement of law to persecute political opponents and to shield its own tools; it has employed the officials of the Civil Service, particularly of the Liquor Licence Department and the Department of Public Works to bribe and debauch the electorate and it has proved itself the friend of the saloon-keepers.[14]

Other Major Perennial Issues (1) Education.

There were four other major issues all of which were highly contentious, province-wide and somewhat perennial in nature: temperance legislation, women's suffrage, direct legislation and several education matters which re-opened that volatile subject.

Dealing with the last-mentioned issue first we discover that the 1914 campaign produced contention on several matters: compulsory schooling, bi-lingualism in school, and double-taxation for Catholics. The "Coldwell amendments" of 1912 which attempted to remove double-taxation and legislate allowance for bi-lingual teachers whenever numbers warranted, were also contentious.

Liberal spokesmen charged that the Coldwell amendments had been passed in connection with the boundary extensions to appease Quebeckers.[15] Joseph Bernier's presence in the Roblin cabinet (the first French member since 1899) was similarly described as a sop to French-Catholic feeling.[16] It was apparent to many that the amendment would legalize the "segregation of school children according to religious belief" by allowing a Catholic teacher for every class of forty Catholic children, and where all classes in a school were so numbered the entire school would be under the jurisdiction of Catholic teachers, and, hence, would be a separate school.[17] Needless to say, such a development quickly brought Manitoba Orangemen back into the Liberal camp. The Orange Sentinel of July 2, 1914 credited T. C. Norris with having saved the province from separate schools. The statement was made as Messrs. Norris and Roblin argued over whether the latter had attempted to get the former's assistance to restore minority rights. Premier Roblin denied that he had ever made any such attempt.[18]

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[12] MFP, June 22, 1914, p. 4.

[13] Ibid.,July 6, 1914, p. 1.

[14] Grain Growers' Guide, July 8, 1914, as cited in CAR (1910), p. 604.

Mr. Roblin's statement on the Coldwell amendments, a copy of which was forwarded to the Orange Grand Master, defended the amendments on the grounds that they were meant to assist the Winnipeg Public Schools Act.[19] Grand Master W. T. Edgecombe was dissatisfied with the government reply and stated publicly:

> My position is that members of the Orange Order in the province should vote only for those candidates who will give a straight unequivocal pledge to vote for the repeal of the Coldwell amendments. I stand for the repeal of the school law amendments of 1912, a national non-sectarian school system, and the abolition of bi-lingualism.[20]

The Conservative Edgecombe was now echoing the official Liberal Party position which also called for repeal of the amendments, commitment to a National school system, enactment of a compulsory education law and

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[15] MFP, June 23, 1914, p. 13.

[16] Letter signed "ABC". MFP, June 9, 1914, p. 14.

[17] Le Manitoba (St. Boniface, Manitoba), March 19, 1913, as cited in MFP, June 23, 1914, p. 13. Le Manitoba was considered Bernier's newspaper.

[18] CAR (1914), pp. 603-604, and MFP, June 20, 1914, p. 12.

[19] CAR (1914), p. 595-596.

[20] MFP, July 3, 1914, p. 1.

"strict enforcement of a provision making imperative the thorough teaching of the English language in every public school and making impossible the employment of teachers not qualified to impart such instructions."[21]

The gradual accumulation of rights by way of Premier Roblin's "liberal" administration of policies and principles that his government had not originally legislated, together with the Norris position outlined above, caused an understandable reaction by French-Catholics.

La Liberté, one of Archbishop Langevin's Catholic journals, addressed electors as follows:

> Let us vote in our national and religious interests. In the present fight this transcends all other considerations--women's suffrage, direct legislation, ban the bar, etc. Let us vote against those who would diminish the rights we have regained during the past few years. Let us vote against those who find that we teach too much French and maintain too strongly a Catholic atmosphere in our schools.[22]

Hence, while the Liberals were attempting to gain Conservative and Orange support on these education questions they were in danger of losing the support of national minorities, and more than just the French-Catholics. The German language paper Der Nordwestern carried a note from Plum Coulee where Liberal candidate Valentine Winkler of the Mordern and Rhineland constituency was said to fear the "abolition of the German language, as planned by the Liberal leader, Norris," did not at all suit local Mennonites. The report explained this fear as being "why Winkler is trying to get the English vote in the new part of the constituency, formerly Mordern, for he will lose the German vote." "The English voters are naturally very pleased," the report concluded, "when he [Winkler] tells them that the Liberals will abolish the German language when they come to power."[23]

The Minister of Education George Coldwell claimed that "English is taught efficiently in the Bi-lingual schools...." He noted that there were "some teachers...better than others" no matter what the language or school. He claimed that "as efficient teachers...as can be got" were being recruited for bi-lingual schools and he found "most gratifying progress...being made in many of them--especially the German and French schools." He also found "a strong desire to learn the English language on the part of teachers in Ruthenian and Polish schools.[24]

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[21] CAR (1914), p. 598. From the Norris reply to Orangemen representations.

[22] As contained in MFP, July 9, 1914, p. 4.

[23] As cited in MFP, July 2, 1914, p. 11. Both the Ukrainian Voice and Der Nordwestern claimed the Free Press advocated abolition of bilingualism.

Most observers, at the time and since, claim that Premier Roblin handled school attendance by truant officers rather than compulsory attendance legislation because the latter ~~would~~ certainly have offended the minorities. Liberals demanding such legislation called truant officers party workers, and decried the shortage of legislation to deal with the matter.

The Conservative response was most colorfully portrayed in a full-page party advertisement in Winnipeg papers which asked, in reference to compulsory education:

> Where is education as free and as good as here? Where are schools to compare with those of Winnipeg? or our flag-topped cabins of the cross-trail? Remember, Winnipeg is a polyglot of peoples; Manitoba is an amalgam of mankind in the making. Must we thrust the mailed fist of Caesar down the throats of those whom we invite to our shores?[25]

So by the simple avoidance of legislation the Roblin Government was able to hold on to support via the education issues.

Major, Perennial Issues (2) Temperance.

Perhaps, something of the same approach prevailed in the area of temperance matters. The position of the Roblin Government was to encourage local option votes which would result in total prohibition in a given locality when a vote favored it during municipal elections.

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[24] CAR (1914), p. 602. The Ruthenians were Little Russians from a region bordering the Ukraine, at one time autonomous and at a later stage a province of Czechoslovakia.

[25] MFP, July 9, 1914, p. 11.

Theoretically, Premier Roblin could boast, and he did, the toughest legislation in the country of this kind. It demanded only a simple majority in favor of banning liquor traffic locally, rather than the two-thirds majority demanded in other provinces. Temperance opponents were quick to remind electors that not a single local option vote had been carried from 1910 to 1914 because of legal technicalities employed in defence of liquor interests. Hence, the large number of agencies opposing the "liquor traffic" proposed to "ban the bar," putting an end to bar-room drinking and the dubious "clubs" which seemed productive of drunkeness, prostitution and illegal gambling.[26] Field-Secretary Aylward of the Social Services Committee explained the "ban the bar" movement in a letter to the *Free Press*. His argument was that a means of cancelling licenses was the way to abolish bar-rooms.[27]

Nellie L. McClung co-founder of the Political Equality League which also supported the "ban the bar" demand, pointed to the weaknesses of the local option program. Seventy-two such votes had been defeated on technicalities and voting had not been limited to local residents, she charged.[28] Others pointed to the increase in liquor licenses granted, an increase from 177 to 290 since Premier Roblin's taking office, Mr. Norris claimed;[29] while Methodist Church spokesmen for the province noted an increase in club licences from one to twenty-one. The same churchmen, in a manifesto to the electors, urged elimination of party preferences in favor of the principles presented by T. C. Norris, i.e., "both an improved Local Option law and the banish-the-bar Referendum."[30]

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[26] Under the umbrella of the Social Service Council of Manitoba, with its outspoken field secretary Robert Aylward and president Dr. C. W. Gordon, were to be found: the Protestant churches and all of their associated Sunday or "Sabbath Schools" and Christian Endeavor Societies, the temperance societies, the Trades and Labour Congress and the Grain Growers' Association, and other groups.

[27] His explanation read in part: "...where there is a license a bar is established, and a bar is protected. If...a way can be found by which the license can be cancelled the bar ceases to be, and the bar is abolished and the place where it now is will be placed exactly on the same level as the place where it is now not. That is what is meant, and that is all that is meant, by the 'abolition of the bar'." *MFP*, June 29, 1914, p. 11.

[28] *MFP*, July 7, 1914, p. 9.

[29] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1914, p. 41.

But it was Nellie McClung who pleaded the temperance case most eloquently. In later writings she would admit that she and her comrades were convinced that women would bring a finer moral sense to the liquor traffic question. There seems little doubt, as well, that opponents of prohibition recognized the potential support for prohibition that a female voice might have. One of Mrs. Wesley McClung's most forceful appeals during the campaign asked women what they thought of the liquor traffic. The true flavor of the campaign is not complete without her masterful oratory.

> Speak up Ladies! Tell us what you think of it. You've had some experience with it. Has it been a friend to you and your children? Has it gladdened your hearts or brightened your homes; has it helped you in the battles of life; has it made your life sweeter and better and more noble for you or any of your family? Come forward and tell us, Ladies. Has it respected your womanhood; has it reverenced the purity of your children; has it protected you from insult and wrong; has it listened to your pleadings; has it ever spared the widow's son out of pity for his mother? Well, then, what do you owe to the liquor traffic, and the Government which protects and defends it. We owe the liquor traffic our unchangeable bitterest hatred, and for the men, self-styled chivalrous men who defend this greatest enemy of our home, we can have nothing but scorn.

She continued this particular address at Melita by attacking the bar-room and defending the involvement of women in the political issues of the day, such involvement being itself at issue.

> Perhaps you don't like to hear a woman talk politics. Well, I'm not speaking for myself tonight or in my own strength. I feel that I'm speaking for an innumerable army of women whose lives have been darkened, whose hopes have been defeated, whose homes have been ruined by the open bar room, and if I seem to speak boldly on these matters it is because I cannot forget the injury that has been and is being done to the women and children in this province, and I feel that I am speaking for them. Some say a woman should not take part in politics, some say women are invading politics. It is not so. Politics have invaded our sphere. We are acting on the defensive. It is not a new thing for women to defend their hone and their children. The cave-dwelling women fought the wild beasts that prowled about at night, and

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[30] *MFP*, June 22, 191[illegible], p. 5.

> though through luxury and ease and the softening effect of civilisation some of us may have lost this courage of our grandmothers, still the throb of the old blood is in us yet, and in the great struggle which concerns the happiness of our children, it will not be said of us that we showed the white feather. What do we care for criticism or slander or ridicule from our opponents? We expect it and welcome it. It convinces us that we are doing something, and we will not cease from our political activities until the last poll is closed on the 10th of July. We may win, or we may lose, but in either case we must work, and if it is appointed that we will go down to defeat, let us be found in the last ditch.[31]

In response to such widespread and highly articulate criticisms of the Roblin Government on this issue equally astute platform rebuttals were called for. The party made good use of the services of Arthur Meighen, then M.P. for Portage La Prairie. Mr. Meighen claimed any failure of the "most drastic local option law of any province in Canada" was due to partisan judges appointed by the former Liberal Government in Ottawa who had raised the technicalities preventing implementation of the act.[32]

Premier Roblin claimed that the "ban the bar" approach to prohibition would substitute the bottle for the glass and hinder his temperance reform which, his stalwarts claimed, prohibited liquor sales in eighty per cent of the province. "To close bars," the Premier argued, "opening up instead numerous wholesale places, would, in my opinion, be a retrograde step. Close the bars and the wholesale houses too; that is the thing and where that is the intention I am with you," he told a deputation from the Social Service Council.[33] Roblin believed that direct legislation, as the other half of the "ban the bar" proposal, would be equally responsible for the demise of his temperance achievements.

Then the robust Premier went to the attack. Since the Methodist Conference meeting in Winnipeg had supported the Liberal principles, as we indicated above, Mr. Roblin claimed, "The only way to explain their action...is to believe that a political deal has been made by Mr. Norris with the Liberal parsons of the Methodist Church." In all too characteristic fashion he interpreted the Methodists' claims that he was acting as a defender of the big liquor interests as follows:

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[31] MFP, June 22, 1914, p. 5.

[32] Ibid., June 26, 1914, p. 2, and June 29, 1914, p. 9.

> That the Methodist conference should undertake to injure me, persecute me, I may say, is not without parallel. The Savior of Mankind was persecuted by one Saul of Tarsus and there is no question but that he was zealous, and still on the way to Damascus the scales suddenly fell off his eyes...I hope that the scales that have blinded the Grit parsons of the Methodist Church will fall from their eyes before the election day.[34]

The Premier also charged that the Liberals lacked a fixed temperance policy. His own government did have a definite policy, he said, and that was, "...total prohibition by way of Local Option as fast as public opinion will support it. We have nothing to add or take away from that. Our opponents have no policy. The man who tells you that the Liberal Party, as a party, is committed to any policy whatever on Temperance, makes a statement that is absolutely untrue."[35]

If the Free Press was correct about the Liberal Party platform its tactics were to avoid "a fixed policy" which would only divide the party over the issue and limit its chances of victory. By leaving the question as a non-partisan matter of conscience any party could use local option votes and referenda while still appealing to both pros and cons.[36] But once again, as W. L. Morton so astutely notes, "The temperance appeal

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[33] CAR (1914), p. 598.

[34] MFP, June 18, 1914, p. 13.

[35] CAR (1914), p. 601, and MFP, June 16, 1914, p. 1.

[36] The Free Press noted editorially: "If, in short, the Liberal Party in Manitoba were to do as the temperance leaders ask, it would in the coming election poll neither the full temperance vote nor the full Liberal vote, thus reducing its present reasonably good chance of victory. On the other hand, if it retains the full Liberal strength and offers to the temperance leaders a means of early victory (if their estimate of the strength of their cause is correct) should it not be able to command a sufficient volume of support to ensure victory?" March 2, 1914, p. 11.

to conscience posed dangers for the party system and prepared the way for that political independence in the electorate out of which a third party was to arise."[37]

We have already noted the non-partisan appeal which T. C. Norris made in regard to replacing an altogether too "partisan administration." Such appeals were, in fact, in evidence on all the major issues of this campaign.

Major, Perennial Issues: (3) Electoral Reform.

As indicated earlier the demand for women's suffrage was very much related to the demand for temperance reform and the conviction that women could make the difference. The place of women and a new "floating vote" is the other key factor which W. L. Morton links with the rise of non-partisanship and the viability of third parties.

The Liberal Party favored granting women the right to vote and in convention promised to "enact a measure providing for equal suffrage, upon it being established by petition that this is desired by adult women to a number equivalent to fifteen per cent of the vote cast at the preceding general election in this Province."[38] The party was greatly aided by a number of groups proposing the women's vote, the most vociferous being Nellie McClung's Political Equality League. This small but dynamic body confronted Premier Roblin on several notable occasions in 1914 and concluded that the Premier himself was the biggest block to women's suffrage in Manitoba.

Mr. Roblin argued that women's suffrage took women out of the home, increased divorce and was often not used once won, as indicated in the United States. He claimed that he shared the concern of women on the temperance issue and linked women's suffrage and direct legislation as potential hindrances of temperance reform since they would conceivably imperil the local option movement. He spoke patronizingly to the women of the province.

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[37] W. L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 30.

[38] As cited in CAR (1914), p. 590.

> ...don't be alarmed ladies; I'll take care of temperance protection. Don't be afraid. I'll hold what we have until we march on to the goal of prohibition through local option. Women do you know that in those states where women have votes and where there is direct legislation, one out of every seventeen marriages ends in divorce?

Speaking of women's suffrage, direct legislation and "ban the bar" as Liberal "fads" designed to get the Socialist vote, the Premier spoke of the Grits as having

> ...consolidated these fads to overcome Roblin and his British ideals and Roblin stand for prohibition. That's why I, over 60 years of age, have to go over the country to warn people. I have reached the age to enjoy private life, but I love my country and will exhaust my physical strength to protect my province from the menace that hangs over it.[39]

Nellie McClung had ample evidence from previous meetings with Premier Roblin that he would continue to regard support for women's suffrage by Conservatives a vote of want of confidence in his administration, and she raised this point repeatedly as she characteristically parodied Mr. Roblin's responses to women's suffrage and direct legislation.

> Sir Rodmond Roblin deals with the Liberal platform in a high handed way. Very kindly, he does all the thinking for his party; of course, there are some of his followers who haven't got much to think with. But the Premier deals with direct legislation, for example, like this: Direct Legislation--un-British; unconstitutional; exhibit A Oregon long ballot, ridiculous. Then women suffrage--leads to divorce; don't believe in it; nothing doing. That settles woman suffrage.
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> It does not matter to Sir Rodmond that five million women are voting in the States; that nine States have adopted it; that Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Finland, Australia, New Zealand have enfranchised women; that such men endorsed it as Lincoln, Lloyd George, and Sir Edward Grey. But none of those men ever put in fourteen years as Premier of Manitoba.[40]

F. J. Dixon the first independent spokesman for Labor to be elected, as he would be in 1914, was perhaps the leading proponent of direct legislation. Dixon claimed that for Premier Roblin it really was the main issue of the campaign.

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[40] MFP, July 7, 1914, p. 9.

Dixon would continue to receive official Liberal support as he had done in the 1910 campaign since the party and this reform-minded independent were in splendid agreement on most major matters like direct legislation. Mr. Norris in his manifesto had declared:

> We are living in a democratic age and we have democratic institutions. Our government is founded on the principle that laws are made for the people and that the people rule. Occasionally those who are called to our legislative councils conceive the idea that the making and the unmaking of law should centre in themselves and that the people should not be consulted. With this view I have absolutely no sympathy. I hold that the people of our Province who, after all, are the real rulers should have the right at all times by a properly expressed vote to decide on the making or unmaking of law if they so desire.[41]

The Grain Growers' Guide of June 24th reiterated the importance of the issue by claiming that "the great issue of the election is Direct Legislation--including the proposal to hold a special Referendum on the question of banishing the bar--and while The Guide has no desire to support either political party, we cannot refrain from pointing out that the Grain Growers' Association at every convention during the past four years has affirmed and re-affirmed its belief in Direct Legislation."[42]

Mr. Roblin blamed recent unemployment, economic depression and general unrest in the United States on what he called "the logical results of the fads and fancies of United States institutions."[44] He read with particular relish from a letter of E. H. G. G. Hay, long-time Liberal and member of Manitoba's first legislature, in which Mr. Hay opined that direct legislation was "not in accord with responsible, representative, government." "It strikes at the foundation of our British system," said the letter.[45] Then Premier Roblin joined Mr. Meighen in his concern that responsible representation would be lost.

> A Gladstone or a Disraeli would be no more than a Tom Johnson in the Legislature where Direct Legislation was in operation. What will it

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[41] MFP, June 22, 1914, p. 4.

[42] As cited in CAR (1914), p. 588.

[43] MFP, June 26, 1914, p. 2.

[44] CAR (1914), p. 573.

[45] MFP, July 3, 1914, p. 8; and CAR (1914), p. 601.

> lead to? No man can tell. It may mean a re-arranging and redistribution of property and of interests in this Province that will chloroform enterprise, that will smother industry, that will clog the wheels of progress. It is not only an astounding but an alarming proposition to be made in a Province such as ours and I call upon every Canadian and every Britisher to rally against this invasion. If that law is passed the Legislature will not amount to as much as a municipal council--the new members being simply instruments to carry out the directions of theorists and faddists.[46]

T. C. Norris, Fred Dixon and supporters of direct legislation saw it as a mere safeguard or reserve power. "Why not one ballot on woman suffrage, banish the bar and compulsory education. Was that not a simple practical way of settling those questions?" they asked. "Was that not an effective way of finding out the will of the people?"

To Premier Roblin's contention that direct legislation was unrealistic, not to mention un-British, Dixon pointed to the many groups who gave it support and who could make it work in matters like prohibition. He cited British leaders who supported direct legislation and noted that even the Conservative Telegram had remarked that an election was in reality an imperfect form of referendum.[47]

Speaking to his, largely labor, constituents in Winnipeg Center, Dixon said "whereas under present conditions the labor men were usually able to get some small concessions from the government just before an election, under direct legislation they would be able to get what they wanted all the time."[48]

In a full page party advertisement Winnipeg Conservatives said of direct legislation and contentions that it would resolve outstanding issues:

> There is not a government on the face of the earth so directly and quickly responsive to the genuine wishes of its people as this? Has art ever improved the temples of Greece? Is British Government a failure? Your Government has never refused you any progressive reform measure that was dictated by genuine public opinions and backed by good business judgement.[49]

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[46] From his Carman address of June 15, 1914, as cited in CAR (1914), p. 603.

[47] MFP, June 30, 1914, p. 4.

[48] MFP, July 1, 1914, p. 10.

[49] MFP, July 9, 1914, p. 11.

And with such calls to patriotism the Roblin Conservatives attempted to stave off the growing movement of reform in pre-war 1914.

Minor and Local Issues.

There were many other issues in this lively campaign but they were truly second-rate compared to those already dicussed. F. J. Dixon seemed close to citizens of Winnipeg Center when he promised support of improvements in the Workmen's Compensation Act, and Factory Inspection Act, abolition of child labor, the enforcement of a previously legislated fair wages clause in all government contracts, and the substitution of a petition signed by a stipulated number of electors in place of the $200 deposit at elections.[50]

The Government's railway policy went unscathed although Liberals reminded electors that it was the Railway Commission and not the provincial government which was responsible for freight rates, reduced or otherwise.

The dream of the HBR continued and as the railway made its way through The Pas and other northern centers, three deferred elections in Manitoba's "new north" became a bitter battleground to woo railwaymen with "booze" and "boodle."

While Conservatives and The Telegram charged that the northern areas, particularly around The Pas, were being flooded by "cargoes of booze and gangs of Grit heelers from Saskatchewan" reports came back to headline the front pages of the Free Press to the efffct that T. C. Norris and his Liberal campaigners had been prevented from campaigning by a railway bridge blockade. The Telegram responded by saying the blockade was intended to prevent Liberals from taking whiskey into construction camps.[51]

Mr. Norris wrote back to Winnipeg with a different interpretation of events as he tried to canvass construction workers at The Pas.

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[50] MFP, July 1, 1914, p. 10.

[51] As cited in MFP, July 24, and 25, 1914.

> I was anxious to go out along the line and personally inspect the ground, locate the whereabouts of the polls and meet the electors. Dr. B. J. McConnell and myself made application for the privilege of running a gasoline car through the territory. I was positively refused that right. I then attempted to walk across the railway bridge and was met by a provincial constable who told me that if I crossed the bridge I was subject to a penalty of $200.
>
> "The bridge is closed and guarded at each end by four provincial government policemen."
>
> What the results of these tactics will be can easily be imagined. What chance have we with polls away out in the bush and no scrutineers? There is no way to get into the territory except over the railroad, as there is not a road in the whole territory. We are kept here in The Pas like hens in a coop. I am putting the case very mildly.
>
> The Pas is full of government heelers and we are taunted on all hands with the advice that we might as well go home as we are not going to be allowed to go up the line and the election is over already. The Attorney-General smiles and says the blame rests with the Dominion Government so far as the embargo goes. Yesterday he and his lieutenants here were putting the blame on the Hudson Bay Railway Construction Company. The state of affairs here makes Tammany look like a kindergarten. In all my experience I have never known nor heard anything like it. (signed) T. C. Norris.[52]

And as RCMP and provincial police argued over who was in control of the area, the Liberal candidate "disappeared" two days before the election and Conservative R. D. Orok was acclaimed elected, thus strengthening Premier Roblin's narrow lead of two weeks earlier and ending one of the most ruthlessly-fought campaigns in Manitoba's now illustrious history of provincial general elections.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1914.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Conservatives	28	68,434	46.6	57.1
Liberals	20	62,798	42.8	40.8
Labour	1	9,214	6.3	2.0
Socialist Party	--	5,870	4.0	--
Independents	--	570	.4	--

Labour and Socialist Party vote in Winnipeg = 20.4 per cent.

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[52] MFP, July 25, 1914, p. 1.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1914.

Major, Province-wide.

1. Partisan Administration. (Charges of Corruption).
    - (a) Excessive expenditures.
    - (b) Dishonest accounting.
    - (c) Printing steal. (Specific).
    - (d) Partisan civil servants.
    - (e) "Boss-machine" workers.
    - (f) Kick-backs.
    - (g) Plugged voters' lists.
    - (h) Vote-buying.
    - (i) Rumors of graft re: Parliament buildings. (Speculative).
    - (j) Public works spending in Gimli. (Specific).
2. Temperance. (Social, Perennial).
    - (a) Local option votes.
    - (b) "Ban the Bar" movement. (Moral).
3. Electoral Reform. (Liberal Left).
    - (a) Direct legislation.
    - (b) Female suffrage. (Sectional).
    - (c) Women in politics. (Sectional, Liberal Left).
4. Education.
    - (a) Compulsory education.
    - (b) Bilingualism in schools. (Sectional).
    - (c) Coldwell amendments. (Specific).
    - (d) Double-taxation for Catholics. (Sectional).
5. Telephone system. (Charges of Corruption).
    - (a) High rates.
    - (b) Poor service.
    - (c) Incompetence and graft.

Minor and Local.

Improvements to Labor Legislation. (Left, Sectional).

Vote-buying in Northern Manitoba. (Local, Temporary).

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Dissolution, June 15, 1914; nomination, July 7; polling, July 10, 1914.

ARTHUR.

J. Williams (L.)	766
A. M. Lyle (C.)	700
Williams, maj.	66

ASSINIBOIA.

J. T. Haig (C.)	1,239
J. W. Wilton (L.)	965
W. J. Bartlett (Ind.)	501
Haig, maj.	274

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS.

Hon. J. H. Howden (C.)	1,100
W. R. Wood (L.)	1,070
Howden, maj.	30

BIRTLE

G. J. H. Malcolm (L.)	892
W. M. Taylor (C.)	583
Malcolm, maj.	309

BRANDON CITY.

Hon. G. R. Coldwell (C.)	1,897
S. E. Clements (L.)	1,734
Coldwell, maj.	163

CARILLON.

T. B. Molloy (L.)	659
A. Prefontaine (C.	652
Molloy, maj.	7

CHURCHILL AND NELSON.

G. R. Ray (C.)	Accl.

CYPRESS.

G. Steel (C.)	852
J. Christie (L.)	836
Steele, maj.	16

DAUPHIN.

W. Buchanan (C.)	1,026
J. Seale (L.)	710
Buchanan, maj.	316

DELORAINE.

R. S. Thornton (L.)	1,127
J. C. W. Reid (C.)	923
Thornton, maj.	204

DUFFERIN.

Hon. Sir R. Roblin (C.)	1,204
E. A. August (L.)	1,065
Roblin, maj.	139

ELMWOOD.

H. D. Mewhirter (C.)	1,901
T. G. Hamilton (L.)	1,537
R. S. Ward (Ind.)	508
Mewhirter, maj.	364

EMERSON.

D. H. McFadden (C.)	1,032
G. Walton (L.)	986
McFadden, maj.	46

GILBERT PLAINS.

S. Hughes (C.)	1,471
G. D. Shortreed (L.)	996
Hughes, maj.	375

GIMLI.

S. Thorvaldson (C.)	1,045
E. S. Jonasson (L.)	461
T. D. Ferley (Ind.)	502
Thorvaldson, maj.	543

GLADSTONE.

J. W. Armstrong (L.)	1,239
S. Singleton (C.)	943
Armstrong, maj.	296

GLENWOOD.

J. W. Breakey (L.)	1,075
A. L. Young (C.)	906
Breakey, maj.	169

GRAND RAPIDS.

Hon. H. Armstrong (C.)	271
A. LaRose (L.)	12
Armstrong, maj.	259

HAMIOTA.

J. H. McConnell (L.)	1,134
W. Ferguson (C.)	736
McConnell, maj.	398

IBERVILLE

A. Benard (C.)	Accl.

KILDONAN & ST. ANDREWS.

Hon. W. H. Montague (C.)	1,097
G. W. Prout (L.)	1,096
Montague, maj.	1

KILLARNEY.

Hon. George Lawrence (C.)	738
S. M. Hayden (L.)	680
Lawrence, maj.	58

LAKESIDE.

J. J. Garland (C.)	838
C. D. McPherson (L.)	828
Garland, maj.	10

LANSDOWNE.

T. C. Norris (L.)	1,271
W. J. Cundy (C.)	927
Norris, maj.	344

LA VERANDRYE.

J. B. Lauzon (C.)	773
P. A. Talbot (L.)	550
Lauzon, maj.	223

MANITOU.

J. Morrow (C.)	1,099
I. H. Davidson (L.)	1,029
Morrow, maj.	70

MINNEDOSA.

G. A. Grierson (L.)	1,174
W. B. Waddell (C.)	965
Grierson, maj.	209

MORDEN & RHINELAND.

V. Winkler (L.)	1,073
W. J. Tupper (C.)	941
Winkler, maj.	132

MORRIS.

J. Parent (C.)	920
W. Molloy (L.)	688
Parent, maj.	232

MOUNTAIN.

J. B. Baird (L.)	1,200
J. T. Dale (C.)	598
A. D. Craig (Ind.)	306
Baird, maj.	602

NORFOLK.

John Graham (L.)	911
R. F. Lyons (C.)	843
Graham, maj.	68

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

E. A. McPherson (L.)	1,030
Hon. H. Armstrong (C.)	1,020
McPherson, maj.	10

ROBLIN.

F. Y. Newton (C.)	802
T. McLennan (L.)	571
Newton, maj.	231

ROCKWOOD.

I. Riley (C.)	1,194
A. J. Lobb (L.)	1,044
Riley, maj.	150

RUSSELL.

D. C. McDonald (L.)	992
E. Graham (C.)	962
McDonald, maj.	30

ST. BONIFACE.

Hon. J. Bernier (C.)	1,602
L. A. Delorme (L.)	1,258
Bernier, maj.	344

ST. CLEMENTS.

D. A. Ross (L.)	1,025
Thos. Hay (C.)	897
Ross, maj.	128

ST. GEORGE.

E. L. Taylor (C.)	1,198
S. Sigurdson (L.)	1,097
Taylor, maj.	101

STE. ROSE.

J. Hamelin (C.)	386
J. A. Campbell (L.)	326
Hamelin, maj.	60

SWAN RIVER.

W. H. Sims (L.)	394
W. J. Stewart (C.)	361
Sims, maj.	33

THE PAS.

R. D. Orok (C.)	Accl.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN.

Hon. J. Johnson (C.)	707
G. McDonald (L.)	645
Johnson, maj.	62

VIRDEN.

G. Clingan (L.)	1,135
H. C. Simpson (C.)	1,050
Clingan, maj.	85

WINNIPEG CENTRE "A."

T. H. Johnson (L.)	7,998
A. J. Andrews (C.)	6,948
W. H. Hopp (Ind.)	953
Johnson, maj.	1,050

WINNIPEG CENTRE "B."

F. J. Dixon (L.)	8,295
F. J. G. McArthur (C.)	6,882
G. Armstrong (Ind.)	528
Dixon, maj.	1,413

WINNIPEG NORTH "A."

J. P. Foley (C.)	3,135
J. Willoughby (L.)	2,816
A. Beach (Ind.)	1,921
Foley, maj.	319

WINNIPEG NORTH "B."

D. McLean (C.)	3,268
R. N. Lowery (L.)	2,645
H. Saltzman (Ind.)	2,066
McLean, maj.	623

WINNIPEG SOUTH "A."

A. B. Hudson (L.)	5,861
L. McMeans (C.)	4,963
Hudson, maj.	898

WINNIPEG SOUTH "B."

W. L. Parrish (L.)	5,31
H. W. Whitla (C.)	4,90
Parrish, maj.	91

DATES OF MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Since Confederation.

1870	Dec.	27
1874	Dec.	23
1878	Dec.	18
1879	Dec.	16
1883	Jan.	23
1886	Dec.	9
1888	July	11
1892	July	23
1896	Jan.	15
1899	Dec.	7
1903	July	20
1907	March	7
1910	June	11
1914	July	10

STANDING OF PARTIES.

The strength of the political parties in the Manitoba legislature after the general elections of 1910, was: Conservatives, 28; Liberals, 13. The government majority in the 13th (last legislature), originally 15, was increased before dissolution to 16 by the creation of the new constituency of The Pas, which returned a Conservative.

In the present (14th legislature), the standing of the parties at date (March 27, 1915), is: Conservative (govt.), 28; Liberal, 21. Government majority, 7.

In the general elections of 1914, the straight Conservative candidates polled 68,434 votes, Liberals 62,798, and Independents, 15,654. The total vote represented by the three constituencies which went by Conservative acclamation, was 3,182.

THE GREAT PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS' STEAL AND THE TRIUMPH OF FADS AND FANCIES

JULY 16 TO AUGUST 6, 1915

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberals	T. C. Norris	44
Conservatives	Sir J. A. M. Aikins	46
Labo -Liberal Independents	-----	7
Socialist Party	-----	2

49 single member constituencies

(only 47 constituencies were contested. Deferred elections in Churchill-Nelson and Grand Rapids never did take place perhaps due to the war.)

The Scandal Cluster.

W. L. Morton writing of the aftermath of the 1914 campaign, explained that:

> The bitterness of the elections...resulted in a long list of petitions contesting the returns, and Manitoba political life was certain to be neither dull nor serene during the life of the new legislature. There was a general belief that the Roblin regime was drawing to a close, and a stubborn refusal by its opponents to accept the results of the election as either honest or final.[1]

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[1] Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 338.

The outbreak of war resulted in the calling of an emergency session of the provincial assembly in September 1914. In the course of that session the Minister of Public Works W. H. Montague announced an increase in the cost of the parliament buildings from $3,859,750 to an estimated $4,500,000. The increase was ostensibly because of the use of caissons or huge concrete piers which were now seen to be a superior form of foundation to original plans for pile foundations with reinforced concrete.

Immediate Liberal suspicions pushed for an investigation by the Public Accounts Committee and, while serious questioning went on via the committee, it was essentially ham-strung by a Conservative chairman and majority.

Liberals A. B. Hudson and T. H. Johnson then pushed for a Royal Commission which Premier Roblin refused to grant. The twenty-one Liberal members subsequently signed a memorial sent to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Douglas Cameron, calling for an inquiry by a Royal Commission into a matter which, Hudson charged, defrauded the province of over $800,000.

Lieutenant-Governor Cameron granted the request over Conservative charges of interference and unconstitutionality, and R. P. Roblin eventually handed over the reighs of government to T. C. Norris with some form of agreement between the two parties about dropping contested election results and moving the parliament buildings scandal into civil suits. Whatever the details of the arrangement certain matters did not go according to plan, and a second commission under W. E. Perdue arose from charges by Conservative counsel that, among other matters, the Liberals had agreed to a payment of fifty thousand dollars for the withdrawal of all election protests.

As the two Royal Commissions piled up evidence which was eventually to incriminate Roblin and all his key ministers and exonerate the Liberals on all charges under the Perdue Commission, Mr. Norris called for a dissolution and elections.[2]

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[2] The history of these events is most carefully recorded (in addition to local papers of the time) in W. L. Morton's *Manitoba: A History*, pp. 342-347, and *The Canadian Annual Review* (1915), pp. 619-630. Also see explanatory note on Lieutenant-Governor Cameron's role supra pp. 742-43.

In his election manifesto Premier Norris described the ongoing investigations as the major issue, making indirect reference to the contractors Thomas Kelly and Sons, who had been recipients of a kick-back which also had fed the Conservative Party campaign funds under party president Dr. R. N. Simpson.

> The most important question for the electors to decide is whether they desire that the work of investigation and enforcement of restitution in respect of the Parliament Buildings and other public buildings shall be carried on by my colleagues and myself, or by the gentlemen who are the intimate political friends of those who are responsible, and who did all in their power to suppress the wrong-doing already exposed and to protect the wrong-doers, as well as to injure the reputation of those who had the energy and courage to undertake the exposure.

A. B. Hudson, the new Liberal Attorney-General, emphasized the importance of electing his party at a time of province-wide disgrace. As he disclosed even larger dimensions of the parliament buildings "steal" he pleaded with his Winnipeg electors in a manner well worth recording:

> It would be the most humiliating thing that ever happened in Canadian politics, if, in view of its scandalous condition of affairs disclosed through the efforts and the energy of the Liberal members of the legislature, they should now be repudiated at the polls; That the men who have advanced a platform which has convinced a majority of the people, and which has convinced even our opponents, should be repudiated must not be. If the Liberal party is not returned to power at the present time, the province will be for ever disgraced. The Lieutenant-Governor will be disgraced. The Telegram, which is the mouthpiece of the Dominion government, says the Lieutenant-Governor must go, and if we are not successful in this election he will go, because that is the constitutional principal where a lieutenant-governor has interfered at all. Now gentlemen, I ask you to stand behind the Liberal party better than you have ever done before, because there is more at stake than ever before. It is a fight between the present Liberal party and the worst elements in Canada. I look to you to stand behind the Government.[4]

The Norris Minister of Public Works, the very capable T. H. Johnson, was determined to seek restitution from all those responsible for absconding with public monies. He would take firm steps for such repayment

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[3] MFP, July 20, 1915, p. 1.

[4] Ibid., July 23, 1915, p. 1.

beyond the recourse allegedly proposed by the new Conservative leader, Sir James A. M. Aikens. He explained his intentions as Public Works Minister.

> Work on the new parliament buildings will be resumed at the earliest possible moment if the Norris government is returned to power, and will be conducted on a strict business basis. It is the purpose of the Norris government to cancel the Kelly contracts. I care not what Kelly may offer to do, he shall not complete the building. We propose to compel the Kelly firm to make restitutuion for every dollar which they improperly received. It is not enough to say that the law must take its course, as says Sir James Aikens. The law must be made to take its course. There must be restitution and the guilty must be punished.[5]

Mr. Johnson claimed that initial investigations had "nipped in the bud" a scheme to squander as much as $5,500,000 on the new parliament buildings.

Issues in the Counterattack.

The Conservative convention of mid-July which had elected Sir James A. M. Aikens its somewhat reluctant leader had expressed itself in favor of a just retribution. The convention and most Conservative supporters tended to explain the scandal by blaming the party machine and the predominant political practices of the day rather than scoring the Conservative politicians involved.

The twelfth point in the convention's platform read as follows:

> This convention places itself on record in unqualified opposition to any and all political methods that can in any way lead to the development of machine rule, with its attendant evil of manipulation and corruption. It deplores the circumstances which led to the recent change of Government in this Province, and which are still under investigation by two Royal Commissions, thereby making it improper for this Convention at the present time, formally, to express an opinion concerning the conduct of the late and present Provincial Governments--conduct which is chiefly responsible for the calling of this Convention. But it has no hesitation in declaring its belief that justice should be untramelled and that retribution should be exacted for all wrong-doing in connection with the Parliament Buildings' frauds. 6

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5 MFP, July 23, 1915, p. 1.

6 CAR (1915), p. 631.

In the first two weeks of the campaign, while the Mathers and Perdue Commissionswere still in session, Conservative supporters were still able to speak of the Liberals as equally implicated in the scandal. The conservative Winnipeg daily The Telegram referred to both the Roblin and Norris Governments as "Fellow-conspirators who arranged together to thwart justice and to protect a contractor, liberal in campaign fund contributions, who is openly accused of having robbed the people." [7]

T. H. Johnson's lengthy statement refusing any future association with Thomas Kelly was likely made with the charge above in mind.

The other Conservative counter-attacks included the reiteration of the charges under investigation by the Perdue Commission and the alleged unconstitutional action of Lieutenant-Governor Cameron.

As opposing testimonies at the Perdue Commission made daily headlines the central question boiled down to whether James H. Howden, former Attorney-General, or Tobias C. Norris, Premier, were to be believed in regard to the fifty thousand dollar agreement. George Bradbury, Selkirk MP, speaking at the Conservative convention, claimed Premier Norris was not fit to hold office because he was willing to condone the great scandal for a price and to agree to a saw-off on election disputes.

This same Conservative MP was outspoken as regards Sir Douglas Cameron's role in the recent events. Claiming that Sir Douglas "had outraged the constitution in a manner unprecedented in the annals of Canada," Mr. Bradbury spoke to a resolution censoring Lieutenant-Governor Cameron's action, carried unanimously by the convention:

> The Constitution which our province has performed under has been outraged by the act of the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. When he neglected to take the advice of his constitutional advisers and went over their heads to the chief justice of the province, he committed an unconstitutional act that deserves the condemnation not only of this association but of every right-thinking man in Manitoba. [8]

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[7] As cited in CAR (1915), p. 632.

[8] MFP, July 15, 1915, p. 1.

The July 13th issue of The Telegram had demanded Sir Douglas Cameron's impeachment. The Free Press defended the Lieutenant-Governor's action in an editorial "The Attack Upon Sir Douglas," and the intensity rings through the following portion of that defense:

> Sir Douglas Cameron's unforgiveable offense...is that he was instrumental in making Sir Rodmond's further continuance in power impossible. He used the powers of his office to defend the Public Treasury...Sir Douglas Cameron's crime is that at this juncture he felt it his duty to the people, whose money was being stolen by the wagon load, to intervene to the extent of demanding that a Royal Commission be appointed to examine into the truth of the charges made upon the floor of the Legislature. Sir Douglas persisted in this demand; he declined to be intimidated; he remained proof against cajolery.
>
> Sir Douglas Cameron did not destroy the Roblin Government; it fell through its own rottenness. His action was in keeping with his powers; and it was manifestly in the public interest. 9

The Free Press and Liberal supporters went further in their defence of Lieutenant-Governor Cameron in their descriptions of the kinds of pressures brought to bear in opposition to his decision. A key aspect of their attack on J. A. M. Aikens' leadership was to link him with undue pressure on the Lieutenant-Governor. The Free Press claimed that Mr. Aikens had spent two days trying to convince Sir Douglas that he could not act constitutionally. The Liberal newspaper stated that Aikens' constitutional knowledge and pressure from Robert Rogers, then federal Conservative Minister of Public Works, were the two largest pressures brought against Sir Douglas. Rumors and comments circulated that J. A. M. Aikens was a close friend of Mr. Rogers and that his actions, if elected, would be largely directed by the influential federal minister.[10]

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[9] MFP, July 14, 1915, p. 9.

[10] A Globe article was cited to this affect by MFP, Aug. 4, 1915, p. 4. Something of Robert Rogers' prowess as a politician, both in Manitoba and later in federal Conservative cabinets, was described in his obituaries in 1936. The Globe and Mail, July 22, 1936, p. 4, described him as the "minister of elections" in an obvious reference to his partisan organisation skills. The usually careful Saturday Night editorialized of the "late Bob Rogers": "It is doubtful if he cherished any political principles except the principle that his party ought to be in office, and he added little to the debating strength of the party in the House. But in the campaign committee rooms and on the hustings he was incomparably effective. He was a loyal and devoted friend and a most agreeable companion, and had Canada progressed somewhat further toward fascism in her political life than she had when he was in his prime we can imagine him as a highly successful Fuehrer." Editorial, "The Late Bob Rogers," Saturday Night, Aug. 1, 1936.

The personal attacks on Sir James Aikens became separate and significant issues, although they were part of the scandal cluster. On July 22 the two commissions concluded; A. B. Hudson launched civil action against Thomas Kelly; and the Free Press made public a letter addressed to Sir James on December 8, 1914, from F. W. Simon, the British architect who had supervised most of the construction of the parliament buildings. A published portion of the letter made it apparent that Sir James knew two months before the Liberals the extent of the government's fraudulent activity. Mr. Simon had said in the letter:

> I have no wish to press the government unduly. They have their difficulties now, largely of their own creating, for I believe the vast extras on which they embarked so light-heartedly might have been very materially lessened, though their architect, on my remonstrances assured me repeatedly that the government had to make their campaign funds out of them. 11

Sir James Aikens replied to the Free Press contentions by reminding the newspaper that the letter was a matter of confidentiality in his role as Mr. Simon's solicitor. There was no outright statement of stolen monies only the word of V. W. Horwood, provincial architect, which present commission hearings had shown, could not be trusted. 12

In a related matter Sir James denied that he had lobbied for a narrower commission with Lieutenant-Governor Cameron. In a letter to the Free Press he claimed he not only knew nothing about a Roblin attempt to limit the commissioners to two handpicked by himself (Mr. Roblin), but denied vigorously any conspiratorial or interference charges. "I further say that the statement that I was the champion of a conspiracy to prevent an investigation into the Parliament buildings theft is wholly untrue," Sir James said. 13

The Free Press could only retort that if Mr. Aikens had not known about Mr. Roblin's intent he must have been a quiet tool of the Roblin machine.

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11 MFP, July 22, 1915, p. 9.

12 Ibid., July 23, 1915, p. 2.

13 Ibid., July 27, 1915, p. 9.

To all the talk of the monstrous party machine which he had supposedly inherited Sir James Aikens had the following answer:

> Only the day after my accepting I was hailed as the successor of the Roblin machine. I have not seen that machine, and I imagine that when the reins of government were handed over by the Roblin administration to Mr. Norris that the machine went with them. (Laughter) 14

Earlier at the convention Sir James had made an earnest defense of the Liberal-Conservative Party as distinct from the actions of Messrs. Roblin, Montague, Howden, Simpson et al.

> ...the fact that the members of the late administration saw fit to withdraw, to a large extent, from public life, it has left the Liberal-Conservative party in Manitoba undismayed, full of courage, hopeful and energetic for placing proper policies and candidates before the people. (Hear, Hear). No single man, and no dozen men, I care not what position they occupy, constitute the Liberal-Conservative party. That party is constituted of more than half the electors of the people of the province--men who are honest, have courage and are intelligent, and who take a partriotic interest in the public affairs of our country as is evidenced by this convention. It is not fair to the country that there should be only one party. 15

Ministers Hudson and Johnson criticized the Conservative convention claiming that eight of fourteen platform resolutions were matters opposed by Conservatives in prior legislative sessions: such matters as compulsory education, repeal of the Coldwell amendments, improvement of the electoral law, women's suffrage and the convention's intent to implement prohibition as outlined in the Macdonald Act of 1900. Mr. Johnson claimed that twenty-two of the forty-six Conservative candidates were old hangers-on in that party and not the new blood of which Sir James seemed so confident.

By July 31 the results of the Perdue Commission were issued. All Conservative charges against the Liberals were declared unfounded. There were no agreements as regards cash or dropping the original Mathers Royal Commission inquiry, as Conservatives had alleged. And while K. C. Fullerton, Conservative Party counsel, complained about the honesty and

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14 MFP, July 22, 1915, p. 1.

15 Ibid., July 15, 1915, p. 1.

and competency of the judges on the Perdue Commission, the election campaign began to high-light other issues.

Other Major Issues: Introduction.

The major province-wide issues besides the scandals over the parliament buildings and other provincial works (for Thomas Kelly was shown to be connected with the agricultural college contract and other public buildings) concerned the repeal of the Coldwell amendments and the limiting of bilingual schooling; total prohibition in keeping with the new spirit aroused by the onslaught of world war; direct legislation and women's suffrage; and a number of left or labor issues most notably present in Winnipeg.

Other Major Issues: (1) Provincial Liabilities.

There had been one other report of note at the end of July, that of the auditors investigating the state of the public treasury as it had been conducted under the Roblin admininstration. Edward Brown, the new Provincial Treasurer noted that the Roblin Government had increased provincial liabilities from $3,331,000 to $27,000,000. He claimed that there had not been a properly balanced treasurer's report in the Roblin Government for ten years. The preliminary report of the investigation noted vast indirect liabilities as well, plus a complete lack of correct or even accurate accounting procedures, which left outstanding bills of over one million dollars. Mr. Brown had made much of these matters at a Walker Theatre Liberal rally in Winnipeg on July 26th.[16]

Other Major Issues: (2) Education.

In the realm of education the repeal of the Coldwell amendments (which had been designed to protect bi-lingual schooling in Winnipeg and Brandon, but now seemed to foster training in a score of minority languages) was seemingly supported officially by both major parties. The Conservatives were criticized, as we have noted, for a sudden change of heart on the repeal platform. Wherever ten students were of a particular minority they could in practice be taught by a teacher of a minority language, and such leniency in rural schools had prompted the amendments for the cities. Both Conservative and Liberal candidates believed the English language paid the price of such practices. The concern for compulsory education, also carefully opposed in the past by the Conservative Party, and linked to the bi-lingual schooling issue since most observers saw a causal relationship between bi-lingual schooling and school attendance, was now being proposed by both parties. Sir James Aikens said of the Coldwell amendments: "Those amendments are to be gotten out of the way as the people are afraid of them, but nevertheless, the principle of a thorough education for every boy and girl in the province is going to be carried out." [17] Manitoba had heard a number of reports in the House on the extent of absenteeism in its schooling system. Even with improvement attendance had seldom exceeded two-thirds of the school population, and that only in the city of Winnipeg. [18]

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[16] MFP, July 27, 1915, p. 1. and CAR (1915), pp. 632-634.

Premier Norris promised repeal of the amendments at the first session of the legislature, insisting also that English would be taught in every school in the province. His word had more force than Mr. Aikens' since Sir James could be too easily associated with ex-Premier Roblin's old policy, and this the Free Press made a point of doing editorially. [19]

The major concern seems to have been the desire expressed by voices like the Canadian Ruthenian and the Winnipeg Ukrainian that equal language privileges with English be granted to the Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Polish and German minorities. The major parties now seemed concerned that concessions granted in 1871 to French and Mennonite minorities should guarantee a schooling essentially in the English language.

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[17] MFP, July 22, 1915, p. 1.

[18] Exact figures are cited in CAR (1915), p. 642, and included a 63.3 per cent provincial average and a high of 70.55 per cent in Winnipeg in 1913-14.

[19] For example MFP, July 28, 1915, p. 9.

As might be expected the Orange Order opposed the bi-lingual practices. Rev. H. A. Fish of the Order made reference to sixteen languages in use in the province. "I have discovered," he said, "thousands of foreign children playing on the streets of the city when the schools were in progress. In Winnipeg the Bible is sold in fifty-eight tongues and dialects."[20] Obviously, Mr. Fish, like so many others, linked bi-lingual practices and "foreign immigration with low attendance.

There were still the French opponents to any repeal or change in bi-lingual practices. Joseph Bernier, former St. Boniface member and Provincial Secretary for R. P. Roblin, claimed: "The repeal of the Coldwell Amendments would be, to my mind, a serious backward step in the way of fair treatment and consideration between the majority and the minority."[21]

Lionel Orlikow commenting on the 1915 election issues believes that the outbreak of war prompted much less toleration of suspect non-Anglo-Saxon immigration and hence of bi-lingual instruction.[22]

Talk during the campaign of other educational matters: larger grants and general upgrading of rural schooling; assistance to the university and the furthering of agricultural education; all played second fiddle to the bi-lingual issue, compulsory schooling, and repeal of the Coldwell amendments.

Major Issues: (3) Total Prohibition.

The outbreak of war and its opening flush of glamour[23] was very likely responsible for renewed consideration of total prohibition by both

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[20] CAR (1915), p. 644.

[21] MFP, July 24, 1915, p. 7.

[22] Orlikow, "Reform Movement," p. 59.

[23] Something of the attitude towards the war is seen in the following HBC store advertisement: "You've read volumes of "Special Extras" about the war's thrills, you've studied its strategies and wondered over its inventions! You can't go to Europe, but you can come here and see these things, which remind of its glamour and tell vividly of its fierceness,--fragments of spent shell, uniforms, helmets, a Mauser rifle and bayonet, a steel dart dropped by a French Airman, and much else deeply interesting, on view NOW." MFP, July 14, 1915, p. 8.

Liberals and Conservatives. It was somewhat widely assumed that a more energetic effort in the war would be possible by a completely "sober" and "dry" community. The Conservative platform called for acceptance of the Macdonald proposal of 1900 which was now seen to be desirable. "Let there be no mistake about it," said the new Conservative leader. "The plank was not inserted for the purpose of catching votes, but the people at the convention had inserted it because they wanted prohibition, and the people of Manitoba did want it."[24] Sir James Aikens was handling Liberal criticisms that the Conservatives had never been serious about prohibition legislation.

The advantages of the Macdonald Bill, Conservatives claimed, were that it would implement a total prohibition program without a referendum by prohibiting all retail consumption, and bar sales, and putting responsibility squarely with dwelling houses for the use of intoxicants. Sir James further noted that the bill provided that if any person in a house sold liquor or gave it away for any consideration, that house ceased to be a mere dwelling house and liquor could not be used in it.[25]

Premier Norris promised a referendum on prohibition within a year. The Macdonald proposal was good enough that Sir James Aikens was able to charge that Liquor interests would likely side with Mr. Norris. The Free Press continued to link Sir James with the Roblin policy which had seemingly appeased the major liquor business interests in the past. The bitterest and most convincing attacks still came from people like Nellie McClung. "I find it very hard to keep from hating the men who have kept us from prohibition these fifteen years. It is a piece of nerve for the same men to come forward and offer it to us now." Mrs. McClung believed the Conservatives would promise anything while in opposition and, if such wonders could be done in three months, a continued stay in opposition could make the party "world-beaters" in another four years, she said with characteristic sarcasm.[26]

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[24] MFP, July 20, 1915, p. 2.

[25] Ibid., July 15, 1915, p. 1.

[26] Ibid., August 2, 1915, p. 9.

There is evidence that prohibition was also desired to aid in the assimilation of "foreigners" by writing "finis" to their private clubs which flourished in Winnipeg. [27]

Major Issues: (4) Electoral Reform.

The reform outlook of the day, fed by concerns like the desire for total prohibition, and convinced of the inability of "old line parties" to implement reforms as evidenced by the corrupt Roblin regime, looked to direct legislation, women's suffrage and alternative parties as answers to political failure. Premier Norris was able in 1915 to capitalize on the reform spirit but only temporarily as we will discover.

The Liberals were able to boast of a consistent determination to implement direct legislation, women's suffrage and a proportional representation system for Winnipeg. All of these matters had been avoided or opposed by the Conservatives in past sessions.

The Conservative convention had made much of its new-found support of both women's suffrage and a compulsory voting bill for all elections. The convention had not seen fit to support direct legislation.

Premier Norris saw direct legislation as a means of citizens expressing their displeasure quickly. He linked such practices with the prevention of such political skullduggery as the province had just witnessed.

> If you want a clean government you have to be clean yourselves and help to conduct the elections on a clean basis. The day of political crime in this province will have passed if you citizens accept that responsibility, for by the aid of direct legislation and the aid of the votes of the good women in the province, conditions will be such that political crime will be prevented. 28

Sir James Aikens countered T. C. Norris by claiming that the political crimes and their subsequent treatment offered proof of the success of the existing British representative system rather than of its failure.

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[27] Jackson, Centennial History, p. 190.

[28] MFP, August 4, 1915, p. 7.

> Wasn't it under that constitution that these things of which the people do not like to hear came to light? It was not by virtue of the constitution but in spite of it, and it was an abuse of it. We need not take those drastic measures adopted in the Southern states to subvert that constitution. That constitution is good enough. The abuse if it arises, not by virtue of its strength; but by virtue of the fact that the people neglect and let things go.[29]

Later, Aikens asked whether Liberal support of direct legislation was not a denial of the very principles for which a war was being waged. He said of the Liberals: "They would never abandon for German principles, their principles of representative and responsible government. It is for the same principles that they were at war today, to preserve what had made this empire great."[30]

Nellie McClung countered the implicit premise of most arguments opposing direct legislation, that the British system promoted leadership by the capable. In a reference to a recent march down Jasper Avenue in Edmonton, where she and others were referred to as "the rule of the rabble" for their stands on direct legislation and women's suffrage, she exclaimed:

> Thank God, I belong to the rabble. The heart of humanity is sound and true. Let the people decide. Perhaps you say the people will make mistakes, and so they will. But the people will pay for the mistakes they make. And Ladies and gentlemen, it will be a very pleasant thing for the people to be paying for their own mistakes. (Loud cheers). There is nothing new about the people paying. That great illimitable mass, called the people, always pays. The only thing new will be that they are paying for their own mistakes. Direct legislation will be of very great educational value.[31]

The "rule of the rabble" attitude was attributed to Sir James Aikens in regard to women's suffrage as well. Premier Norris criticized the Conservative leader because only a year earlier he had denounced equal suffrage as a threat to the equilibrium of society and the happiness of the home.[32]

Perhaps the war again speeded the causes of reform. The demand for working women facilitated the demand for equal women. Aikens was reluctant to move too quickly. He accused Mr. Norris of hasty intentions in a campaign speech at Virden, claiming that the franchise could begin with women of property and responsibility, gradually widening as circumstances justified.[33]

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[29] MFP, July 26, 1915.

[30] Ibid., August 5, 1915, p. 3.

[31] Ibid., August 4, 1915, p. 7.

[32] Ibid., July 30, 1915, p. 1.

In a Free Press article "The Triumph of Fads and Fancies," Nellie McClung addressed herself to the Conservative leader.

> Sir James has carefully worded the woman suffrage clause: it will be enacted when they get "one clear call" from women--"a mandate", he calls it. Of course, the women have already sent delegations and have signed petitions, and there are many suffrage societies. What of that? Sir James says these women are not the right class. Sir James is strong on class, he wants the "intelligent moral motherhood", and he has appointed himself the judge.

Addressing herself to J. A. M. Aikens' contention that the franchise should begin with morally responsible women, Mrs. McClung continued:

> ...No man votes on his morality. Not even Sir James or his faithful band. If a morality test were invented there would be a strange revision of the voters list! Men vote because they are human beings. Women should vote for the same reason. Sir James Aikens knows this as well as anyone, and his "moral, intelligent, motherhood" provision is a foolish side-stepping of the case, which deceives nobody. Sir James Aikens has never favored woman suffrage, or said a word in its favor. He has attempted to ridicule it, on more than one occasion. Now when he has to swallow it he naturally makes a bad face.[34]

In his final major campaign address in Winnipeg's Walker Theatre, Sir James strongly defended his cautious approach to women's suffrage. It was at the same time a clear attack on the Liberal proposal to respond to a referendum from women numbering fifteen per cent of the ballots cast in the previous provincial election.

> If you wanted to get a wise judgement on any matter you would not go around among the neighbors to get the signatures of fifteen per cent of the women if you wanted good advice.
>
> No: you would sooner be guided by the advice of the one nearest you, or you are a miserable sinner. I know this, I would sooner take the advice of a few excellent women I could trust than that of women I could not trust. If this principle of women's suffrage is right--and the Conservative convention said it was right--then there

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[33] MFP, August 2, 1915, p. 8.

[34] Ibid., August 2, 1915, p. 9.

> should be no delay in giving the suffrage to some women at all events.

The newspaper report then denotes cries of "No, no, all the women," and goes on: "'To the women', continued Sir James, 'who are entitled to it, and then from that progress until justice can be done to every woman in respect of the franchise'."[35]

To Sir James' demand for such a mandate Nellie McClung's response was heartfelt.

> Women wanted the vote because they wanted to help, not because they had a grouch. Sir James Aikens talked of getting a mandate from the women for Woman suffrage. Every time a woman's heart went out in sympathy for the weak and the oppressed there was a mandate for the suffrage.[36]

The Results.

The results of the election were to be expected. Not including the three deferred seats in Churchill-Nelson, The Pas (where Provincial Treasurer Brown would later take a seat) and Grand Rapids, the Conservatives were left with but five seats, with the French Catholic vote being decisive in four of the Conservative constituencies. The balance of the forty-six seats went Liberal or to those sympathetic to the Liberals. F. J. Dixon and R. A. Rigg of Winnipeg were elected as Independents, some prefering to call them Independent-Liberals and others, "Labour" representatives. Without doubt Dixon and Rigg marked the continued rise of left-wing reformism. The issues they raised in Winnipeg were essentially matters of unemployment, fair wage clauses and an enlarged Workmen's Compensation Act in keeping with the province of Ontario. Dixon advocated taking vacant land out of the hands of speculators and placing taxes on land values instead of improvements.

Even the winning Liberal candidates like the Icelandic Thomas Johnson spent considerable time advocating a system of labor bureaus which

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[35] MFP, August 4, 1915.

[36] Ibid., August 4, 1915, p. 7.

R. P. Roblin had legislated but failed to organize and finance. Johnson also advocated changes in fair wage officers' procedures.

For the time being the Liberal Party was to house the demands for reform. But an electorate disillusioned with the two old parties and burdened with their old desire for non-partisan administration, so rooted in Manitoba's history, would continue to be restive and, in spite of Tobias C's most amazing efforts, to seek a more respectable shelter than Norris Liberals.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1915.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Liberals	39	63,191	54.1	83.0
Conservatives	5	38,623	33.0	10.6
Labour-Liberal	3	12,021	10.3	6.4
Socialist Party	- -	3,052	2.6	--

Popular vote percentages in Winnipeg were as follows:

Liberals - 49.6
Conservatives - 24.6
Labour-Liberal - 19.2
Socialist Party - 6.6
Total Socialist-Labour vote in Winnipeg = 25.8 per cent.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1915.

Major, Province-wide.

1. The Parliament Buildings Scandal. (Cluster).
   - (a) The pay-offs.
   - (b) Related contracts.
   - (c) Constitutionality of Lieutenant-Governor's Actions.
   - (d) Involvement of Sir James Aikens.
   - (e) Secret agreements between party leaders. (Speculative).

Major, Province-wide-cont'd.

2. Provincial Liabilities.
3. Education.
    - (a) Repeal of Coldwell amendments, and limiting bi-lingual schooling. (Sectional).
    - (b) Compulsory education.
    - (c) Assistance to rural, agricultur and higher education.
4. Total Prohibition.
5. Electoral Reform.
    - (a) Direct legislation.
    - (b) Women's suffrage.
    - (c) Alternative parties. (Sectional, Left).
    - (d) Proportional representation.

Left, Sectional.

Unemployment.
Fair Wage Act.
Enlarged Workmen's Compensation Act.
Real estate speculation.
Labor bureaus.
Labor representation.

GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1915.

Electoral Division	Liberal Candidate	Votes Polled	Conservative Candidate	Votes Polled
Arthur	J. Williams	815	W. S. Kenner	632
Assiniboia	J. W. Wilton	828	J. T. Haig	590
			W. D. Bayley. (Ind.)	773
Beautiful Plains	W. R. Wood	1115	J. H. Irwin	918
Birtle	G. J. H. Malcolm	873	S. Arnold	422
Brandon City	S. E. Clement	1914	J. A. M. Aikins	1213
Carillon	T. B. Molloy	605	A. Préfontaine	629
Cypress	A. W. Myles	851	G. Steel	789
Dauphin	W. J. Harrington	[illegible]	W. Buchannon	637
			J. M. McQuay, (Ind.)	233

GENERAL ELECTIONS 1915—*Continued.*

Electoral Division.	Liberal Candidate	Votes Polled	Conservative Candidate	Votes Polled
Deloraine	R. S. Thornton	1146	J. C. W. Reid	831
Dufferin	E. A. August	1134	A. S. Argue	848
Elmwood	T. G. Hamilton	2319	D. Munro	866
Emerson	J. D. Baskerville	1181	G. Coulter	460
Gilbert Plains	W. B. Findlater	1383	Si Hughes	792
Gimli	T. D. Ferley Ind.	1172	S. Thorvaldson	562
Gladstone	J. W. Armstrong	1154	A. Singleton	484
Glenwood	J. W. Breakey	1091	John Perdue	636
Hamiota	J. H. McConnell	1063	J. M. Fraser	596
Iberville	J. H. Black	480	A. Benard	527
Kildonan and St. Andrews	G. W. Prout	1295	R. Sanders	734
Killarney	S. M. Hayden	779	G. Lawrence	656
Lakeside	C. D. McPherson	863	J. J. Garland	700
Lansdowne	T. C. Norris	1334	W. J. Cundy	392
La Verandrye	P. A. Talbot	713	J. B. Lauzon	558
Manitou	G. T. Armstrong	1090	W. H. Sharpe	1006
Minnedosa	Geo. A. Grierson	1173	Jas. B. Muir	654
Morden and Rhineland	V. Winkler	1180	W. J. Tupper	712
Morris	W. Molloy	683	J. Parent	740
Mountain	J. B. Baird	1331	J. T. Dale	419
Norfolk	J. Graham	933	R. F. Lyons	770
Portage la Prairie	E. A. McPherson	1065	F. G. Talor	807
Roblin	W. Angus	609	F. Y. Newton	714
Rockwood	A. J. Lobb	1278	T. Scott	639
Ruperts Land	....	....	John Morrison (Ind.)	Accl.
Russell	W. W. W. Wilson	1033	J. P. Laycock	614
St. Boniface	J. P. Dumas	921	J. A. Beaupré J. P. Howden (Ind)	790 640
St. Clements	D. A. Ross	1014	T. Hay	460
St. George	S. Sigfusson	1291	P. Reykdal	831
Ste. Rose	Z. H. Rheaume	414	J. Hamelin A. McLeod (Ind.)	443 266
Swan River	W. H. Sims	676	D. D. McDonald	414
Turtle Mountain	C. McDonald	687	J. Johnson	651
Virden	G. Clingan	1181	R. A. Knight	772
Winnipeg, North "A"	R. N. Lowery	2443	J. P. Foley A. Beech (Ind.)	1490 2248
Winnipeg, North "B"	S. H. Green	7263	E. R. Levinson R. A. Rigg (Ind.)	1248 2494
Winnipeg, Centre "A"	T. H. Johnson	6763	A. Norquay	2346
Winnipeg, Centre "B"	F. J. Dixon Ind.	6443	H. M. Hannesson G. Armstrong (Ind.)	2048 804
Winnipeg, South "A"	A. B. Hudson	5906	W. J. Boyd	2011
Winnipeg, South "B"	W. L. Parrish	5635	L. McMeans	2303

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

DATES OF MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Since Confederation.

1870	Dec. 27
1874	Dec. 23
1878	Dec. 18
1879	Dec. 16
1883	Jan. 23
1886	Dec. 9
1888	July 11
1892	July 23
1896	Jan. 15
1899	Dec. 7
1903	July 20
1907	March 7
1910	June 11
1914	July 10
1915	Aug. 9

STANDING OF PARTIES.

The strength of the political parties in the Manitoba legislature after the general elections of 1910 was: Conservatives, 28; Liberals, 13. The government majority in the 13th legislature, originally 15, was inreased before dissolution to 16 by the creation of the new constituency of the Pas, which returned a Conservative.

In the 14th legislature the standing of the parties at March 27, 1915, was: Conservative (govt.), 28; Liberal, 21. Government majority, 7.

In the general elections of 1914, the straight Conservative candidates polled 68,434 votes, Liberals 62,798, and Independents 15,654. The total vote represented by the three constituencies which went by Conservative acclamation was 3,182.

THE RISE OF SECTIONALISM

AND

DEMISE OF PARTYISM

JUNE 1 TO 29, 1920

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberals	T. C. Norris	52
Conservatives	R. G. Willis	28
Farmer	- - - -	25
Dominion Labour Party (and affiliates)	F. J. Dixon	14
Socialist Party	R. B. Russell	4
Other Independents	- - - -	24

45 single member constituencies. Winnipeg becomes a 10-member district using Hare system of proportional representation. 55 seats total.

The Issues in Context.

Historians are unanimous in sharing Lionel Orlikow's estimate of the list of achievements of the Norris Government from 1915 to 1920 as "an amount and scope of legislation...breathtaking even by today's standards." That legislation included a "civil service commission, a public health commission, a mother's allowance act, the abolition of bilingual schools, a hydro-electric commission, a minimum wage board, prohibition of the sale of liquor, remodelling of electoral laws, overhauling workmen's compensation and factory acts, cheaper farm credit, compulsory education, automatic dialing in telephones, a wider base for municipal taxation, woman suffrage, proportional representation, re-organisation of the University of Manitoba and an initiative and referendum act."[1]

Why then, if Orlikow is right that, "Never had a Manitoba government undertaken such an extensive program," was the Norris Government to confront an immediate demise in 1920 and replacement by 1922?

The answers to the above question are very likely the key issues of the 1920 campaign, even though many of them would have been more speculative than evident, and much more diffuse and unarticulated than the more specific grievances in June of 1920.

The demise of the Norris Liberal Government parallels the very reform milieu and programs which made it noteworthy. Certain of the Norris reforms concretized opposition to him. Legislation enforcing compulsory schooling and ending bi-lingualism by amending the school act, and building new "teacherages" for young English-speaking teachers, brought immediate reaction, with some complaining of an undue "Anglicization," while others complained that "the amendments had not gone far enough in putting the 'foreigner' in his place."[2] The above quite opposite reactions were originally cited as applicable to Manitoba farmers but they were shared in part as well by perennial conservative and ethnic minorities supportive of separate schools.

The rise of Progressivism at the national level was also instrumental in setting an example and climate for local movements of a similar nature. When T. A. Crerar resigned as Minister of Agriculture over the refusal of the Unionist Federal Government to deal firmly with continued protective tariffs, he voiced the majority farmer concern about oppressive tariffs.

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[1] Orlikow, "Reform Movement," p. 60.

[2] Jackson, Centennial History, p. 205.

The protectionism of the Dominion tariff policy had been a major election issue federally, but, while heatedly debated by some candidates for provincial office, was seldom, if ever, an issue of any substance in any particular provincial campaign.[3]

What we witness in the 1910-1920 decade is the rise of class or sectional politics. The growing frustration of farmers was many-sided. While their reactions were strong however split on school issues, as we have noted, they were united in their opposition to tariffs which prevented the introduction of cheaper agricultural machinery from foreign markets. J. A. Jackson reports additional farmer frustration over: a conscription policy which had left them without farm workers; a liberal agriculture exemption policy which never really came into operation; a continued failure of railway policies including the still incomplete Hudson's Bay Railway; plus high prices, shortages of essential farm goods, and rising freight rates.[4] When these frustrations were added to the desire to unite as a pressure group, as the federal example now indicated as a possibility and farmer political successes in Ontario and Alberta validated, we have some appreciation for the issues and successes of this farmer side of a rising sectionalism.

The farm movement was paralleled in two other quarters, those of labor and women. Workingmen constituted an increasingly large percentage of the total population, obviously in Winnipeg, but also in other urbanising and labor centers like Brandon and Dauphin. The Winnipeg General Strike of May and June 1919, fought chiefly for the principle of collective bargaining, had almost paralyzed the city. It had, to some degree, shown the power of the twelve thousand or so official strikers, from metal trades initially, and joined by police, firemen, postmen, milkmen, the press, and perhaps another twelve thousand unorganized workers. The strike also cystallized a class consciousness, as demonstrations were put down by mounted RNWMP with clubs and revolvers at Portage and Main, and labor leaders were arrested and sentenced to prison terms. The Winnipeg General Strike and its aftermath were always among the unspoken issues of the 1920 campaign as a host of Labour candidates, many or most of them the same convicted strike leaders, appealed to the electorate for support. The Norris Government was harshly criticized by all sides for its apparent middle-of-the-road or "do-nothing" stance during the strike.

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[3] While the matter was of federal jurisdiction it was instrumental in alienating provincial politicians like F. J. Dixon from the federal parties. So Mr. Dixon moved from his independent Liberal or Liberal-Labour position to one of straight Dominion Labour Party. He had said a month after the 1915 campaign, "We had a Free Trade party once, the Liberal party before the advent of the golden silence of office was a Free Trade party." The Grain Growers' Guide, September 9, 1915 as cited in Morton, "Direct Legislation," p. 279.

[4] Jackson, Centennial History, p. 204.

Finally, the role granted to women by offering them the franchise may have ensured the involvement of a new reform-minded segment in future campaigns, and most assuredly offered a new and uncertain "floating vote," which W. L. Morton believes was a major factor in making possible the rise of third parties in provincial and national politics.[5]

If we combine the above factors and issues with the difficulties of a war effort and economy; the war's aftermath of deflation; the proven corruption of the Roblin regime; and a perennial desire for non-partisanship; we might begin to appreciate the climate and underlying issues which brought a sudden end to an apparently very notable and honest Norris administration.

Sectional Issues: Farm.

Quite understandably, from the Norris perspective, the major issue was consideration of his administration's achievements. His election manifesto, issued in the final days of the campaign, touched on what might be considered the two major issues of the 1920 campaign: the Norris record of achievement and the lack of an organized opposition amongst both old and new Conservative, Farmer, Labour and Independent factions. Premier Norris declared:

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[5] Morton, Progressive Party, p. 30.

> The first issue is: Do you want the present government to continue. You must consider not merely our record and promises, but what alternative is offered. The opposition is almost purely destructive. There is no pretense that any one opposition faction can elect enough members to control the legislature. Our legislative program has met with general approval. In 1914 and 1915 I made specific promises which have been fulfilled. Faith has been kept with the people. Do the people approve of this? Are you satisfied with the legislation you asked for? Will you applaud the work and disown the worker? [6]

The Manitoba Grain Growers' Association had changed its name to the United Farmers of Manitoba, indicating its new-found militancy. Resolutions agreed upon at a January 1920 convention were reiterated during the June campaign by the Second Conference of UFM Secretaries. Those resolutions included the resolve "that the question of taking Provincial action be left entirely to the initiative of each local constituency," and that, if "a majority of local constituencies" plumped for political action, then the executive would call a special convention to devise a platform and put the movement as a whole into the campaign. [7]

As it turned out twenty-six candidates called themselves Farmer-candidates; some were given outright support by local UFM organizations and others were able to claim, or refused to claim, varying degrees of association with the official Farmers' movement. There was no move to demand a provincial platform and the central executive did not endorse any candidates.

Premier Norris interpreted the farmers' action as proof that opposition was non-existent in the forthcoming elections when he said in late April: "There is now no cohesive organisation opposed to the present Administration in the Province, for the farmers have decided to withhold their organization from political action." [8]

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[6] MFP, June 26, 1920, p. 11.

[7] From a historical summary in CAR (1920), pp. 741-745.

[8] MFP, April 30, 1920, p. 2; and CAR (1920), p. 750.

As we have noted, there may have been a number of diffuse matters which were at issue with the farmers which were not all "evident" and "major" election issues in the 1920 campaign. The Canadian Annual Review for 1920 claims the farmer candidates "fought...upon local matters such as taxation, assessment, education, municipal and purely agricultural concerns." [9] The daily press in 1920 indicates that farmers were also concerned about the government's failure to fulfill a five-year old promise: the building of a public abattoir and a freeing of the Manitoba Agriculture College from political interference by providing it with its own board of directors and adequate funding and salaries. One graduate of the college in a letter to the Free Press echoed the independent mood of the farmers as he described the need for "the voters" to:

> ...put up candidates...pledged to put the affairs of the Manitoba Agricultural College into shape. Politicians are notorious for making vote-getting promises before elections, but why elect politicians? The farmers of Manitoba can elect, and no doubt will elect, their chosen representatives, independent of any "machine organizations" which may spring up or now exist in the capital. The people get what they want at the polls, if they want it badly enough. [10]

Farmer candidate Samuel Larcombe (Birtle) although supportive of the Norris administration generally, was another who parted company with the Premier on agricultural policy, and in particular as regards the role of the Agricultural College. His argument parallels those of the above correspondent to the Free Press.

> The policy of the government on agriculture has not been truly progressive, no matter what may be claimed to the contrary...both college and extension service should be absolutely removed from the sphere of politics if results in agriculture are to be obtained. The function of the government in regard to the college and the extension service should be to place both under a competent board, provide liberally for maintenance and give both college and extension service a chance to develop and to do tremendously needed research and experimental work. [11]

Candidate Larcombe went on to discuss the importance of obtaining

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[9] CAR (1920), p. 750.

[10] Letter of T. A. Bjarnason, Berkeley, California, a graduate of the college. MFP, June 9, 1920, p. 11.

[11] MFP, June 18, 1920, p. 4.

"data in regard to soils and crops and what is suitable for the different sections," information which would be of value to future immigrants.

Other controversial agricultural schemes discussed in the campaign were the rural credit societies which had granted low-interest loans to farmers via government-arranged financial agreements with funding banks. When the private banks had demanded changes in the original act the Norris administration had set up its own provincial savings organization in order to provide the low-interest loans. There were serious differences of opinion here, and George W. Prout, "founder, adviser and devoted friend of the movement," ran as an independent candidate in Winnipeg. Just what that independent stance signified was the pregnant mystery of 1920.

The Liberal platform, as outlined by the Premier at his nomination for Lansdowne constituency, included the following interesting defence of the support of his government in the savings deposit legislation.

> I expect some day to see that the people of the province of Manitoba will be creditors of the government of Manitoba and that the savings of Manitoba people will be used by the government in the discharge of the public duties of the province; when the money owners will get a larger percentage of interest than from the banks and the government will get money at a cheaper price than going to the markets of the world.

Something of his long-range reform-mindedness was apparent as Premier Norris continued:

> It may be twenty or twenty-five years; I may not live to see the day, but we are laying the foundation for a system of financing of a scientific and business basis that will place Manitoba in the forefront of any part of the Empire. This is the idea I had in mind--that was the idea of the whole cabinet—as soon as we were driven to the position of financing rural credits because of the banks refusing to supply us with the money that was necessary. It is a big undertaking. Manitoba leads in this progressive financial undertaking and we are hoping to make it a great success. 12

Less controversial was the "Settlers' Animal Purchase Act" which enabled groups of ten settlers living between Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba to purchase from one to five cows by sharing costs of loans, with interest paid by the government. The very partisan Liberal, Isaac Campbell, Q.C.,

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12 Acceptance address of May 21 at Alexander, Manitoba, MFP, May 22, 1920, p. 1.

spoke at a large Winnipeg Liberal meeting using the so-called "cow scheme" as an evidence of the Liberal administration's ability to create agricultural development, particularly in this interlake district, "where," he said:

> ...the money of the people had formerly been spent in providing work on roads for the foreign settlers in order that their votes might be secured at election times. Now these people had been brought to a condition in which they were able to help themselves, provide their own roads the same as other parts of the province, were able to pay the loans they had obtained of the government, and able to supply a large portion of that milk that was sold to the people of Winnipeg. By the assistance of the government they are building up a fine country that will be an economic asset to the province. 13

Major Issues: (1) Government Spending.

There were two significant reactions to the kinds of schemes outlined above and defended by the Norris Government, both reactions constituting rather major issues in an otherwise quiet campaign: the charge of extravagance, and the talk of a need for opposition and non-partisan sectional or occupational representation.

R. G. Willis, Conservative Party leader, charged the government with extravagant spending, pointing to the cost of the parliament buildings which had exceeded five million dollars. Mr. Willis talked of the high cost to the province of the large number of commissions and associated civil servants supported by the government. He drew attention, as well, to the greatly increased burden of taxation, once justified by a war effort but still unchanged two years after the cessation of hostilities.

In Portage La Prairie the major local issue was government policy in respect to the development of hydro-electric power. Transmission lines were being constructed from Winnipeg to Portage but the provincial government's share of the project exceeded initial

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13 MFP, June 17, 1920, p. 1.

estimates, and seemingly left a burden on municipalities for repayments for construction of transmission lines and operation. Establishment of the Manitoba Power Commission had given the Provincial Government complete control over distribution and rates. [14] When physical difficulties over construction of the line arose opposition spokesmen were quick to respond. Speaking at the close of the campaign in Portage, Mr. Willis said of the government's hydro electric policy: "It was a poor policy, the line poorly constructed....it had blown down once and would blow down again and...the government had no right to spend a cent on it." [15]

Whatever spending went into the Manitoba Power Commission it was but one example of what irked Manitoba Conservatives in June of 1920. W. J. Christie, Winnipeg Conservative, outlined the increase in fixed debt figures: an increase from $27,323,373 in 1915 to $42,966,870 in 1920. In order to raise money for current expenses, Mr. Christie reported, an amusement tax, company tax, corporation taxes, and tax on vacant land had all been imposed. Mr. Christie also complained that the Norris administration had not reduced the provincial debt or cost of civil service as promised in previous platforms. He charged that various contracts had been let and bond issues sold without an open call for tenders. Mr. Christie then charged that Provincial Treasurer Edward Brown had left himself open to going into the bond business after becoming a member of the government. [16]

Both the Willis charge of extravagance and Christie's charge of personal misdemeanor brought immediate responses from Mr. Brown. He challenged Mr. Willis to debate the facts with him at a public meeting and called for W. J. Christie to end his insinuations by either making a specific charge or withdrawing his comments. Winnipeg Conservative J. T. Haig claimed that Edward Brown and his "colleagues" controlled the press and that it would therefore "be impossible to obtain an unbiased report in justice on any case we might present"; so that the debate never took place.[17]

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[14] Further details can be found in CAR (1920), pp. 723-724, and 733-734.

[15] MFP, June 29, 1920, p. 12.

[16] Ibid., June 16, 1920, p. 16, and June 19, 1920, p. 35.

Edward Brown replied to W. J. Christie's charges by saying his firm had not received the bond issue in question, but had been instrumental in aiding the government in getting a good price. He had a letter from the former Provincial Treasurer acknowledging his services.

In regard to the failure to call tenders, Mr. Brown claimed there were times when the government would have looked ridiculous because: "the humiliation of not receiving a bid happened with the Greater Winnipeg Water District. When tenders were called, when the market was difficult and prices hard, securities were liable to fall into the hands of weak holders and irreparable injury would be in consequence done to future prospects of borrowing," he said.[18]

The Conservatives were joined by other opposition factions in their concern over the expense of government services. A farmers' nomination meeting in the Gilbert Plains constituency found one nominee criticizing the government for spending money to finish the parliament buildings. "He said they should have boarded them up and left them as a monument to the inefficiency of the Tories," reported the Free Press. "Money spent on roads would have put a high school in every district," the nominee continued.[19]

Some Liberal candidates who ran in opposition to the government, standing as they did for greater economy of public expenditure and for a lowering of property taxation, called the Norris administration a "brainless bunch of financial drunkards, who had led this province to the brink of an abyss."[20]

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[17] MFP, June 25, 1920, p. 7.

[18] Ibid., June 26, 1920, p. 3.

[19] Ibid., June 16, 1920, p. 4.

[20] Ibid., June 10, 1920, p. 16. The candidates preferring to call themselves "Liberals in Opposition to the Government" included Neil Carey and D. S. Lyons of Winnipeg.

Government supporters answered the charges of extravagant spending by citing figures on interest charges. The Minister of Public Works George A. Grierson, said the $892,000 so spent were not the fault of the Norris Government. Mr. Grierson spoke of increased costs of operation being offset by increased revenues, and pointed to increased grants to schools, hospitals, agriculture and to salaries of civil servants, to account for the expenditures. Since costs were generally up seventy-five per cent while government expenditures had only increased by one-third, the government, Mr. Grierson said, had actually saved money elsewhere.[21]

Isaac Campbell blamed both the war effort and the extra services offered by the government for the necessity of increased spending. He reminded the Winnipeg electorate that, unlike the pre-1915 days, not a single charge of corruption or call for committee investigation had been demanded in regard to the Norris administration's handling of funds. "More money has been spent," he admitted, "but their hands are clean. There is not a trace or taint of suspicion against any of them. That is one of the things the people of Manitoba, without any self-interest in politics, can be proud of."[22]

Attorney-General A. B. Hudson defended the government's expanded use of public commissions and the "employment of lawyers whose fees have been so much criticized." He stated that such fees were set by judges and not by the government, and asserted that perhaps a million dollars would be realized as a result of their investigation into the previous government's political mess.[23]

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[21] MFP, June 16, 1920, p. 2.

[22] Ibid., June 17, 1920, p. 1.

[23] Ibid., June 29, 1920, p. 4.

Major Issues: (2) Sectional Representation.

The other major concern of opposition candidates was, quite simply, the need for opposition members in a very one-sided House. The concern of many Labour and Farmer candidates was, in addition, to appropriate some kind of sectional or occupational representation in opposition to, or within, the government. But to be concerned with sectional representation was to readjust the priority of partisan allegiances. Hence, the Norris Government was also prompted to defend itself against charges of being simply a "party" government. Minister of Education Dr. R. S. Thornton proclaimed the independence of all members of the past legislature as they proposed sweeping reforms by asserting that "there never had been an occasion during the last five years when the members of the administration had dictated in any respect to those who aligned themselves with it as its supporters. The government had not made the legislature; the legislature had made the government." As there seemed to be the practice of devising legislation in caucus, Dr. Thornton said of that practice "surely nothing could be more independent than a round table conference."[24]

The demand for political independence was to be found in every quarter. It is interesting to examine some of them. We have already noted the local and independent nature of Farmer candidates. Labor-oriented candidates were divided into at least four factions: the Dominion Labour Party under F. J. Dixon's leadership; John Queen's Social Democratic Party; the Ex-Soldiers and Sailors Labour Party; and the Socialist Party of Canada. Only the latter failed to unite with the Dominion Labour Party for purposes of the campaign for labor representation.

In Winnipeg, four women ran for office for the first time in the province's history. One independent candidate, Mrs. John Dick, described herself as a Children's candidate, claiming that the nation's and her own first interests were those of the mother and child. She was a Norris supporter but "wished to reserve the right of her own opinion in order to escape the caucus policy which she felt was not the democratic form of government."[25]

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[24] MFP, June 8, 1920, p. 1.

Other independents considered themselves chiefly as spokesmen for soldiers or veterans. While Captain D. Nelson Armstrong (retired) was forced to deny that he was asking for "class legislation" for veterans, he did promise to support regulations against Central European immigration. "In the next legislature our strongest and greatest safeguard will be in the independent benches," he claimed. "The soldiers can be more faithfully served by an independent representative than by party-tied politicians. Do not be deceived by the various party interpretations of the term 'independent candidate'," Captain Armstrong continued. "Would it not be better for Winnipeg to have representation in our Provincial House not subservient to party?" The veteran captain promised support of provincial assistance for the reestablishment of veterans in all matters including land settlement.[26]

Per haps the most bizarre independent candidacy, to our contemporary mode of thinking, was the Winnipeg candidate E. Bailey Fisher who was duly nominated the Isaac Brock Community Club's Independent candidate. Mr. Fisher favored "a good honest business administration" in which those who were best fitted to direct government departments were selected, as in business corporations for their ability to take charge, and not because of party affiliation. Directing attention to the question of a lack of representation in "the system at present in force," the club speakers outlined their philosophy of legislative representation and independency, as the Free Press reported.

> The right to send men to parliament to represent a community for their acts, speakers contended, had been almost wholly neglected by the great majority of people, and the fact that the country had not been better governed they attributed to the fact that the people had never taken sufficient interest in the matter to vote intelligently.

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[25] MFP, June 21, 1920, p. 12.

[26] Ibid., June 28, 1920, p. 10. See also MFP, June 24, 1920, p. 3.

One of the club's number then explained that "as the Community Club represented all classes of the community, it was essentially the best body to nominate a representative of the community in parliament." He then "expressed the belief that the community clubs would in time lead the way in political reform throughout the dominion." [27]

What almost all of the opposition candidates (whether Farmer, Labour, or Independent) were implying was that straight party government would have to give pride of place to a more genuine representation of constituency interests.

But others saw weaknesses in the above position. The Free Press warned editorially, and with considerable astuteness, that this "very quiet campaign," resulting from satisfaction with the government, could foster danger by the number of independents splitting the vote. The paper foresaw even the poorly organized opposition as capable of dividing the progressive electors. Such a division would result in the election of, what it called, those reflecting the "compact party vote," but not the actual opinion of the constituency. Such an outcome was possible because of a time when "new ideas march a little faster than even the most progressive political party." The editorial then described the demise of "old-style" party-machine politics as it defended the Norris administration.

> The strength of the government with the electors rests upon its legislative achievements and its administrative record. The contrast between the political atmosphere of today and that which prevailed six years ago, when the former government won its last party victory, indicates the extent of the political revolution which has taken place in this province. The old style of political warfare is over; the fierce passions which it excited no longer burn; the political practices which disgraced the province have disappeared; politics in place of being a "dirty mess" which made decent people hold their noses has become an honorable and useful calling; our public men are worthy of and command respect. 28

The question of the importance of re-electing a clean and honest administration was part of the larger issue of adequate representation. The Free Press editorial position was shared by at least one rural correspondent who explained the consequences of the desire for a sounder opposition. His remarks seemed addressed to farmer independents and the reluctance of the UFM to enter the campaign on anything but a local nature.

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[27] MFP, June 16, 1920, p. 16.

[28] Editorial: "The Manitoba Elections," MFP, June 7, 1920, p. 13.

> In view of the friendly relations which have always existed between the Norris government and the farmers' organizations it is hardly conceivable that any member of the UFM wants to see it displaced. Where independent political action has been taken it is probably due to a desire to have a stronger opposition in the legislature. And the possible consequences of persistence in such a course should be thoroughly considered while there is yet time to avert a serious mistake.

The writer then recalled the history of co-operation between Mr. Norris and the farmers. He reminded his readers that R. G. Willis was not a farmer and in disposition could be regarded largely as hostile to farmers--a strong partisan who had stayed with his party "through every good and evil report" and "even speaks admiringly of the Roblin government."[29]

The *Free Press* went further and charged that many independents were really party men in disguise. The newspaper pointed to a public meeting at Minnedosa to choose an independent to oppose the Norris Government, which meeting was to be addressed by Mr. Willis and a Winnipeg Conservative candidate.[30]

Major Issues: (3) Schools Legislation.

W. L. Morton says of the 1920 provincial election: "No issue clarified the campaign, no leader appeared to dominate the new movement in politics. Even the farmers entry into politics was to a considerable degree a cloak for opposition to the school legislation of 1916."[31]

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[29] Letter from F. Howell of Boissevain, *MFP*, June 18, 1920, p. 17. It is interesting to note the attitude of one rural newspaper on farmer participation: "Desirous of breaking entirely away from the shackles of old time partisanship, they have decided, against the advice of their leaders to...enter the field of provincial politics." *Killarney Guide* (*Killarney*, Manitoba), June 10, 1920 as cited in Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, p. 37[illegible].

[30] *MFP*, June 17, 1920, p. 13.

[31] Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, p. 375.

It would be our contention that the two questions just discussed were most in evidence in June of 1920. As we noted very early in this chapter, and W. L. Morton agrees, there was a definite split in regard to attitudes toward the school legislation of 1916. Both French and Ukrainian Manitobans attempted to use the farmer s' discontent to elect their own opponents of the school legislation.[32]

A letter carried by the Free Press late in the campaign serves as an excellent summation of Morton's contention that those opposed to the school legislation were attempting to enlist the support of others, while disguising their real purposes.

> It seems that English-speaking voters do not seem to realize that numerous candidates who are asking for their support on all sorts of promises, have said nothing at all to them about their real attitude on the school and language question. It might be interesting to these voters to know that these same candidates who are so much concerned with progress and all manners of Utopian "reforms," are so backward and reactionary, that they would, for the sake of personnal ambition, murder the heritage of our language and the right of every child in this province to get at least a common school education.
>
> I have noticed this particularly in this riding, the provincial riding of St. Clements, which has a very large percentage of voters of foreign birth. I have heard time and again, the opponents of Mr. Ross [Liberal, St. Clements] appeal to this same class of voters, on the ground that Mr. Ross was responsible for compulsory education, and the abolition of bi-lingualism. The old appeal of race passions, which we had hoped had finally died out, is being revived again, and these arguments of the most inflammmatory kind, are bound to leave permanent hostility towards our laws and institutions in the minds of the foreign settlers.[33]

The letter covers almost every conceivable dimension of the perennial school question. The Free Press had attempted to warn the electorate of the same danger as the above letter and in so doing indicated that the issue must have been widely felt.

> All over the province there are groups of non-English electors who are going to vote solidly against the government on account of its educational policy, partly from a desire for revenge, partly in the

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[32] Morton, Manitoba, A History, p. 375.

[33] Letter signed by H. C. Whellams of East Kildonan, MFP, June 28, 1920, p. 13.

> hope that if the Norris government is defeated they can force concessions from the new government, thus restoring approximately the conditions which were so great a source of concern to the people of the province some years ago. The electors cannot afford to take a chance. They must make certain that the educational administration remains for another period of years in the capable hands of the men now in charge.[34]

The Norris Government made no attempt to defend its educational policy tending rather to count it amongst its long list of achievements. To the achievement of compulsory education and the abolition of bilingualism could be added the organization of "school districts in foreign settlements through the agency of an official trustee." The policies had made it possible, said the Free Press, "for good English teachers to take charge of these schools by building 'teacherages' of which there are now over 100 in the province."[35]

The Conservative platform publicized in mid-April had simply restated the same principles invested in Liberal legislation. The calls for support of agricultural education and assistance to the University touched on separate issues in no way as major as compulsory schooling and the repeal of the Coldwell amendments already legislated.[36]

That the Norris administration may have gone too far may have been indicated by the bell-weather on such matters: the Grand Orange Lodge. The Orangemen urged members to vote for Premier Norris in appreciation for "wiping out the Laurier-Greenway settlement." The Norris educational policy, said the lodge, "surpassed our most sanguine expectations in their endeavors to bring about a truly national school system in Manitoba."[37] At a meeting of the French-Canadian Educational Association held at St. Boniface on June 22, the Catholic Archbishop Belliveau expressed the hope that the organization would achieve its ends: "the teaching of French and religion in the schools."[38]

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[34] Editorial: "Issues in the Provincial Elections," MFP, June 15, 1920, p. 15.

[35] MFP, June 22, 1920, p. 13.

[36] CAR (1920), p. 749.

[37] MFP, June 26, 1920, p. 4.

[38] CAR (1920), p. 740.

The Norris Government's continued difficulty with similar demands for the right to teach German and Church History by the Mennonites in Rhineland and Hanover resulted eventually in the partial emigration of these long-time citizens of Manitoba. A more thorough investigation of issues like the school legislation of 1916 and its less known or less articulated dimensions in 1920, and other campaigns, remains a subject well worth further exploration to correct the interpretations that come through the more standard, available, and non-ethnic sources of information like the Canadian Annual Review and the Manitoba Free Press.[39]

Major Issues: (4) Prohibition.

On the question of liquor legislation it appears, again, to be the Liberal Government's far-reaching legislation which created new dimensions to an old issue. The sale of liquor had been legislated against under the Norris administration so that total prohibition was in effect in Manitoba. The lone exception was the sale of liquor in pharmacies for medicinal purposes and, as might well be expected, a vastly abused purpose it was. Legislation to ban the import of liquor from provinces which still lacked prohibition legislation, like Quebec, still lay in the future. The major issue in this area, therefore, was fast becoming the question of government control versus total prohibition. The Conservative Party had unanimously agreed in convention on a referendum on this issue which seemed also to divide its own convention.[40]

Apart from such a proposal the only heat generated on the prohibition question in the June campaign seemed much more related to the question of an impartial administering of the act. In particular, impartiality was called for in the handling of convictions and payments of fines. R. G. Willis also charged that "much of the confiscated liquor taken in by the government "had been bootlegged and that no doubt after this election stocks would still be lower." Such charges were denied, and missing amounts of liquor cited as being so low as to make the Willis charges ridiculous. One flask and ten bottles from all the immense quantity seized all over the province had in fact been lost, reported E. A. Macpherson, (Liberal--Portage La Prairie).[41]

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[39] Prof. Tom Peterson's recent and very excellent essay "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba" is unable to develop this issue to any extent. Peterson did have the advantage of a Ukrainian translator and it is probably just such knowledge that is needed to provide a new perspective on these issues. It is obviously no accident that the liberal Anglo-Saxon perspectives of English-speaking scholars is predominant. We cannot, many of us, even read or understand the small foreign-language newspapers which would raise other sides of many issues affecting ethnic minorities.

[40] CAR (1920), p. 749.

Sectional Issues: Labor.

Whatever long range effects the Winnipeg General Strike was to have on Manitoba politics is difficult to establish. Perhaps the strike was much more to be seen as a reflection of growing Labor concerns with the right of collective bargaining, workmen's compensation, a proper structure to facilitate negotiation over employer-employee disputes, fair wage and employment practices, and adequate pensions and allowances. All of these matters were, at the very least, sectional concerns and most had already seen considerable government attention. The 1919 strike simply added another dimension to the cluster of broad ~~social~~ and sectional issues raised by Labor representatives. The right of imprisoned Labor leaders to compete in the election was finally resolved when official approval was granted to candidates R. B. Russell, R. J. Johns, George Armstrong and W. A. Pritchard of the Socialist Party of Canada, Rev. William Ivens of the Dominion Labour Party and John Queen, Social Democrat. Armstrong, Ivens and Queen proved to be successful and, when the new House sat, these three gentlemen were still residents of Stony Mountain Penitentiary.

The role of Labor in bringing about the strike, the different attitudes by more and less radical laborites, and the role of the provincial government, were all matters of consideration in the 1920 campaign.

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[41] MFP, June 16, 1920, pp. 1&3; June 19, 1920, p. 35; and June 28, 1920, p. 3.

As indicated, the Norris Government had passed an immense amount of social or labor legislation. Their Labor critics were dissatisfied with many matters, particularly the Workmen's Compensation Act, pensions, and veterans allowahces. Labor groups wanted a compensation act which would protect against monetary loss while a worker was incapacitated. Defenders of the government act claimed that Dominion Labour Party leader F. J. Dixon knew about employer-employee agreements to accept state insurance and incomes in compensation in order to ensure against a rise in premiums, but Dixon was now attacking workmen's compensation because it wasn't what he thought it would be.[42]

Dominion Labour Party candidates Dixon and Fred G. Tipping spoke of inadequate pensions paid to widows under the Mother's Allowance Act and the lack of support afforded to the families of men serving prison sentences.[43] Joined by the Ex-Soldiers and Sailor Labour Party, the umbrella Dominion Labour Party endorsed "the principle of the cash bonus movement on behalf of returned soldiers, and approved of the provincial government doing everything within its power to aid veterans or their dependents pending further legislation by the Dominion Government."[44]

Criticisms of the Norris Government had come from all quarters in regard to his handling of the strike. A report of one Winnipeg Labor meeting recorded a speaker asking "where the Norris government was when the men and women were being beaten up in the north end of the city." The same speaker declared that no government by prosecutions could stop the "Labour movement."[45]

The co-operation amongst labor groups was considerable and before the official green light had been given to Alderman John Queen to compete in the campaign, Messrs. Dixon, Ivens and W. A. James appealed in an open air meeting for the working class of the city to register their vote for Mr. Queen "as a decisive protest against his conviction."[46]

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[42] MFP, June 3, 1920, p. 4; and June 25, 1920, p. 2.

[43] Ibid., June 3, 1920, p. 4.

[44] Ibid., June 10, 1920, p. 16.

[45] Ibid., June 15, 1920, p. 1.

[46] Ibid., June 11, 1920, p. 9.

The Socialist Party of Canada was not quite so co-operative. One of its leading spokesmen, Frank Cassidy, was brought in from Vancouver. Mr. Cassidy summed up the party's reservations about the labor movement as "indulging in a forelorn hope."

> They put their faith in certain nostrums or reforms, which, however, would not improve the conditions of the workers, even if carried out, so long as society remained as constituted at the present time. The benefits that would accrue from these reforms if effected would be no greater than those brought about by the so-called reform parties of the past. The only movement worthy of support, was the revolutionary movement, the class conscious movement, for which the Socialists stood and which had for its one object the emancipation of the working class from the thraldom of the capitalist class and the bringing about of that day when the workers would enjoy the full product of their toil. So long as workers were content to take less than that they would remain slaves as long as they lived.[47]

Such Socialist positions received their share of criticism during the campaign for being unreasonable revolutionary stances which, in turn, had promoted and extended the strike for revolutionary reasons.

The Norris Government defended itself in the face of labor criticisms by pointing to its record of labor legislation. The Workmen's Compensation Act established a commission which took disputes out of the hands of private lawyers. All such commissions established the work of civil servants, thus abolishing patronage, or so argued T. H. Johnson. "It won't satisfy the Reds. We have no ambition or desire or intention of satisfying the Reds" said Mr. Johnson in reference to the Socialist Party. Appealing, as he said, to moderate labor unionists to acknowledge the progressiveness of the government in labor legislation, he concluded his address at a major Winnipeg Liberal meeting by stating:

> The policy of the government has been, and is today our guiding principle to endeavor by every measure passed, by the attitude of the government, to bring employers and employees together to discuss their differences and not to fight. Our object has been to establish industrial peace and not to perpetuate industrial warfare. 48

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[47] MFP, June 14, 1920, p. 12.

[48] Ibid., June 17, 1920, p. 3.

Minor Issues.

As in all other campaigns there were a host of more minor concerns. One such concern was the need for new roads and one writer in the Free Press claimed the five million dollars spent on the parliament buildings "would have built two thousand miles of excellent highway." [49] Excitement reigned over proportional representation in Winnipeg where Labour candidates advocated a parallel system for rural constituencies, and the Free Press considered that the "weighing of the relative merits of the candidates" would result in a "stirring up of the sluggish mind of the voter" which would be "good for him" and "for the country too...." [50] Equal excitment existed as well for the votes to be registered for the first time by women. "Women of Manitoba, you are voting for the first time in provincial elections"! said Premier Norris in one of his closing campaign salvos:

> Do you approve of the legislation specially affecting social and home conditions enacted by the government, district nursing, minimum wage, mothers' allowances, Dower Act, better provisions for the education of the child, granting of the franchise itself? If so, use your franchise to show your approval. 51

The Results.

The results of the election ended the Norris majority. They indicated the potential of the farmers' movement for future government. Labour and Socialist Party representation was also strong with eleven victors throughout the province, and Labour leader F. J. Dixon literally running away with Winnipeg's first experience with proportional repre-

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49 MFP, June 14, 1920, p. 13.
50 Ibid., June 9, 1920, p. 13; and CAR (1920), p. 751.
51 MFP, June 26, 1920, p. 11.

sentation.[52] Even one of Winnipeg's four women candidates, Liberal Mrs. Edith Rogers, was successful in winning one of the city's ten seats.[53]

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1920.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Liberals	21	51,659	35.9	38.2
Conservatives	7	24,210	16.9	12.7
Farmers	12	22,739	15.8	21.8
Dominion Labour Party (and affiliates)	10	25,072	17.8	18.2
Socialist Party	1	4,797	3.3	1.8
Independents	4	15,163	10.6	7.3

A detailed analysis of country and Winnipeg voting was contained in the Canadian Parliamentary Guide (1921), (Supra, pp. 315-316). The decline of traditional partyism might be measured by the fact that the Liberals and Conservatives took only 52.8 per cent of the popular vote in 1920 compared to 87.1 per cent in 1915 and 89.4 per cent in 1914.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1920.

Major, Province-Wide.

1. Administrative Record of Norris Government.
    (a) Extravagant spending. (Right).
        (1) Numbers of commissions and civil servants.

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[52] F. J. Dixon received 11,586 first choice ballots. His closest rival was T. H. Johnson over 7,000 first votes behind with 4,386. Candidates were elected in the following manner: The total number of ballots cast were divided by the total number of seats plus one (11) and one added to the dividend. Voters numbered their choices 1, 2, 3,...so on up to (in this case) 41 if they wished. Ballots in excess of the number required for election (in 1920: 48,027÷11=4,366+1=4,367) were transferred to the second choice listed on the excess ballots. In this election as many as 7,219 of F. J. Dixon's ballots could be transferred to a second choice, i. e.: 11,586-4,367=7,219. In fact of course not all ballots would have contained a second choice. Low men on the totem pole were also eliminated and their second choice selections considered. And so, low men and excesses were transferred until ten candidates exceeded 4,367 votes or were the only ten remaining and were then declared elected.

[53] Mrs. Rogers is not to be confused with the Alberta MLA of the same name.

1. Administrative Record of Norris Government. - cont'd.
    - (b) New taxes.
    - (c) Achievements.
    - (d) Public tenders.
    - (e) Provincial Treasurer in bond business. (Personality).

Major, Sectional.

2. Sectional Representation. (Political).
    - (a) Revolution versus reform. (Socialist Left).
    - (b) Non-partisan, independent and occupational representation. (Left).
3. Farm.
    - (a) Tariffs on agricultural machinery.
    - (b) Shortage of farm labor.
    - (c) Failures of railway policy.
    - (d) Public abattoir.
    - (e) Political interference in Agriculture College.
    - (f) Rural Credit Societies.
    - (g) "Cow scheme."
    - (h) Sectional frustration. (Diffuse, Instrumental).
4. Labor. (Left).
    - (a) Aftermath of Winnipeg General Strike.
        - (i) Role of Labor in strike. (Right).
        - (ii) Role of government in strike.
    - (b) Collective bargaining.
    - (c) Workmen's compensation.
    - (d) Fair wages and employment.
    - (e) Pensions and allowances.
5. Education. (Perennial).
    - (a) Reaction to compulsory education.
    - (b) Bi-lingual instruction.
    - (c) Religious education.

Minor, and/or Local.

6. Prohibition. (Specific, Instrumental).

    (a) Total prohibition versus government control.
    (b) Impartial administration.
    (c) Confiscation of liquor.

Aid to veterans. (Sectional).

Control and Costs of Hydro-electric power. (Local).

New roads. (Local).

Proportional representation. (Local, Side).

Women's use of vote. (Sectional, Dead).

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ARTHUR

John Williams (G)............	891
D. L. McLeod (C)............	881

ASSINIBOIA

J. W. Wilton (I)............	1,941
W. D. Bayley (L)............	2,054

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS

George Little (F)............	Accl.

BIRTLE

Hon. G. J. H. Malcolm (G)...	995
Ilsm Larcomber (F).........	861

BRANDON CITY

S. E. Clements (G)............	1,403
Brig.-Gen. Kircaldy (C)......	1,245
A. E. Smith (L)............	2,007

CARILLON

A. Prefontaine (C)............	925
M. Duprey (F)............	973

CYPRESS

A. W. Miles (G)............	1,307
W. H. Spinks (C)............	1,487

DAUPHIN

W. J. Harrington (G).........	1,044
G. H. Palmer (L)............	1,466

DELORAINE

Hon. R. S. Thor[illegible] (G).....	1,503
J. C. W. Reid (C)............	1,188

DUFFERIN

Edward A. August (G).......	1,478
A. Morrison (C)............	1,410

EMERSON

J. D. Baskerville (G).........	756
Roy Whitman (C)............	925
D. Yakimischak (F)............	[illegible]

ETHELBERT

Jos. Gulcadaski (G)............	110
E. R. Marcroft (F)............	684
N. A. Hryhorczuk (I).........	1,271

FAIRFORD

A. W. Kirvan (G)............	241
G. G. Serkau (G)............	240
G. Calverley (I)............	236
A. F. Carpenter (I)............	137
J. Matheson (I)............	121

FISHER

J. W. Arsenyth (G)............	362
A. J. Gamache (G)............	214
H. L. Mabb (F)............	443

GILBERT PLAINS

W. B. Findlater (G)............	735
R. J. Dalgliah (I)............	715

GIMLI

Taris D. Ferley (G)............	1,242
G. Fjelsted (F)............	1,339

GLADSTONE

Hon. J. W. Armstrong (G)...	1,327
Wesley Lobb (F)............	1,149

GLENWOOD

J. W. Breakey (G)............	1,145
Wm. Robson (F)............	1,149

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

HAMIOTA

J. H. McConnell (G).........	1,109
Wm. Ferguson (C)............	762

IBERVILLE

A. R. Boivin (I)............	Accl.

KILDONAN & ST. ANDREWS

David Morrison (G)............	876
T. McConnell (F)............	852
A. Tanner (L)............	1,184

KILLARNEY

M. Hayden (G)............	676
S. Fletcher (F)............	1,072

LAKESIDE

C. D. McPherson (G).........	1,104
E. H. Muir (C)............	1,081

LANSDOWNE

Hon. T. C. Norris (G).........	1,752
Harvey E. Hicks (C).........	914

LA VERANDRYE

L. R. Magnum (F)............	709
R. A. Talbot (I)............	1,023

MANITOU

Geo. T. Armstrong (G).........	901
J. S. Ridley (C)............	1,185
George Compton (F).........	926

MINNEDOSA

Hon. G. A. Grierson (G).....	1,296
W. T. Bielby (F)............	1,029

MORDEN AND RHINELAND

Howard Winkler (G).........	752
John Kennedy (C)............	814

MORRIS

Wm. R. Clubb (F)............	930
A. Ayotte (F)............	765
Fred. J. Last (I)............	251

MOUNTAIN

Hon. J. P. Baird (G).........	1,304
Andrew Young (F)............	1,178

NORFOLK

John Graham (G)............	873
Reubin J. Waugh. [C].........	1,090
John H. Wright (C).........	503

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

E. A. McPherson (G).........	1,019
F. J. Taylor (C)............	1,306

ROBLIN

F. Y. Newton (C)............	887
H. R. Richardson (F).........	991

ROCKWOOD

A. J. Lobb (G)............	977
Thos. Scott (C)............	638
W. E. McKinnell (F).........	978

RUSSELL

W. W. W. Wilson (G).........	1,27
R. J. Bro[illegible] (F)............	642
A. Lannig[illegible] (I)............	593

RUPERT'S LAND

John Morrison (G)............	Accl.

ST. BONIFACE

J. P. Howden (G)............	942
Jos. P. Dumas (G)............	730
Jos. Bernier (I)............	1,434
C. R. Rice (I)............	675
T. Hournaert (I)............	404

ST. CLEMENTS

D. A. Ross (G)............	850
H. McLennan (F)............	445
M. J. Stanbridge (L).........	977

ST. GEORGE

S. Sigfusson (G)............	784
A. E. Kristjansson (L)......	901

STE. ROSE

D. J. Hill (G)............	745
Z. H. Rheaume (G).........	488
Jos. Hamelin (F)............	878

SPRINGFIELD

E. D. R. Bissett (G).........	352
Isaac Cook (F)............	928
A. E. Moore (L)............	987

SWAN RIVER

W. H. Sims (G)............	544
W. E. Emmond (F).........	1,163

THE PAS

Hon. E. Browne (G).........	560
A. Norgrove (L)............	126

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

George McDonald (G).......	1,022
R. G. Willis (C)............	1,006

VIRDEN

George Clingan (G).........	1,313
R. E. Knight (F)............	1,022

WINNIPEG CITY

Election for the Winnipeg seats was held under the Proportional Representation System. The total number of votes on the list was 62,255; 76.18 per cent of the votes were polled, and the result of the voting was as follows:

Government	No. of votes polled	Conservative	No. of votes polled
E Duncan Cameron	2,402	Wm. J. Christie	1,274
W. Gibbens	792	J. T. Haig	1,803 E
Robt. Jacob	1,206	C. H. Lawrence	135
E Hon. T. H. Johnson	4,386	Jas. Lightfoot	554
F. W. Law	368	A. McMartin	189
Robt. N. Lowery	284	M. McInnes	218
Wm. L. Parish	945	Mrs. G. L. Skinner	359
E Mrs. E. Rogers	1,841	P. V. Torrance	265
E John Stovel	1,743	Wm. J. Tupper	1,500 E
F. G. Hamilton	786	Jas. O. Turnbull	88
	14,423		6,475

Independent	No. of votes polled	Labor	No. of votes polled
D. N. Armstrong	1,174	Geo. Armstrong	2,767 E
N. T. Carry	776	S. Cartwright	452
Mrs. J. Dick	1,307	F. J. Dixon	11,586 E
E. R. Fisher	431	Wm. Ivens	1,928 E
C. H. Forrester	282	W. A. James	56
J. H. Gislason	28	R. J. Johns	52
Mrs. A. Holling	105	Mrs. A. Pritchard	443
David S. Lyon	45	John Queen	1,253 E
Wm. C. Morden	1,150	Robt. B. Russell	1,535
Geo. W. Prout	219	Fred G. Tipping	95
Leo. Warde	845		
	6,362		20,167

RESULTS OF PARTIES.

		No. of Seats	Per cent
Government	14,423	4	30·41
Conservative	6,475	2	13·65
Independent	6,362	0	13·41
Labor	20,167	4	42·52
	47,427	10	

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

PERCENTAGE FOR PROVINCE

				No. of Seats	Per cent
Government—	Country	37,236			
	Winnipeg	14,423	51,659	21	35·89
Conservatives—	Country	17,735			
	Winnipeg	6,475	24,210	7	16·85
Farmer—	Country		22,739	12	15·84
Independent—	Country	8,801			
	Winnipeg	6,362	15,163	4	10·55
Labor—	Country	9,702			
	Winnipeg	20,167	29,869	11	20·79
			143,640	55	

Farmer and Independent, 22,739 plus 15,163....37,902...per cent......26.39

Vote 68.61 per cent for Province

SUMMARY

		per cent
Government—	Country	38·70
	Winnipeg	30·41
	Province	35·89
Conservatives—	Country	18·43
	Winnipeg	13·65
	Province	16·85
Farmer—	Country	23·63
	Winnipeg	
	Province	15·84
Independent—	Country	9·14
	Winnipeg	13·41
	Province	10·55
Labor—	Country	10·08
	Winnipeg	42·52
	Province	20·79

Total Registration, 1920........209,350
Total Vote, 1920........143,640

Vote........68·61 per cent

Total Registration Winnipeg........62,255
Total Vote, 1920........47,427

Vote........76·18 per cent

Total Registration other than Winnipeg........147,095
Total Vote, 1920........96,213

Vote........65·41 per cent

PARLIAMENTARY GUIDE

SEATS

Government	21
Conservatives	7
Farmers	12
Independents	4
Labor	11
Total	55
Acclamations	3

MANITOBA BY-ELECTIONS

BIRTLE

(Oct. 14, 1920)

Hon. G. J. H. Malcolm (G)	Acclamation

LAKESIDE

(Jan. 31, 1921)

Hon. C. D. McPherson (G)	1,176
E. H. Muir (F)	1,020
Majority	156

DATES OF MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

1870	Dec. 27
1874	Dec. 23
1878	Dec. 18
1879	Dec. 16
1883	Jan. 23
1886	Dec. 9
1888	July 11
1892	July 23
1896	Jan. 15
1899	Dec. 7
1903	July 20
1907	Mar. 7
1910	June 11
1914	July 10
1915	Sept. 16
1920	June 29

(See Appendix.)

THE U.F.M. MAJORITY

A VICTORY FOR RURAL VIRTUES

JUNE 24 TO JULY 18, 1922

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberals	T. C. Norris	38
United Farmers of Manitoba	- - - - -	50*
Conservatives	F. G. Taylor	27
Independent Labour Party (and affiliates)	F. J. Dixon	14
Socialist Party and Worker's Party (Communist)	- - - - -	6
Independents (including Fusionists)	- - - - -	20

45 single member districts plus one ten-member district, Winnipeg, using Hare system of proportional representation. Total of 55 seats.
* U.F.M. candidate total includes 8 Winnipeg Progressives affiliated with U.F.M.

The Key Cluster: Party and Class Politics.

T. C. Norris faced an almost impossible situation in the Manitoba legislature, as what amounted to "group government" encouraged members to either kill or force withdrawal of 82 out of 157 bills in the 1921-22 sessions, and found cabinet ministers voting against each other and the government.[1] P. A. Talbot, who had deserted the Liberals over the party's implementation of compulsory schooling, moved a vote of want of confidence in the government over its failure to abolish the Public Utilities Commission after such a recommendation had been carried in the house the previous fall. Talbot's motion carried and as soon as matters of supply were completed, dissolution was granted. The election campaign of June-July, 1922 was in many ways a continuation of the 1920 campaign save that now the United Farmers of Manitoba had met in convention and decided to enter politics officially, even though they lacked a leader. The farmers were inspired by the sweeping provincial victory of the United Farmers of Alberta and the sixty-five Progressive members (almost entirely farmers) in the House of Commons. Both elections had taken place in the latter half of 1921. The many farmer grievances which we have outlined in earlier campaigns were now augmented by the onslaught of depression; wheat prices which plummetted to new lows; the failure of the Federal Government to launch its new Wheat Board; unchanged freight rates and tariffs; and a final and unalterable disenchantment with the old parties, which were now being successfully challenged by farm representatives federally and provincially across the country.

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[1] CAR (1922), p. 767.

Such was the climate that ushered in the extensive participation of one of the first groups to feel the pressures of the times, the Manitoba farmers.

Like 1920, also, were the major contentions in regard to the nature of the party system and, while every party or "group" favored stable majority government, there were deep-rooted disagreements as to the means of achieving stable government that was truly representative of the people of the province. The rise of both farm and labor organizations raised the controversy as to whether such organizations would merely replace old party biases with new class prejudices. Could any unity or stability result while rural farmer and urban workingman supported alternative political organizations?

Even within well-established political structures the questions of class politics and group government arose. In Brandon City, John H.

Edmison ran as a "fusion" candidate with Liberal and Conservative support as did Free Larter in Kildonan and St. Andrews. Such a fusion of the two old parties was seen by many as indicative of the growth of the movement to compensate for previously neglected western interests. Such was the view of a leading businessman like J. H. Ashdown who spoke of forty to fifty years of rule by old parties located in the east. "I think it is granted we have to fight for ourselves if we are going to get what we ought to have in this western country," said Ashdown with matters like freight rates and natural resources in mind.[2]

Within the U.F.M. and its Winnipeg counterpart, the Progressives, there were differences of opinion over occupational representation and, what Winnipeg Progressives like R. W. Craig and George F. Chipman called, a "broadening out" policy of co-operation between city and country, farm and labor, perhaps even between old and "new" parties. Chipman was editor of the Grain Growers' Guide. His attempts at the "broadening-out" idea and uncompromising editorials may have accounted for the defeat of this Winnipeg candidate highly touted as the next premier of the province. Chipman seems not to have appealed to Labor while alienating the financial community in Winnipeg.[3]

R. W. Craig, Winnipeg lawyer, was the only Progressive elected in the capital city. He both described the major issue of the campaign, and offered his co-operative solution for it:

> ...the old parties by making party advantage their main objective, with questionable means of obtaining that object, have become largely out of touch with the people and the conviction is general that heretofore party advantage rather than public interest has been the guiding principle of government.

Mr. Craig's solution:

> Co-operation with the United Farmers of Manitoba so that urban and rural representatives may unite to form a strong and stable administration for the benefit of all classes.

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[2] MFP, June 22, 1922, p. 12.

[3] Editorial, Canadian Forum, XI (August, 1922), 708. A discussion on the "broadening out" philosophy at the federal level is contained in the September 1922 issue, p. 739.

Craig then described the establishment of the city-country co-operation in Manitoba.

> The fact that the initiative in the organization of the Winnipeg Progressive Association has been taken by the leaders of the Farmer's Movement resident in Winnipeg shows that it is considered by them as desirable and essential. A policy should be adopted on which all can agree, the keynote of which shall be progressiveness in legislation and honesty and efficiency in administration, the guiding principal of which shall be none other than that of public welfare. With that in view the Winnipeg Progressive Association has adopted a policy embodied in the platform which was adopted on May 30, 1922. It is upon that platform that the Winnipeg Progressive candidates in this election seek your support.[4]

The quiet confidence felt among U.F.M. candidates, who sought as much to well-represent farm interests as to form an official opposition or government, prompted Winnipeg Progressives to claim that only the U.F.M.-Progressive coalition was able to form a government. They encouraged voters to select the entire ticket of eight candidates to ensure stability.

While other parties and candidates stressed financial questions and charges of extravagant spending, the Winnipeg Progressives insisted that the stable government which would result from their co-operative position was the crucial matter. Large newspaper advertisements pleaded with the voters:

> We no doubt, all have friends on the tickets of the other parties, but in this election the vital question is co-operation between the urban and rural communities--the formation of a Government which represents all sections of the electorate of Manitoba and which is representative of both urban and rural population. The Progressives urge upon you, as a matter of public policy, that the interests of the Province as a whole will be better served by the election of the whole Progressive ticket than by the election of individuals, Conservatives or Liberals, who, if sent to the Legislature as a result of this election, can only form part of the opposition to the Government which will undoubtedly be formed by Progressives.[5]

Conservative spokesmen, like the party leader Fawcett G. Taylor and Winnipeg candidate John T. Haig, warned of the "sinister class movement" which the electoral fight was all about. A united Manitoba, they argued, could not come about unless political parties were "big enough and broad enough" to include different classes of people. The warring factions of city and country in the Progressive movement were seen as a threat to Manitoba unity and the favoring of one class at the expense of another.[6]

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[4] MFP, June 28, 1922, p. 1.

[5] Ibid., July 7, 1922, p. 3.

Government Liberals warned of political chaos by group government if Premier Norris failed to achieve a majority. Other government candidates argued differently: that there needn't have been an election, since, as they tried to point out, the Norris Government was willing to act like a municipal council, if need be, to achieve co-operation with other groups.[7] Liberal advertisements warned Manitobans of the folly of directing future governments by the fifteen thousand members of UFM locals and risking "a pig in a poke" leaderless party.

Mr. Norris questioned whether any government could function honestly and capably in Manitoba's future if his government of achievement and integrity were to be replaced.

> If my friends, the Farmers, have any charge to make against the government as to dereliction of duty or overlooking platform pledges, they are welcome to make it but I am not going to step aside and let the Farmers come into a good place, prepared by myself, without a fight. We have carried out our pledges and if the farmers are going to turn us down for doing as we have done how are you going to get honest men to undertake the public work of the province? Surely there is some credit coming to the men who have done fairly and honestly by the farmers and the people as a whole.[8]

The major issue as to the kind of party system Manitoba was to have and the disenchantment with "old-line" parties had this irony yet, that T. C. Norris had acted to right the corruption of his predecessors.

The claim of ingratitude, then, was part of this issue cluster. Winnipeg's A. W. Puttee, the first Labor member of the House of Commons, and now Progressive candidate in Winnipeg, replied to the ingratitude charge by claiming:

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[6] MFP, June 13, 1922, p. 7; and July 1, 1922, p. 3.

[7] Ibid., July 4, 1922, p. 2.

[8] Ibid., July 7, 1922, p. 1.

> The Norris government was not in power. That was the trouble. That is the condition that has got to be removed. For two years the Norris government has not been in power. It is not a matter of ingratitude. We are dealing with a condition that has existed since 1920, and it has got to be changed. I believe it will be good business for Winnipeg to elect as many Progressives as possible.[9]

For many Manitobans, therefore, the real issue was stable government, and not the many charges of extravagance, mismanagement and waste which we will shortly examine. As Progressives met a challenge to debate the lesser financial issues with Provincial Treasurer Edward Brown, they again made clear what was the key issue of the day for them, unlike Tories and Liberals.

> He (Brown) [sic] states that the financial record of the government is the chief issue of the campaign. This may be so in his mind and in the minds of the supporters of the late Roblin government, but with the Progressives it is only one of the issues, and not even the main one. From the Progressive viewpoint, the imperative need of the hour is for a strong, stable and business-like government backed up by sufficient support in the legislature to enable it to carry on, and the Progressives today offer the only hope of such a government. Then again, the Progressives demand that provincial political matters should be kept entirely separate and distinct from federal party interests and alignments. Mr. Brown and his government are closely aligned with the Mackenzie King government at Ottawa in such a way as to be a positive menace to the best interests of Manitoba.[10]

Messrs. Norris and Brown agreed on the importance of a majority government as we have already indicated. The latter charge--affiliation between provincial and federal Liberals--grew out of an April convention which preceded the campaign and out of which statements of some solidarity arose. Premier Norris denied any close links with federal Liberals, claiming that of all provincial Liberal parties Manitoba's with its school stands made it the most unpopular in Ottawa. In a July 6th speech at Bradwardine he repudiated the charge:

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[9] MFP, June 28, 1922, p. 1.

[10] Ibid., July 4, 1922, p. 4.

> It is the cheapest kind of politics to say that we are aligned with the King government. In so far as the King government does what is right, we will give them credit for it, but when they do not do what is right by this province they will not get any support from me.[11]

Mr. Norris then pointed to the struggle for lower freight rates which had been led by the Manitoba Government.

Before we conclude these comments on this central cluster of issues around the party system and class politics one further example of how one minority took up the anti-party stance is clearly evidenced by the Catholic North-West Review. The editor Patrick J. Henry ran as a Progressive in Winnipeg and his paper joined the Ukrainian Voice in support of the Progressives.

> A short analysis of our political history would show that both parties in turn have capitalized bigotry, racial antagonisms, religious issues, foreign issues, economic divisions--in fact everything that political capital could be made out of--and all this for the purpose of giving the people "good government." No wonder the people have been driven back upon their natural resources, viz, those of thinking and acting for themselves. Necessity has quickened their political intuition and now the old parties have no weapon left with which to defend themselves against progress.[12]

The Free Press provides the following valuable description of the rural campaign and quietly warns again of the danger of the class politics the paper notes was very much in evidence.

> There is no sort of heat in the campaign in the country but there is a good deal of thinking and considerable private discussing. People are turning out to conventions and to meetings more to hear what the different speakers sound like on the platform than to cheer partisan utterances. The U.F.M. campaign in the country is pretty much a class proposition so far as one can judge by the sentiments expressed from the platform and that is one of its weaknesses. It may also be one of its strong points; and only the 18th of July will tell the tale.[13]

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[11] MFP, July 6, 1922, p. 1.

[12] From the North-West Review (Winnipeg Catholic Weekly), as cited in MFP, July 11, 1922, p. 8. The Ukrainian publication Canadian Farmer favored more time for Premier Norris in order to let him complete negotiations with Ottawa over natural resources.

[13] MFP, June 29, p. 15.

The Financial Record of the Government.

As indicated, the major criticism levelled against the Norris Government was that its programs constituted an extravagant use of public funds. The criticism held particular weight as the province felt the burden of the war effort and its recessional aftermath, which was leading steadily to depression.

Ironically, one of the most informed critics of the government's finances was Travers Sweatman, counsel for Kelly and Sons. Because Sweatman knew the previous financial situation under R. P. Roblin he was able to level scathing criticisms, dismissing government excuses which blamed the Kelly debt of $1,500,000, and outlining in great detail and complexity the extent of the Norris spending and mismanagement.

> If Mr. Kelly sent the government a cheque in full tomorrow for this judgement it would not effect the current deficit of the government one way or the other. The Kelly account would be credited and the bank who received the money would be debited. Mr. Norris is therefore on the horns of a dilemma. He either does not know what he is talking about, or he is wilfully trying to deceive the electorate of Manitoba. He can sit on whichever horn seems more comfortable.[14]

Sweatman, protesting his right to enter politics while still a counsel to Kelly, claimed that Messrs. Norris and Brown were using ex-Premier Roblin as a basis for how normal their own extravagance was--even when they had condemned R. P. Roblin previously for just such extravagant spending. The major concern, and one which Sweatman well-represented, was rising taxes, from $938,000 to $4,000,000 or a rise of 400 per cent, under the Norris Government. Sweatman denied that such an increase could be explained by the war effort since such expenditures were not included in current expenses. "Do not these figures therefore demonstrate that the Norris administration is the most incompetent and extravagant with which this province has been cursed? It is up to the electorate on July 19 next to give the verdict."[15]

Most Conservative critics made economy in government the major issue of the campaign. F. G. Taylor, their leader, noted that it didn't matter whether money was well-spent or not so long as the basic question remained whether Manitoba could afford the increases in expenditure going on under the Liberals for many years. The Conservatives would reduce expenditures to stay within existing revenues, avoid an income tax, reduce the municipal commissioner's levy set up by the Liberals, abolish the provincial taxation commission, and re-organise the civil service within existing revenues.[16] And while the Progressives attacked the Norris Government as wasteful spenders, the Conservatives believed themselves to be the only party capable of offering the electorate an efficient and economical government, since Progressives spoke economy while their "country-cousins," the UFM, demanded increased expenditures.[17]

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[14] Formal statement of Travers Sweatman as published in MFP, June 30, 1922, p. 11.

[15] Ibid., p. 11.

When Conservative John Haig debated with the Provincial Treasurer on July 10th he made reference to a growing telephone system deficit and losses in the public hydro-electric scheme while members of the House increased their own indemnities.[18]

The Progressives viewed the financial debate with some disdain, believing that unity and stable government was the major issue, as we have duly reported earlier. "While Brown and Haig argue as to which of the two Grand Traditional Parties is the most responsible for the present mess--our wasteful Government goes merrily on," claimed a Progressive advertisement in the Free Press.[19] Of the Conservatives the Progressives asked pointedly, "Can the leopard change his spots?" But Progressive spokesmen like George Chipman also joined the attack on government spending. Mr. Chipman was able to use examples away from the agricultural field like the $950,000 spent for a school for the deaf with only 160 children.[20] In his Grain Growers Guide on July 5th he claimed government revenues had increased seventy-seven per cent from 1915 to 1921, while expenditures had risen eighty-three per cent.

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[16] MFP, July 1, 1922, p. 1.

[17] Ibid., July 8, 1922, p. 5.

[18] Ibid., July 11, 1922, p. 1.

[19] Ibid., p. 3.

[20] Ibid., June 28, 1922, p. 1.

The farmers, on the other hand, held out a program involving major public expenditures. They were the butt of Winnipeg businessmen who worried over income tax and Winnipeg payments for rural development. A. R. Boivin, Iberville MLA and UFM candidate, was probably typical of many rural candidates in his lack of opposition to an income tax. Mr. Boivin favored abolition of the municipal commissioner's levy which directly affected farm lands. "The income tax may drive city people to the States, but it is better for the people to be forced out of the city than for the farmers to be forced off the land through taxation. The income tax gets the money from those able to pay," said Mr. Boivin.[21]

Such arguments prompted criticisms of the Progressive-UFM positions on government spending. There was no unity on the matter. Winnipeg Liberal candidate W. H. Trueman analyzed the inconsistency in Progressive-UFM positions on this issue.

> The Winnipeg Progressives' desire, they claim, is to obtain stable government for the province through co-operation with the United Farmers. The Progressives declaim the extravagance of the Norris government and advocate economy, still they link themselves with the United Farmers. The UFM platform proposes undertakings involving huge expenses including an extension of the consolidated school system, the province to bear the main burden of education in secondary schools, and elimination of fees, extensions to operation of farm loans, rural credits, animal purchases and co-operative selling schemes. Thirteen millions were used for farm loans, rural credits and animal purchases, still the farmers wanted more money for those enterprises. 22

W. H. Trueman added to his list of farmer wants: government operation of utilities; extending the government elevator program to other areas even though the program operated at a loss; and completion of the Hudson's Bay Railroad. In short, "the farmers never think of economy as demanded by Craig, Chipman, Newcombe and other city Progressives in their platform," Mr. Trueman concluded.

Premier Norris and his supporters explained their financial situation by comparisons with other governments. Municipal expenses were up 100 to 150 per cent since 1914 while provincial expenditures

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21 MFP, July 14, 1922, p. 3.

22 Ibid., July 4, 1922, p. 6.

had risen only 50 per cent, Premier Norris claimed, and comparisons with other western provinces showed the Manitoba budget to be the lowest of the four by a considerable amount. [23] Any taxes instituted by the Liberals were for a war effort and a major program of assistance for farmers, Mr. Norris protested.

C. D. McPherson, Minister of Public Works, defended government expenditures first by noting that the million dollar institute for the deaf was offset by $832,000 realized through sale of the old agriculture college to the Dominion Government. Most building costs were related to the upkeep of poorly constructed structures taken over from the previous administration, he claimed. Mr. McPherson then denied the charges of extravagance, and accused opponents of the government of having caused unanticipated spending themselves.

> Effective evidence can be advanced to demonstrate that expenditures are neither excessive nor extravagant. During the past two sessions the government has been in minority, and notwithstanding an opposing majority there were more demands for increases in expenditure rather than decreases, and these came from members who are today candidates in the field both as Conservative and Progressive nominees. Last session the government proposed a special committee of members to inquire into and investigate every branch of the Civil Service with a view to reducing or eliminating expenditures. The legislature rejected that proposal. [24]

Manitoba's first female member of the legislature, Mrs. Edith Rogers, defended government spending by pointing to a myriad of humane social services. These included an increase from $25,000 to $400,000 for mothers' allowances annually and a provincial nursing system which she described as a "boon to rural districts" with fifty nursing stations teaching first aid and care of children at a cost of $50,000 per year. [25]

Provincial Treasurer Edward Brown in his debate with John Haig pointed to the extensive benefits to farmers via Liberal government expenditures and in particular over three million dollars in loans to farmers under the Rural Credit Act. [26]

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[23] MFP, June 15, 1922, p. 2.

[24] Ibid., July 4, 1922, p. 4.

[25] Ibid., p. 6.

[26] Ibid., July 11, 1922, p. 1.

Labor Issues on the Left.

The position of Labor candidates was in some ways comparable to that of some Progressives: a more detached perspective on the financial squabbles. Unemployment and three million dollars spent to pay "the money-lenders" interest on loans were much more contentious matters which failed to arouse comments from "old-line parties." F. J. Dixon, now of the newly organized Independent Labour Party (ILP), advocated either the cancellation of all debts or the immediate reduction of interest rates and dividends. Mr. Dixon believed such courses of action were superior to cutting the wages of workers. He foresaw a time when workers would change existing practices and approaches to financial questions.

> When the workers assume control of Legislative bodies they will change the economic system. Special privileges by which workers are exploited will be eliminated. The government should endeavor to give employment instead of trying to reduce wages and staff. The only real economy lies in such measures as will give the workers greater social, political and economic power. [27]

The complexity of Labor organizations in Manitoba and Winnipeg in 1922 was such that no less a man than J. S. Woodsworth almost gave up the attempt to define its entanglements.[28] Labor supporters were divided into at least five distinct organizations, the largest and most successful being the Independent Labour Party, the most left-wing being the Socialist Party of Canada and the Workers' Party, with plenty of rivalry existing even between the latter two. A women's working class movement began during the campaign and J. S. Woodsworth and the Labour Church were also active in the 1922 election.

The issues talked about by Labor candidates of all ilk were often left unregarded by the candidates of the other parties. Little mention was made of unemployment, housing, workmen's compensation, a labor bill of rights, a trade disputes act and military training in public schools, outside of Labor circles.

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[27] CAR (1922), p. 760.

[28] See his "The Labour Movement in the West," Canadian Forum, April, 1922, pp. 585-587.

James Winning, Union Labour candidate, criticized the failure of the ILP House members to support good legislation rather than supporting the dissolution resolution.[29] Workers' Party candidates called for their support in order to expose the anti-labor character of the parliamentary arrangements until a Workers' government could abolish an economic and political system enslaving laborers.[30]

The veteran Brandon Labor member A. E. Smith carried on a sprightly campaign against his "fusionist" opponent. Mr. Smith looked forward to a farm-labor government which would act on matters of agreement and leave other considerations for later legislation.[31]

W. D. Bayley, ILP candidate in Assiniboia, defined the chief labor issue as the desire for workers' self-expression. The Labour platform was therefore "not a series of planks laid side by side" but a philosophy advocating self-expression, security, employment and status.[32] Throughout the campaign J. S. Woodsworth inspired confidence by reference to the support given to labor legislation in the House of Commons.

Other Major Issues: (1) Education.

There were many matters in addition to those raised by labor candidates which might have become heated issues in the 1922 campaign, but did not. A clear distinction between provincial and federal issues seemed to be observed by most candidates which left the natural resources, freight rates, and tariffs questions aside. Schooling, hydro-electric power, and the question of prohibition versus government control of liquor sales, were the only other province-wide issues, all three being, as they were, of a perennial nature.

The April Liberal convention had seen an attempt by federal Liberals to bring forward a resolution supporting French instruction in Manitoba schools and throughout the campaign UFM candidates and others warned of an attempt to change the School Act again. [33] Premier Norris denied the charge and in turn joined others who asked electors to consider where the new parties stood on the education issues. Replacing his invalided Education Minister, Mr. Norris feared the new groups would repeal the schooling legislation.

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[29] MFP, July 14, 1922, p. 8.

[30] Ibid., July 3, 1922, p. 3.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

Both Progressive and UFM candidates denied any intentions to repeal and countered by accusing Premier Norris of raising the question to foment racial and religious strife for political advantage. R. W. Craig said in Winnipeg: "My policy, and that of other Progressive candidates is that there is no school issue and that there should be no school issue in this campaign. We have no desire or intention to re-open that question." [34] UFM president C. H. Burnell promised no changes in school legislation and called making the matter an issue "unpatriotic." [35]

However, there were other candidates who were not reluctant to raise the issue. P. A. Talbot, former cabinet minister become UFM candidate in LaVerandrye, and Joseph Bernier, Liberal become Independent in St. Boniface, were leading advocates for the re-establishment of separate schools. These spokesmen received the support of minority-language newspapers like La Liberté and the Canadian Ukrainian and other French, Ukrainian and German publications which urged citizens to vote for "friends of the races": those who would support minority language instruction in the schools. [36]

French papers advocated "proportional representation" in language instruction, claiming that Britain had successfully imposed such a system in various colonies. The now much less evident issue was raised anew in the French-language La Liberté:

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[33] Morton, Progressive Party, p. 227.

[34] MFP, June 28, 1922, p. 1.

[35] Ibid., June 6, 1922, p. 1.

[36] CAR (1922), p. 770 and MFP, July 11, 1922, p. 8.

> We demand for Manitoba the proportional representation in school matters. It abolished all troubles and difficulties for other countries, it should act similarly here. In the name of "British fair play" let them stop robbing us. The robbers may be dressed in full evening suits but that does not in the least change the morality of their actions. The imposition of taxes upon the Catholics for the maintenance of neutral schools is purely and simply a theft covered with the doubtful mantel of a legality which is really only the law of might.
>
> We would be the meanest of men if we did not continue to feel the ignominy of such a treatment.
>
> Let us put proportional representation in school matters on the statute books.[37]

The plight of the subdued minorities was poignant also in the case of the Mennonites. Mennonite settlers from Gretna and Altoona colonies began leaving for Mexico ostensibly due to the enforced regulation on school attendance and non-sectarian education. It was also reported that their farms were going at "bargain prices."[38] Such a movement likely prompted U.F.M. candidate for Mordern-Rhineland, John Sweet, to promise the return of control of schools to the Mennonites if elected. Sweet promised a half-hour of German language instruction each day.[39]

Labor candidates again viewed educational issues from another perspective evidenced by Fred Dixon's concern for "educational opportunities for all children of all people." Only four percent of the population reached high school and a mere one percent, university. "The working man has the right to ask, for his children, an opportunity of getting the higher education. I am not against the Universities but I would like to see it wider spread," said Dixon.[40]

Other Major Issues: (2) Hydro-Electric Power.

In Brandon and Portage La Prairie the costs of hydro-electric power had become a major local issue, which, as we have seen, was used by Conservative John Haig and others to illustrate government waste and mis-management generally. In Brandon there were cries for an investigation by the Manitoba Hydro-Electric Commission to determine the feasibility of extending the public hydro system to that city.[41] Those who criticized the Commission's losses and estimates for expansion to Brandon were challenged by Charles McPherson, the Minister of Public Works. Portage's Liberal member said it was impossible to expect a profit in the first year of operation but that he had every expectation the system would be profitable in its second year. Any losses incurred were, he claimed, caused by the system still being in the course of construction. He dismissed criticisms of the system as designed for political advantage and provided the following details of the system's future:

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[37] As cited in MFP, July 3, 1922, p. 11.

[38] CAR (1922), p. 754.

[39] MFP, June 29, 1922, p. 12.

[40] Ibid., July 5, 1922, p. 12.

> The minimum revenue for the year is estimated at $170,000. This is earned on a capital of $1,000,000, since the amount over that invested in the system is represented by material for new construction and stock on hand and equipment assets, which should not be charged to working capital.[42]

Other Major Issues: (3) Control of Liquor Sales.

The only other major province-wide issue was the debate over government control of liquor sales. All political parties save the UFM favored a referendum on the question. The farmers still officially supported prohibition. Such highly moralistic stances have prompted political observers since to describe the old virtues as much in evidence in this new "party," and Tom Peterson writing recently says "such questions of morality practically monopolized party politics, partly because the province's political system was securely in the control of the relatively prosperous class and other issues could not readily arise."[43] Since even the South-west Manitoba farmers were largely of

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[41] MFP, July 3, 1922, p. 4.

[42] CAR (1922), p. 758, and MFP, July 8, 1922, p. 5, and July 11, 1922, p. 15.

[43] Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 86.

Ontario-British stock the analysis still held. At any rate the farmers received the support of both the Manitoba Baptist Convention and the Presbyterian Assembly which met over this period and resolved for total prohibition.[44]

The fast-growing Moderation League came under attack from the Baptists and others who claimed the League encouraged drinking by its stand in favor of government sales. The League contributed significantly to the campaign by conducting a questionnaire on candidates' stands on the question and sponsoring a public debate on the question of a referendum. The concern of League members and most supporters of the referendum was over the crippling nature of fines and boot-legging associated with total prohibition. In January of 1922, 1,406 gallons of alcohol were purchased via 16,381 pharmacy prescriptions, and one independent MLA, H. L. Mabb, described the vast change in an area around Lake Manitoba: "You see small districts paying ten or twelve thousand dollars of fines in the space of a month; you see home-brew liquor in bottles, suit cases, and valises, and in every conceivable thing that can carry it."[45]

Progressives promised a referendum before June, 1923. Mr. Craig denied any inconsistency with the UFM position by pointing out that although the farmers favored total prohibition they also supported direct legislation and would, therefore, support a referendum before June 1923.[46]

Both Labour and Liberal candidates favored a referendum, with Liberals arguing for submission of an approved act to the electorate (to avoid the already disallowed procedure of direct legislation or the intention of submitting a bill). F. J. Dixon received credit from the Free Press for his position that the only liquor issue was to choose men who favor the people deciding the issue, since under such circumstances the opinion of the candidate would become inconsequential.[47]

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[44] MFP, June 9, 1922, p. 2, and June 15, 1922, p. 2.

[45] CAR (1922), p. 766. In the few years of prohibition, Manitobans carried 1,211,461 prescriptions to pharmacies to purchase 510,993 gallons of liquor by the only legal means.

[46] MFP, July 5, 1922, p. 4.

Minor Issues.

There were other issues which received less notice like the drainage problems in Mordern-Rhineland, and the desire for the transferable vote, or rural version of Winnipeg's new "P. R." system. There were important charges of corruption centering around F. Y. Newton and concerns regarding a grand jury report of overcrowding at the Selkirk hospital. Yet all such issues and those already discussed were dwarfed by this strange new movement which united rural farmers and conservative Winnipeg businessmen. The latter seemed to have looked to the farmers for a stable government and economy, and so associated themselves with the Winnipeg Progressives. When in later elections we ponder why the Conservative Party of the late fifties and sixties far surpasses the Liberal or Liberal-Progressive Party in its "liberalsim" these early roots of the Liberal Party's progenitors may help to explain.

The Farmers' Victory.

W. L. Morton describes the 1922 election as a "political divide in Manitoban history." "It marked," he submits, "the culmination of the effort to get rid of 'politics'." Morton believes that the province moved backwards in its attempt to confront the problems of change, war and depression, back to its origins in "the rural virtues of thrift, sobriety and patient labor."[48] If he is correct we may have here a more profound description of the real issues in 1922: the appropriate values to deal with a highly frustrating and complex economic and political environment.

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[47] MFP, July 13, 1922, pp. 13 and 17.

[48] Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 379.

But, perhaps, Tom Peterson is equally accurate in his conclusion about the farmers' newly won majority, since it does not contradict Morton. "Party government was apparently ended," he notes. "Yet the reality was little changed: the new ruling group was substantially the same as the old one--farmers of British origin from the southwest of the province supported by businessmen of British origin in south Winnipeg. This durable alliance now governed under a new name."[49]

That same sobriety and distaste for party politics prompted the selection of John Bracken as the (initially reluctant) leader of the new government. The Liberal Free Press editorial applauding the selection of Mr. Bracken bears clear witness to these same predominant values.

> Under the conditions prevailing in these Provinces, knowledge of the technique of politics would be no help to the Premier. Professor Bracken is confronted with a business task, calling for powers of organization, foresight, acumen and sagacity--the qualities of the administrator and business man. These qualities, judged by his record to date, Professor Bracken has.[50]

By winning election in The Pas riding, one of three deferred elections, Professor John Bracken took his place as Premier of Manitoba.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1922.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% POP.VOTE WPG.	% SEATS WON
UFM and Progressives	28	49,777	32.8	11.5	50.9
Liberals	8	34,849	23.0	25.0	14.5
Conservatives	7	25,043	16.5	17.0	12.7
ILP and other Labour	6	21,289	14.0	30.1	10.9
Socialist; Workers	--	3,001	2.0	6.5	--
Independents	6	17,770	11.7	9.7	10.9

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[49] Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 84.

[50] MFP, July 22, 1922.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1922.

Major.

1. Party versus Class Politics. (Key, Province-wide, Cluster).
    - (a) Need for stable government.
    - (b) Sectional representation and "Group Government."
    - (c) "Fusion" for western interests.
    - (d) Urban versus rural--need for cooperation.
    - (e) Federal-provincial party affiliations.
2. Financial Record of Government. (Right).
    - (a) Economy in government.
    - (b) High taxes.
    - (c) Telephone system deficit. (Specific).
    - (d) Monies for deaf school. (Specific).
    - (e) UFM - Progressives inconsistency. (Side).
3. Labor. (Sectional).
    - (a) Unemployment. (Left).
    - (b) Interest on government loans.
    - (c) Housing. (New).
    - (d) Workmen's compensation. (Left).
    - (e) Labor bill of rights. (New, Left).
    - (f) Trades disputes act. (Liberal Left).
    - (g) Military training in public schools. (New).
    - (h) Workers' government and Labor representation. (Socialist Left).
4. Farm. (Sectional, Federal).
    - (a) Low wheat prices.
    - (b) Lack of wheat board.
    - (c) High freight rates and tariffs.
    - (d) Disenchantment with old parties. (Left).
5. Education. (Province-wide, Perennial, Sectional).
    - (a) Minority language instruction.
        - (1) Re-establishment of separate schools.
    - (b) French versus English avoidance of issue. (Unprompted).

Major Issues - Education - cont'd.

- (c) Compulsory Education.
- (d) Equal opportunity. (Left).

6. Hydro-Electric Power. (Local).
   - (a) Costs.
   - (b) Need for expansion.
7. Prohibition versus Government Control of Liquor Sales. (Perennial).

Minor and Local.

Transferable Ballot in Rural Areas. (Political).

Overcrowding at Selkirk Mental Hospital. (Social).

F. Y. Newton - Conflicts of Interest. (Personality; Charges of Corruption).

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1922.

ARTHUR

Hon. D. L. McLeod (U.F.M.)	1,136
J. Williams (L)	777

ASSINIBOIA ILP

W. D. Bayley (Lab.)	1,644
Chas. Richardson (U.F.M.)	999
Wm. Bourke (Ind.)	843
John Hadden (Ind.)	449

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS

Geo. Little (U.F.M.)	1,334
Richard E. Coad (C)	934
Jas. A. Dempsey (L)	429

BIRTLE

Wm. J. Short (U.F.M.)	1,307
Wm. Iverach (L)	740

BRANDON CITY

John H. Edmison (Ind.)	3,231
Albert E. Smith (Lab.)	2,069

CARILLON

Albert Préfontaine (U.F.M.)	1,010
Maurice Duprey (Ind.)	694

CYPRESS

Wm. H. Spinks (C)	1,252
John A. Young (U.F.M.)	1,205

DAUPHIN

Archibald Esplin (L)	835
George H. Palmer (Lab.)	742
H. P. Nicholson (U.F.M.)	658

DELORAINE

Duncan S. McLeod (U.F.M.)	1,012
Wm. Chalmers (C)	829
Robert S. Thornton (L)	810

DUFFERIN

Wm. Brown (U.F.M.)	1,655
Herbert B. Robinson (C)	1,504

EMERSON

Dmytro Yakimischak (Ind.).	998
D. H. McFadden (C)........	567
R. F. Curran (U.F.M.)......	566
H. Stewart (L)..............	435

ETHELBERT

Nikolas A. Hryhorczuk (U.F.M.)	Accl

FAIRFORD

Albert W. Kirvan (L).......	810
G. L. Marron (U.F.M.).....	398

FISHER

Nicholas P. Bachynsky (U.F.M.)................	581
H. L. Mabb (Ind.)..........	354
John G. Hamilton (L).......	262

GILBERT PLAINS

Arthur E. Berry (U.F.M.)...	1,034
Horace P. Barrett (Ind.). ...	489
Geo. D. Shortreed (L).......	317

GIMLI

Michael Rojeski (L)...........	1,570
Ingimar Ingaldson (U.F.M.).	1,310
Elias Grabosky (C)..........	103

GLADSTONE

Albert McGregor (U.F.M.)..	1,527
David Smith (L)............	549
F. Rhind (C)................	387

GLENWOOD

Jas. W. Breakey ~~(U.F.M.)~~ L..	1,468
W. G. Rathwell (U.F.M.)....	950

HAMIOTA

Thos. Wolstenholme (U.F.M.)	1,338
John H. McConnell (L)......	935

IBERVILLE

Arthur R. Boivin (U.F.M.)..	902
H. A. Mullins (L)...........	290

KILDONAN & ST. ANDREWS

Chas. A. Tanner (Lab.) ILP...	1,453
Free Larter (L). [illegible]....	977
Samuel H. Summerscales (U.F.M.)................	829

KILLARNEY

Andrew E. Foster (U.F.M.)..	949
Dr. G. W. Waldon (C)......	747
Thos. H. Buck (L)..........	394

LAKESIDE

Douglas L. Campbell (U.F.M.)	1,391
Herbert Muir (C)............	1,101

LANSDOWNE

Hon. T. C. Norris (L).......	1,680
John M. Allen (U.F.M.).....	1,219

LA VERANDRYE

Hon. P. A. Talbot (U.F.M.).	1,134
L. P. Roy (L)................	694

MANITOU

Geo. Compton (U.F.M.).....	1,049
John S. Ridley (C)..........	1,018
G. Davidson (L).............	531
Jos. B. Lane (Ind.)..........	548

MINNEDOSA

Hon. N. Cameron (U.F.M.)..	1,966
A. W. Shaw (L).............	1,160

MORDEN & RHINELAND

John Kennedy (C)...........	1,297
John Sweet (U.F.M.)........	960

MORRIS

Hon. W. R. Clubb (U.F.M.).	1,222
Alex Ayotte (L).............	751

MOUNTAIN

Chas. Cannon (U.F.M.).....	1,580
Jas. B. Baird (L)............	968
Geo. M. Fraser (C)..........	578

NORFOLK

John Muirhead (U.F.M.)....	1,279
R. J. Waugh (C)............	1,142

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

Fawcett G. Taylor (C)......	1,436
Chas. D. McPherson (L)....	1,307

ROBLIN

Fred Y. Newton (C)........	1,183
Henry R. Richardson (U.F.M.)..............	1,176

ROCKWOOD

Wm. C. McKinnell (U.F.M.)	1,374
Harvey E. Hicks (C)........	706
Robert Wm. Rutherford (L).	703

RUPERTS LAND

Hon. F. M. Black (U.F.M.)..	Accl.

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

RUSSELL

Isaac B. Griffiths (U.F.M.)..	1,127
W. W. W. Wilson (L).......	783
E. C. DeBalinhard (C)......	741

ST. BONIFACE

Joseph Bernier (Ind.)........	2,024
R. M. Sutherland (L)........	1,176
Chas. W. Foster (Lab.)......	1,124

ST. CLEMENTS

Donald A. Ross ~~(L)~~ IND....	1,245
Hugh Connolly (U.F.M.)....	532
Nicklas Kolisynk (Lab.).....	387
Mathew J. Stanbridge (Lab.)	352

ST. GEORGE

Skuli Sigfusson (L)..........	1,512
A. E. Kristjansson (U.F.M.).	860

STE. ROSE

Jos. Hamelin (Ind.)..........	1,362
Thos. McDonald (U.F.M.)...	1,272

SPRINGFIELD

Clifford Barclay (U.F.M.)...	1,014
Wm. Jas. Black (L)..........	854
Sam. L. Henry (C)...........	365

SWAN RIVER

Robert E. Emmond (U.F.M.).	1,320
D. Howe (C).................	348

THE PAS

Hon. John Bracken (U.F.M.)	472
Herman Finger (Ind.).......	118
R. H. MacNeill (Ind.).......	38
P. C. Robertson (Ind.)......	71

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

R. G. Willis (C).............	1,059
R. W. Ransom (U.F.M.)....	955

VIRDEN

R. H. Mooney (U.F.M.)	1,638
Geo. Clingan (L)............	961

WINNIPEG

Fred J. Dixon (Lab.) ILP........	7,971
R. Jacobs (L.)	4,010
J. K. Downes (Ind.)..........	3,621
W. Sanford Evans (C)........	2,519
John T. Haig (C).............	2,406
John Queen (Lab.) IND WKRS	2,348
S. J. Farmer (Lab.) ILP....	1,195
William Ivens (Lab.) ILP....	1,238
Mrs. Arthur Rogers (L.)	1,689
Hon. R. W. Craig (U.F.M.)..	1,179
Geo. Armstrong (Lab.) SOC..	1,273
Mrs. L. Brown (C)..........	413
Duncan Cameron (L).........	1,595
Sam Cartwright (Lab.) ILP..	390
Geo. F. Chipman (U.F.M.)..	1,037
Hugh D. Cutler (C).........	426
Wm. Jas. Donovan (L)......	616
B. B. Dubienski (Ind.)......	340
Arni Eggertson (L).........	594
Wm. Hammond (Lab.) WKRS	102
Mrs. M. J. Hample (U.F.M.)	336
A. Henderson (Lab.). WKRS	194
Patrick J. Henry (U.F.M.)..	659
Fred Hilson (Ind.)...........	143
A. L. Maclean (L.)	254
Colin McPhail (Ind.).........	37
Peter McCallum (U.F.M.)...	450
Mrs. M. McCartney (Lab.) ILP	72
F. W. McGill (Lab.) UNION LAB	342
Dan. McLean (C)............	315
Jas. A. McTavish (L).......	619
W. R. Milton (L)	612
W. C. Morden (Ind.)........	138
Mrs. Agnes Munro (C)......	97
Thos. J. Murray (U.F.M.)...	811
Chas. K. Newcombe (U.F.M.)	507
Mathew Popovitch (Lab.) WKRS	788
Arthur W. Puttie (U.F.M.)..	135
Jas. Simpkin (Lab.) ILP....	113
Arthur Sullivan (C).........	973
W. H. Trueman (L).........	651
Wm. J. Tupper (C).........	616
Jas. Winning (Lab.) UNION LAB	507

HOW JOHN BRACKEN

BALANCED THE BUDGET

JUNE 4 TO 28, 1927

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Government: United Farmers and Progressives	John Bracken	46
Conservatives	F. G. Taylor	40
Liberals	H. A. Robson	39
Independent Labour Party	John Queen	9
Communist	(Jacob Penner)	1
Independents (including Fusionists)	-----	20

45 single member districts using alternative or preferential ballot. Ten-member Winnipeg district using Hare system of proportional representation. Total seats: 55.

The Key Issue: Liquor Control.

It was undoubtedly in keeping with John Bracken's non-partisan support that he simply waited until his five year mandate fully expired, taking no apparent political advantage in announcing the June 1927 campaign. The 1921-1924 depression was ended, and as Canadians geared up for the Diamond Jubilee celebration of confederation, Manitobans prepared to go to the polls not only to re-elect their "Bracken Government" but to decide on the nature of government control of liquor sales. So, as in former elections at the turn of the century, liquor questions were paramount. A liquor referendum asked the voters if they favored extension of the sale of beer. Since 1923 government-controlled brewers' outlets sold beer in case-lots to special permit-holders licensed to deliver it to customers. The Progressives had remained true to their 1922 election promise, with pressure from the Moderation League, to hold a plebiscite on government control and sale. The June 28 referendum would ask whether voters wished an extended system for the sale of beer and, if so, whether sale should be by the bottle or by the glass: the difference between beer parlours and drinking limited to homes. The electors were also asked whether they favored abolishing the brewers' rights to sell beer direct to permit-holders.

The pros and cons of expanded sales by bottle and/or by glass were such as to cross party lines. The Manitoba Conference of the newly formed United Church of Canada urged voters to express an opinion on all parts of the referendum lest the bottle-glass decision be overlooked.[1] The Manitoba Prohibition Alliance saw bottle-drinking as the lesser of two evils,[2] but, in advertisements published by their Winnipeg Committee on the eve of the election, described "the brewers" as the enemy who were attempting to restore the "lucrative bar-room" camouflaged as the "beer room." "The issue in brief," their advertisement proclaimed, was the brewers:

> The Brewers who have made millions out of the sale of beer are asking for a law to help them make more millions. The Brewers who are the most notorious law-breakers are now seeking to dictate a new law to serve their own selfish ends...The Brewers would make this the next step toward their ideal--the return of the lucrative days of their open bar. The Brewers want armies of new recruits among the young of Manitoba.

And finally:

> The Brewer wants your boy. Will you protect him by your ballot?[3]

The Conservative Party was officially opposed to deciding such questions by referenda. The party did favor government control, the abolition of brewers' rights to sell to permit-holders, and a "cash and carry" approach to lower priced liquor.[4] The Liberals sided with the government in supporting the referendum; but the United Farmers of Manitoba, meeting in convention, reaffirmed their principal of prohibitory liquor legislation and were opposed to any proposals which led to an increase in the sale of beer. 5

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[1] MFP, June 3, 1927, p. 2.

[2] Ibid., June 10, 1927, p. 9.

[3] Ibid., June 27, 1927, p. 7.

[4] CAR (1926-27), p. 413.

Premier Bracken stated his position, supported by his followers in convention, on May 20th:

> ...if the electors express a desire for a change in the method of the sale of beer, the Government will prepare legislation to bring it into effect. The decision on the plebiscite will not in any way affect the existing law covering the sale and delivery of hard liquor, and no change in the method of selling hard liquor is now contemplated. 6

The province's newspapers were filled with reports of Sunday sermons on the issue, and the correspondence pages were opened to citizens taking various sides. Some accused Premier Bracken of sacrificing his conscience for the sake of liquor profits. Another such letter echoed the concern of many prohibitionists that the notion of beer by the bottle as being a lesser evil would trick voters into favoring the expansion questioned in the first part of the referendum; it was, said the letter, "coupled with question one, which is loaded against the prohibitionists." This particular letter described the referendum as "simply a low-down political trick designed to stampede the prohibitionists of this province into voting for the sale of beer by the bottle for the next five years by the Bracken government." 7

The arguments also raged over the comparative merits of beer by the glass or by the bottle. Veterans' groups and the Manitoba Citizens League believed beer by the glass would prevent the necessity for bootlegging, and also reduce the consumption of hard liquor; as well as make respect for the law possible once again. In their promotion campaigns such groups claimed that illegal sale was extensive because:

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5 CAR (1926-27), p. 425.

6 Ibid., p. 414.

7 Letter signed John N. Sturk, Winnipeg, MFP, June 11, 1927, p. 19.

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> ...the public evidently desires to drink a glass of beer "when it wants it." If a man can only buy a bottle or a case, how is he to drink it? Either he must break the law by asking those who [illegible]d it to him permission to open it there and drink it--or he must go behind some building or sign board to drink it--or he must take an hour off to go to his boarding house or home. 8

The dilemma was due to the stringent regulations about drinking at home. Beer-by-the-glass supporters saw it then as a temperance measure minimizing drunkeness; it was good for the tourist business since tourists were particularly hamstrung by existing regulations; it would minimize secret drinking, and would ensure cleaner and better hotels under government supervision ("no bedroom bars"). 9

But, as we have noted, the opponents of glass beer feared "the re-emergence of the bar," since beer parlours would be permissible under beer-by-the-glass. The Prohibition Alliance insisted that:

> The beer parlour marks the re-emergence in modified form, of the bar. This is vigorously denied; but is there any real doubt about it? The actual piece of furniture known as the bar may not be in evidence; but liquor can be drunk as readily, as continuously and for as long a period--or longer--at a table as over the gleaming face of a polished counter. 10

And, finally, Independent Winnipeg MLA, J. K. Downes wrote Premier Bracken to determine what the government intended to do if Winnipeg or Mr. Bracken's The Pas constituency were to favor liquor by the glass while the rest of the province was opposed. Would there be a local option? 11

The other major issue associated with the referendum was the matter of fines and offences under liquor control legislation. Most opposition politicians, from Winnipeg at least, called provincial enforcement of the prevailing liquor laws a "farce." The province had

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8 MFP, June 25, 1927, p. 8.

9 Ibid., June 28, 1927, p. 3.

10 Ibid., June 27, 1927, p. 7.

11 Ibid., June 20, 1927, p. 4.

apparently granted the city of Winnipeg $10,000 to be used by the Winnipeg Police Commission to enforce the temperance act. The cynicism of one Winnipeg alderman was voiced on the grant. "This $10,000 will be spent in using stool pigeons to raid the little places and the big places will go scot free. I am hoping the people at the next election will settle this question once and for all. If the people were not drinking beer the brewers would not be making it."[12]

Winnipeg Mayor Ralph Webb, who served as chairman of the police commission, spoke of over five thousand lawbreakers on liquor charges and asked publicly for a government-supported non-political commission, as practiced in Alberta, to see that the laws were enforced.[13]

Conservative John Haig was particularly outspoken about the failure of the Attorney-General's Department to enforce the law. Haig charged that Premier Bracken and his former Attorney-General R. W. Craig allowed bootlegging in the province. The Winnipeg Conservative claimed that while taxes were paid on 2,600,000 gallons of beer only 500,000 gallons were sold by permit-holders and a similar amount exported. This left 1,600,000 gallons of liquor unaccounted for.[14] Haig also expressed concern that liquor prices in Manitoba were twenty-five per cent higher than those of neighboring Ontario. To many observers, far and near, the implication was that the Bracken Government had quickly learned that there were healthy revenues in government liquor control and sales.

Other Major Issues: (1) The Bracken Management.

In fact, the ability to make money on liquor sales was about all the praise that the new Liberal leader H. A. Robson could find for the Bracken leadership. "There is no initiative today in the legislative buildings," Robson said before he accepted leadership at a convention on April 30th. "The only political intelligence that has been displayed in the last three years is of the sort which tried to make a balance sheet come out on the right side of profits from sale of liquor."[15] The undue stress on balancing a budget at the expense of courageous leadership was a major talking point amongst Liberal candidates. As one Liberal speaker put it: "For the last five years, Bracken has been trying to decide what the government should do. As a result it has done nothing."[16] Robson described as a "step-mother approach" the decline which had set into the "splendid schemes" of the Norris administration. Under John Bracken, programs like the rural credits and farm loans, Robson said, had shrunk. He employed Premier Bracken's talk of building a branch line of the Hudson's Bay Railway to Flin Flon, if he could find the securities, as an example of the Premier's lack of courage. Liberals would pay for expanded programs and services out of the "vast undeveloped resources" of the northern portion of the province. Robson compared Norris budgets of eight million dollars to the ten million dollars of Premier Bracken claiming that boosted revenues were due only to increased taxes and liquor profits.[17] Mrs. Edith Rogers claimed that John Bracken balanced his budget by crippling the Child Welfare Act, reducing the number of public health nurses from fifty-two to twenty-six, and allowing overcrowding in the home for the aged and the infirm.[18] Another Liberal, John McLean, reminded the electorate of the over one hundred schools which had been forced to close because of a lack of outside, or provincial, funding.[19]

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[12] MFP, June 1, 1927, p. 2.

[13] F. C. Pickwell, "The Manitoba Elections," Saturday Night, June 18, 1927, p. 2.

[14] MFP, June 6, 1927, p. 7; June 16, 1927, p. 2; and June 25, 1927, p. 5.

Conservative candidates made reference to the 1922 promises that the government would reduce expenditures, not simply balance the budget at the price of higher taxes. John Haig charged that Premier Bracken's tax reductions were of the nature to allow an additional two million dollars annually in his budget: $1,500,000 more than the Norris Government.[20] Conservatives promised to abolish the despised provincial income tax which Premier Bracken defended, since it taxed those with substance even more than the land or property taxes applied by the municipal commissioner's levy, and which hit farmers very hard.

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[15] F. C. Pickwell, "The New Leader of Manitoba Liberalism," Saturday Night, April 16, 1927, p. 3.

[16] MFP, June 15, 1927, p. 4.

[17] Ibid., June 16, 1927, p. 2, and June 20, 1927, p. 3.

[18] Ibid., June 15, 1927, p. 4.

[19] Ibid., June 15, 1927, p. 4, and Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 389.

Bracken's reply to these charges of unimaginative and pedantic administration, combined with burdensome taxes, was to twit his opponents for a "lack of business capacity," and blame the deficits of previous governments for the costs of present government. He claimed that four million dollars of such debts had existed, and that he had changed a $1,346,000 deficit to a $600,000 surplus in five years. To charges that taxes were particularly hard on municipalities, he answered that he had reduced taxes an average of forty-five per cent, most of which was land or property tax under the municipal commissioner's levy. Municipal debts had swollen also under previous regimes via the patriotic fund levy, he argued.[21] On June 18, the Premier announced a $706,000 surplus for the tax year ending April 30, 1927. He pointed to funds set aside for weak school districts.[22] On the natural resources question he made constant reference to the newly instituted Industrial Development Board which was sponsoring new industry and mining development throughout the province. As to the full provincial right to natural resources, he believed that that was not a provincial election issue, and that it would be resolved fairly even if he were not of the same party as the federal prime-minister.[23]

A further dimension to these general criticisms of the Bracken administration was the charge of one man rule in the Bracken Government. The phrase "Bracken Government" was a popular one. Officially, the "Brackenites" (another commonly used description) would not become Progressives until 1928 and so were still referred to occasionally as "United Farmers" or the "Farmers Union."[24] The Canadian Parliamentary Guide for this election lists all Premier Bracken supporters as "G. C.," "Government Candidate." Robson's "step-mother" analogy was a direct reference to one-man government, a family clique--what Robson called "one man and his self-selected friends."[25] Winnipeg Conservative Theodore A. Hunt compared Premier Bracken to Mussolini. "There was a party. Now there is Mussolini." Hunt decried the power of one man being strong enough to carry the party name.[26]

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[20] MFP, June 6, 1927, p. 7.

[21] Ibid., June 4, 1927, p. 1; June 11, 1927, p. 3; and June 16, 1927, p. 2.

[22] Ibid., June 16, 1927, p. 2.

[23] Ibid., June 4, 1927, p. 1.

Other Major Issues: (2) Party versus Class Politics.

But all such comments were preliminary to the larger perennial issue of party government versus non-partisan administration, or as Bracken seemed to practice: a form of group government in which he tended to encourage a large number of free votes resulting in less emphasis on cabinet solidarity. Premier Bracken also welcomed about him, what one analyst called, "men who have not been too closely allied with political organizations, but have the reputation of being patriotic citizens with good records."[27]

Winnipeg Liberal John Maclean claimed that the Bracken Government was incapable of doing anything for the province just because of this non-partisan structure. MacLean referred to three groups (Farmers, Labor and Independents) believing in class government, with only the name of a leader to hold them together.[28] A pioneering Labor spokesman like Fred Tipping, on the other hand, claimed that even Premier Bracken underestimated the significance of class feeling. While Mr. Bracken denied class influence on his government Tipping said John Bracken was elected on the basis of such feeling amongst the farmers. Tipping argued that the government could not please everybody and that an example was the defeat of the one-day-of-rest-in-seven bill by classes of employers, not farmers. Hence, Tipping predicted a future farmer-labor government.[29]

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[24] F. C. Pickwell describes this phenomenon in his "Manitoba Elections," Saturday Night, June 18, 1927, p. 2.

[25] MFP, June 20, 1927, p. 3.

[26] Ibid., June 21, 1927, p. 4.

[27] A. J. Turtle, "Manitoba's New Attorney-General," Saturday Night, June 11, 1927, p. 3.

[28] MFP, June 1, 1927, p. 11.

The viewpoint of the government was well summed up in an advertisement calling citizens to "Vote for a business (not a party) government--let's unite the cities and country for province-wide prosperity."[30] One of the many divisions criticized in the non-partisan approach to Manitoba politics was the city-country split. Premier Bracken had always been careful to appeal to Winnipeggers, and in this campaign he handled their many complaints of being short-changed by a class party, by a vigorous denial and plea for unity.

> In spite of everything our critics may say, we have played fair with the city of Winnipeg, although we had only one representative of the city in the government. Our presence here is a challenge to the city to join hands with the government in forming an administration that will recognize neither city nor country, neither south nor north, neither race nor creed, nor economic group, but that will have as its only aim and ideal the welfare and the prosperity of Manitoba as a whole.[31]

In such a context many quarters urged the co-operation of all political parties. Many believed that an alliance was afoot between the Conservatives and Liberals, and the Free Press welcomed such news by asking voters to offer first and second choices to one and then the other old-line party, and so defeat the government.[32]

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[29] MFP, June 15, 1927, p. 4.

[30] Ibid., June 11, 1927, p. 3.

[31] Ibid., June 4, 1927, p. 1.

[32] The Globe (Toronto), June 27, 1927 discusses the alliance question editorially and cites the Free Press as source.

Liberal leader Robson vehemently denied any alliance with the Conservatives when asked publicly why the parties were apart if both opposed the government. His statement in defence of the party system is almost classic as it tackles all the questionable dimensions of group government.

> Liberalism will not even passively countenance government by an occupational group and much less by a party centered on any man or group of men irrespective of political tendencies. Such parties are, more than the others, subject to personal favoritism and private influence. No matter how loud the asseverations of superiority may be, the resistance against misuse of power and the capacity for action are, in fact, weaker in the case of an unstable small-group government than in that of an organized and continuing political party. The pressure on the latter is severe enough, we all know, but there are always at least, men of influence in them who are not mere opportunists and who neither desire the spoils of office nor seek personal and party aggrandisement. And we consider there is no hope for future progress from group or individualist government. It draws itself into its defensive shell and becomes inert. With an attitude of mind subject to such a condition we have no sympathy. And so we unqualifiedly say we will have none of it. That is the best way to treat the matter. There can be no half-measures.[33]

City versus Country.

Whatever politicians wished to say about party or "class" government the city-country split had reached serious proportions in Manitoba. The split was the substantive issue behind a number of more evident and instrumental ones of great concern to the candidates and electorate in 1927. As we have indicated a city-country division existed as regards taxation. City politicians tended to favor land taxes like the municipal commissioner's levy. Rural-based politicians had been much more willing to inaugurate a provincial income tax. Some Conservative candidates, like Sanford Evans of Winnipeg, claimed their party would abolish both the personal income tax and the municipal commissioner's levy.[34] The question of taxation was not simply one of which provincial form hurt who less, but an urgent question for payment of municipal costs. Winnipeg City Council set up a committee to investigate how the city could be best served by its provincial government candidates and the city's concern for more revenue. Most tax suggestions were stolen by the province, the city charged.[35]

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[33] MFP, June 25, 1927, p. 4.

[34] Ibid., June 9, 1927, p. 3.

Related to the taxation question was the manner in which Winnipeg seemed destined to pay for rural services. Such a policy may have more and more been the conscious design of Farmer-Progressive governments in order to establish some measure of country-city equality. In 1927 the clearest example of Winnipeg paying the rural costs arose over the provincial telephone system, where the city system profits were removed to bear the cost of a substantial rural deficit.[36]

Two other issues divided city and country folk, again on the question of costs, i.e.; roads and schools. The economic slump having ended, the good roads program and increase in automobile traffic returned. Rural candidates and even suburban ones like A. W. Myles (Liberal--Assiniboia) insisted that trunk highways should be delineated and maintained, not by municipalities but, by the province.[37] Conservatives argued that better roads could be paid for out of an adjustment to the tax on gasoline and using such revenues for road-building. The Conservatives called for a reduction in the five dollar licence fee which candidate R. A. Gillespie claimed farmers could not afford. Gillespie advocated use of the gas tax revenue, which more clearly taxed the users for paying the cost of roads.[38]

Education Issues.

Perhaps the most tragic disparity at this time was the backward state of many rural school districts. Over one hundred of the twelve hundred districts had closed completely while many others were only open for part of the school year in order to save money. The cause of the problem and the lack of support in certain school districts, was explained by W. L. Morton:

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[35] MFP, June 3, 1927, p. 4.

[36] MFP, June 9, 1927, p. 3; and Saturday Night, June 18, 1927, p. 2.

[37] MFP, June 7, 1927, p. 2.

[38] Ibid., June 11, 1927, p. 3. Also MFP, June 9, 1927, p. 3, and CAR (1926-1927), p. 413.

> ...the small school district and the flat provincial grant...made it impossible to use the resources of rich districts with high assessments to aid poor districts with low assessments and high tax rates to keep their schools open, or to base the provincial grant on need.[39]

As the campaign progressed Premier Bracken made continued reference to reduced municipal taxes of over one million dollars and spoke of increased school grants of $100,000 in order to prevent the closing of the weaker school districts.[40]

Further dimensions to the education costs issue were raised by John Queen, the intelligent and highly respected friend of the workers. He chided the Bracken Government which lacked, he believed, any real progressive plans for education. "They called themselves Progressives, but if you call an onion an apple it will make you weep just the same when you break the skin. Are they men of progressive ideas? Break the skin and weep." Labor candidate Queen described the weaknesses, as he saw them, of the government's education policies which went against Labor concerns for education open to all equally.

> The suburban municipalities had been forced to exact fees from the parents of children who desired to go past grade VIII, in school. You would have thought that a Progressive government would have said, "Education is one of the things we will not curtail." Instead the Bracken government made the retrograde step and gave the trustees the right by legislation to levy the fees, instead of helping them out of their difficulties, and so prohibited some children from having the education to which they have the right. Labor stands for making education easy of attainment to all.[41]

Perhaps the appointment of P. A. Talbot as speaker of the house and accepting Albert Prefontaine into the Bracken cabinet quieted more than just the separate school question. At any rate the kinds of concerns expressed by Mr. Queen were not the most heated education issues in 1927. Rather, it was the university, its site and future support, which was the most vigorously debated education issue in June 1927.

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[39] Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 389.

[40] MFP, June 16, 1927, p. 2.

[41] Ibid., June 6, 1927, p. 1.

T. C. Norris had seemingly finalized the site and building plans for the university at Tuxedo. But Premier Bracken had re-opened the question with his Royal Commission on education which recommended uniting the agriculture college and the university.

Mr. Bracken agreed to this course which involved a breach of contract with Tuxedo Land Holdings who launched a suit against the government during the campaign.[42] Candidates justifiedly complained about the poor state of the university, its lack of buildings and poor financial basis. Premier Bracken defended a reduction in the university grant from $600,000 to $440,000 on the grounds that more private beneficiaries were giving to the university, hence, allowing a saving on public funds.[43]

In answer to questions being asked about the comparative amounts of grants to the various levels of education, Conservative leader F. G. Taylor took a more critical stance on the university, claiming at Gimli that forty-seven per cent of the government education grant went to the university and only ten per cent to public schools. The Free Press responded immediately by asking both Premier Bracken and Mr. Taylor what they intended to do about the obvious "bad shape" that the university was in.[44] Conservative John Haig cited more precise and recent figures on education spending, and replied to the Free Press editorial cited above by stating that the issue was not reducing grants to the university, as the Free Press implied they favored, but, rather, setting priorities in some proportion: first public school for every child, then high school, and then university.[45]

At the same time, in The Pas, Liberal leader Robson was scoring the government for its failure to erect suitable buildings for the university. The Free Press claimed Robson's statement "...leaves Mr.

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[42] MFP, June 22, 1927, p. 1.

[43] Ibid., June 4, 1927, p. 1.

[44] Ibid., June 6, 1927, p. 13.

[45] Ibid., June 9, 1927, p. 3.

Taylor and Mr. Haig the unenviable distinction of being the only political leaders who try to get the votes by inflaming the minds of the people...against their own University." Replying to Haig's explanation that larger school grants do not necessarily involve less support to the university, the Liberal paper asked "If this is their policy, why do they not say so? It is surely possible to urge larger grants to the public schools without, in the same breath knocking the University." The newspaper answered its own query by saying it wouldn't happen because Sanford Evans, who would likely become the Provincial Treasurer in a Conservative government, had talked nothing but cuts in all forms of taxation.[46]

The pinnacle of public attention was reached on the university issue when, on June 21st, the Alumni Association of the university sponsored a public debate. Party positions were reiterated with Premier Bracken indicating some willingness to compromise on an extended agreement with Tuxedo. John Haig stated that the Conservatives would obtain an impartial report into the matter. Robson again deplored the repudiation of the contract and called for a university board of governors free of party politicians. Labor representative John Queen advocated expenditures on the university which would provide free education to students. The university, he said, should be the place for teaching people how to live with their fellow men rather than a place for preparing men to go out into the world as "money grabbers." Queen prefered an enlarged university on its downtown Broadway site because of its central location over both Tuxedo or the agriculture site at Fort Garry. He also deplored the high fees charged of university students.[47]

Minor and Local Issues.

Other issues receiving only somewhat less attention included arguments over the construction of the Hudson's Bay Railroad. Debates ensued as to whether Port Nelson or Churchill was the most appropriate terminal point for the railway. Immigration was at issue in so far as both federal and provincial governments were criticized for encouraging the immigration of farm and industrial labor when jobs could not be found for present workers. Minister of Agriculture and Immigration, Albert Prefontaine talked of looking after Manitoba's own people first. He would have his government change the conditions which would allow for successful immigration, therefore avoiding the "dumping" of new immigrants. Labor candidate S. Cartwright spoke out against what he called "commercialized immigration," whereby immigrants migrate and when work is difficult to obtain offer to work for less, so that, "old hands are laid off."[48]

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[46] MFP, June 10, 1927, p. 13.

[47] Ibid., June 22, 1927, p. 1.

An even larger issue was the development of northern resources--mining, pulp and paper, and hydro electric power. Sanford Evans claimed that only $5,000 had been directly invested by the government for mining development.[49] John Haig complained that Bracken had failed to protect power sites (like White Mud Falls on the Nelson River) for public gain rather than the gain of private individuals. Similar concerns were being expressed for pulp-wood rights along the HBR route.[50] Robson reminded voters that the northern mining areas required a plan which included roads, railways, and their own electric power.[51] One writer to the Free Press took an opposite stand protesting the government spending on oil wells and gold mines while the Farmers' Packing Company and Farmers' Woolen Mills had been wiped out for a lack of small assistance.[52]

As if to reply to most of the above criticisms John Bracken, speaking in the frontier community of The Pas, outlined a policy of northern development. His July 19th statement included the Flin Flon Railway and the White Mud power site which was to be used, he said, for the development of the mineral and pulpwood resources in the region.[53]

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[48] MFP, June 13, 1927, p. 4.

[49] Ibid., June 9, 1927, p. 3.

[50] Editorial, MFP, June 10, p. 13 and June 11, 1927, p. 3.

[51] MFP, June 14, 1927, p. 3.

[52] Letter to the editor, MFP, June 18, 1927, p. 33.

[53] MFP, June 20, 1927, p. 3.

Labor - Left Issues.

Finally, there were the sectional concerns of Labor candidates, occasionally championed by a Conservative of the stature of John Haig, but all too often left as specific concerns of one class of people. The major concerns were these, that the one-day-in-rest-in-seven bill had failed to achieve assent in the house; that mothers' allowances were decreasing; that minimum wages, expecially for women were avoided by exceptions in the minimum wage act; and that old-age pensioners and tubercular patients were forgotten segments of Manitoba society. Cartwright called for an increase from two-thirds to full salary for compensating injured workers.[54] Another Winnipeg Labor candidate, R. Durward, criticized government for allowing an influx of farm labor at lower rates than farmers had said they were willing to pay, and doing nothing to see that the money it spent provided a means of employment for its own people, "to wit," he said "the bringing in of truck drivers from the United States."[55]

"You can't economize when it comes to human welfare," said J. S. Woodsworth at a labor meeting where he expressed the hope that Manitoba would follow British Columbia by passing old-age pension legislation. "It should have been made an election issue and wasn't," Woodsworth noted.[56] Labor stalwart and MLA S. J. Farmer noted that the increase in the number of mothers requiring a government allowance had not been considered by the government, thus resulting in an actual decrease in Mothers' allowances.[57] John Queen, at a labor meeting earlier in the campaign, cited seven occasions on which the government had reduced mothers' allowances. He expressed his alarm over workers who had to work seven days each week and deplored the absence of old-age pension legislation mimicking Premier Bracken, as saying: "I've balanced the budget.

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[54] MFP, June 16, 1927, p. 3.

[55] Ibid., June 6, 1927, p. 3.

[56] Ibid., June 6, 1927, p. 3.

[57] Ibid., June 16, 1927, p. 3.

Yes, you workers who sometimes find it difficult to get enough to live on, rejoice and support Bracken! He has balanced the budget."[58]

The Results.

Manitobans favored an extension of beer sales by the glass with no abolition of brewers' rights. And as expected John Bracken and his government supporters were returned with a majority. Conservatives rebounded healthily under Fawcett Taylor at the expense of Independent candidates. A Toronto editorial writer claiming that the Conservative gains and Independent losses might be interpreted by some to indicate a wish to return to the "old two-party system," claimed that Premier Bracken's win "hardly leaves room for such a theory for it certainly indicates that the Progressive Party is still well entrenched in the western province."[59]

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1927.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% POP. VOTE WPG.	% SEATS WON
Government Candidates	29	52,805	32.4	17.0	52.7
Conservatives	15	44,291	27.1	26.0	27.3
Liberals	7	33,196	20.3	22.0	12.7
I. L. P.	3	15,540	9.5	23.0	5.5
Communist	--	2,015	1.2	4.0	[illegible]
Independents	1	15,322	9.4	8.0	1.8

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[58] MFP, June 6, 1927, p. 1.

[59] The Globe (Toronto), June 30, 1927, p. 40.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1927.

Major, Province-wide.

1. Liquor Control.
    - (a) Referendum on glass or bottle beer. (Specific).
    - (b) Wording and appropriateness of referendum. (Side).
    - (c) Fines and offenses.
2. Unimaginative Administration.
    - (a) Lack of leadership.
    - (b) One-man rule.
    - (c) Cut-backs in social programs.
    - (d) Undevelopment of north.
        - (i) No protection of power sites.
    - (e) Forms of tax reductions.
    - (f) City-country split.
        - (i) Forms of taxation.
        - (ii) Winnipeg paying for rural services.
3. Party versus Class Politics. (Political).
    - (a) Non-partisan administration.
    - (b) Liberal--Conservative alliance.
    - (c) City--country split.
4. Education.
    - (a) Site and support of university.
        - (i) Breach of contract on site. (Specific).
        - (ii) Financial support--state of repair.
    - (b) Lack of funds for rural schools.
    - (c) Equal opportunity. (Left).
5. Labor. (Left).
    - (a) One-day-of-rest-in-seven bill.
    - (b) Decreases in mothers' allowances. (Contention).
    - (c) Minumum wages for women. (Contention).
    - (d) Old-age pensions. (Concern).
    - (e) Care of tubercular patients. (New, Concern).
    - (f) Workmen's compensation. (Contention).

Major, Province-wide. - cont'd.

6. Immigration of farm and industrial workers. (Right).

7. Transportation.
    (a) Good roads--responsibility for trunk roads.
    (b) Financing--taxes versus licenses.
    (c) Costs of license fees.
    (d) HBR terminal point. (Local).

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1927.

ARTHUR

Hon. D. L. McLeod, (G.C.)	1,226
Lt.-Col. A. Ross (C.)	902

ASSINIBOIA

J. H. Cotter (C.)	1,380
R. B. Russell (Lab.)	1,320
C. S. Richardson (Ind.)	506
A. W. Myles (L.)	520
Alex. S. Pilgrim (G.C.)	471

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS

A. J. M. Poole (G.C.)	1,363
R. H. Whelpley (C.)	965
S. H. Kerr (L.)	511

BIRTLE

J. W. Pratt (G.C.)	1,134
A. J. McLeod (L.)	742
A. S. Arnold (C.)	635

BRANDON CITY

J. H. Edmison (Ind.)	1,526
Wm. Hill (Lab.)	1,288
H. W. Cater (G.C.)	489

CARILLON

Hon. A. Prefontaine (G.C.)	1,604
T. B. Molloy (L.)	658

CYPRESS

W. H. Spinks (C.)	1,235
Andrew Moore (G.C.)	1,091
J. F. Davidson (L.)	311

DAUPHIN

R. G. Ferguson (C.)	1,022
Geo. H. Palmer, (G.C.)	920
A. Esplen (L.)	647

DELORAINE

H. McKenzie (G.C.)	1,171
A. G. Hainsworth (C.)	1,014
P. Spence (L.)	369

DUFFERIN

J. A. Munn, (G.C.)	1,790
A. E. Shewfelt (C.)	1,017
G. A. Hall (L.)	307

EMERSON

R. F. Curran (G.C.)	793
H. H. Wright ~~[illegible]~~ IND	654
K. Kelichowsky (Ind.)	449
D. Yakimischak (Ind.)	364
Roy Whitman (C.)	313
Tarachuk (Ind.)	

ETHELBERT

N. A. Hryhorczuk (G.C.)	1,302
P. Melnik (Ind.)	917

FAIRFORD

J. Gasson (G.C.)	437
A. W. Kirvan (L.)	358
A. H. Francis (C.)	296

FISHER

N. V. Bachynsky (G.C.)	754
H. L. Mabb (C.)	310
G. W. Prout (L.)	179
F. Cupiak (Ind.)	12

GILBERT PLAINS

A. R. Berry (G.C.)	1,021
Samuel Hughes (C.)	592
J. G. Vance (L.)	315

GIMLI

I. Ingaldson (G.C.)	1,020
B. S. Jonasson (L.)	801
M. Rojeski (Ind.)	567
N. Boychuk (Ind.)	230
F. G. Sigmundson (C.)	198
M. Derbak (Ind.)	49

GLADSTONE

Wm. Morton (G.C.)	1,311
John Foster ~~[illegible]~~ IND	624

GLENWOOD

J. W. Breakey (L.)	1,072
Sam. A. Forrest (G.C.)	721
Fred. A. Cross (C.)	544

HAMIOTA

T. Wolstenholme (G.C.)	1,086
W. E. Warren (C.)	520
Wm. Braid (L.)	462

IBERVILLE

A. Boivin (G.C.)	Accl.

KILDONAN AND ST. ANDREWS

Jas. McLenaghen (C.)	1,387
W. H. G. Gibbs (L.)	1,159
C. A. Tanner ~~(G.C.)~~ IND-OK	1,134

KILLARNEY

J. H. Laughlin (C.)	1,199
A. E. Foster (G.C.)	934

LAKESIDE

D. L. Campbell (G.C.)	1,442
J. F. Bend (C.)	1,274

LANSDOWNE

T. C. Norris (L.)	1,947
R. D. Alder (C.)	550

LA VERANDRYE

Hon. P. A. Talbot (G.C.)	1,074
J. H. Landry (L.)	581
Dr. P. Royal (C.)	410

MANITOU

J. D. Lanigan (C.)	1,330
Geo. Compton (G.C.)	1,097
C. A. Jupp (L.)	541

MINNEDOSA

First Count	
N. W. P. Shuttleworth (G.C.)	1,405
E. J. Rutledge (C.)	1,377
W. L. Richardson (L.)	572
Final Count	
E. J. Rutledge (C.) (E)	1,595
N. W. P. Shuttleworth (G.C.)	1,581

MORDEN AND RHINELAND

First Count	
J. H. Black (G.C.)	1,075
Hugh McGavin (C.)	1,016
P. Bueckert (L.)	518
Final Count	
Hugh McGavin (C.) (E)	1,252
J. H. Black (G.C.)	1,132

MORRIS

Hon. W. R. Clubb, (G.C.)	1,663
W. J. Fulton (L.)	285

MOUNTAIN

Dr. I. M. Cleghorn (L.)	1,378
Hon. C. Cannon (G.C.)	1,494

NORFOLK

John Muirhead (G.C.)	1,341
Dr. R. J. Waugh (C.)	1,307

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

F. G. Taylor (C.)	1,580
S. McKay (L.)	795

ROBLIN

F. Y. Newton (C.)	1,037
H. H. Simpson (G.C.)	734
D. Rostoky (L.)	270

ROCKWOOD

W. C. McKinnell (G.C.)	1,486
Major Proctor (C.)	719
Arthur Lobb (L.)	474
A. Slobodianek (Ind.)	66

RUPERT'S LAND

H. G. Beresford (G.C.)	216
F. C. Hamilton (L.)	145
Hyman Udell (C.)	81

RUSSELL

I. B. Griffiths (G.C.)	1,227
Robert Peden (C.)	936
W. W. W. Wilson (L.)	903
P. Lazaruk (Ind.)	254

ST. BONIFACE

Jos. Bernier, (C.)	1,961
L. P. Gagnon, (L.)	1,786
M. Hyman, (Lab.)	1,462
Dr. H. Laurendeau (G.C.)	1,183

ST. CLEMENTS

R. A. Hoey, (G.C.)	2,146
D. A. Ross, (Ind.)	1,436
M. J. Stanbridge, (Ind.)	440

ST. GEORGE

S. Sigfusson, (L.)	814
A. E. Kristjansson, (G.C.)	524
Paul Reykdal, (C.)	466

STE. ROSE

D. McCarthy, (G.C.)	1,055
Jos. Hamelin, (C.)	831
A Hunt, (L.)	358

SPRINGFIELD

First Count	
I. Barclay, (G.C.)	1,459
Dr. M. MacKay, (L.)	1,389
Theo. Stefanik, (C.)	491
Final Count	
Dr. M. MacKay, (L.) (E)	1,507
I. Barclay, (G.C.)	1,489

SWAN RIVER

A. McCleary (G.C.)	1,213
W. H. Hinchcliffe, (C.)	797
W. H. Sims, (L.)	546

THE PAS

Hon. J. Bracken, (G.C.)	582
Dr. S. Stephansson, (L.)	434

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

R. G. Willis, (C.)	1,167
D. Henderson, (G.C.)	951

VIRDEN

R. H. Mooney (G.C.)	Accl.

WINNIPEG

J. T. Haig, (C.) (E.)	5,108
H. A. Robson, (L.). (E.)	4,862
W. S. Evans, (C.) (E.)	4,551
J. Queen, (Lab.) (E.)	3,985
Hon. W. J. Major, (G.C.) (E.)	3,713
S. J. Farmer, (Lab.) (E.)	3,497
Dr. E. W. Montgomery (G.C.) (E.)	2,236
W. V. Tobias (C.) (E.)	1,687
Mrs. R. A. Rogers, (L.) (E.)	1,582
W. Ivens, (Lab.) (E.)	1,435
J. K. Downes, (Ind.)	2,047
J. Penner, (Ind.) CORRECT	2,015
Royal Burritt, (G.C.)	1,604
W. J. Lindal, (L.)	1,362
Dr. Cameron, (L.)	1,271
Max Steinkopf, (G.C.)	1,241
H. R. Maybank, (L.)	1,191
A. E. Moore, (Ind.)	1,153
Theo. A. Hunt, (C.)	1,075
S. Cartwight, (Lab.)	999
R. Durward, (Lab.)	993
R. A. Gillespie, (C.)	941
Dr. F. Sedziak, (Ind.)	836
J. MacLean, (L.)	761
W. A. James, (Lab.)	561

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CONTROVERSY ON THE PRAIRIES: ISSUES IN THE GENERAL PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS OF MANITOBA 1870 - 1969

by

LARRY JOHN FISK

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The study of campaign issues in twenty-nine provincial general elections from 1870 to 1969 constitutes a unique political history of the province of Manitoba. Primarily through the use of newspaper microfilm an attempt has been made to describe as many of the issues as provide a well-rounded picture of each campaign. Both major and minor, province-wide and local issues are set forth with every attempt to provide the most cogent arguments on each issue with ample illustration from the actual candidates and other spokesmen in each campaign.

The issues are classified in categories of area, extent and scope; nature, kind or style; and "time." A summary of the issues in each election campaign is listed following each campaign description.

Each campaign history is also accompanied by supplementary data previously unavailable in any other single source, and includes names of parties, party leaders, number of candidates competing, and complete election returns including seats won, and popular vote figures. Occasional regional, ethnic and urban-rural comparisons of election results are also interspersed throughout the study.

In a concluding section a modest attempt is made to indicate some patterns emerging from the sweep of Manitoba provincial election issues. The concluding comments describe the nature of both short-lived and perennial issues in Manitoba. A series of graphs portray the interrelationships of major perennial issues and other campaign issues and social conditions. The importance of election issues to the development of party ideologies and the "Red Tory" phenomenon is also discussed as well as the utility of the study for future theoretical research.

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DEPRESSION,

COALITION,

AND

A DEEPENING OF THE ISSUES

MAY 7 TO JUNE 16, 1932

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberal and Progressive Party	John Bracken	52
Conservatives	F. G. Taylor	48
Independent Labour Party	John Queen	17
Continuing Liberals	David Campbell	12
Socialist and Workers' Parties	(George Armstrong, Jacob Penner & Leslie Morris)	3
Independents	- - - - -	15

55 seats. 45 single member districts using alternative or transferable ballot. Ten-member Winnipeg district using Hare P. R.

The Issues and Their Context.

The years between 1927 and 1932 were significant for more than the infamous depression, drought and insect plagues which shook the social and political fabric of the province to its foundations. The abject poverty and unemployment associated with the depression had prompted the movement towards a coalition government to deal with the crisis, and, following agreement in the winter of 1931-32, a Liberal and Progressive government went to the polls to ask for continued support in May-June, 1932. But even before the stock-market crash of

October 1929, the most heated controversy since the legislative buildings steal took place over the government's contract with the North West Power Company and Winnipeg Electric Company. The contract would end public hydro for thirty years, and investigation showed that cabinet ministers and their wives held stock in the Winnipeg company which had donated campaign funds to the government Progressives, and, as was later proved, to the Conservatives and pre-coalition Liberals as well.

In the course of the 1932 campaign Conservative leader F. G. Taylor recited the sordid events of the ill-reputed Seven Sisters hydro development. He began by pointing to the fact that it had ceased operation.

> Today it is conclusively shown that the development was not necessary because the plant is closed down and not a single horse power being developed, because there is no sale for it. The old story of the Seven Sisters deal is still fresh in the minds of the people of Manitoba...The determination of the Government to put through the transaction immediately following the general election, the concealment of books, the sudden departure of material witnesses, the investigation by a commission appointed by the government itself to inquire into its own conduct, the utter failure of that investigation, the failure of the commission to order the production of the books of the company and generally to investigate the matters which were referred to them are all matters of public record. The government took its full share in this sham battle; spent $25,000 of the money of the people of Manitoba, with the one object in view of driving me out of the public life of the province; and secondly to hide from the people of the province the innermost secrets of the Seven Sisters transaction. Some day they will come to light, but that will not be while the Bracken government remains in office. 1

The Seven Sisters deal received very little discussion during the campaign although its effects had colored most issues. In particular the deal strained relationships between the government and the Conservatives who had made the original accusations, and so ended any possibility of a coalition between these two parties.

A second major failing of the government between the years 1927 and 1932, and one which entered much more into the campaign, was the closure of the Government Savings Bank. Premier Bracken was

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1 Winnipeg Free Press, May 26, 1932, p. 1. (Hereafter cited as WFP).

accused of withdrawing funds from the bank to balance his budget. Rumors that the bank did not hold sufficient securities to meet the demands of its creditors were, the Free Press reported to the electorate, proven to have originated with such prominent Conservatives as F. Y. Newton and John Haig, MLAs, and Errick Willis, MP.[2]

The Free Press commented editorially on the rumors which prompted the closing. "The idea behind the campaign was apparently that if the bank was brought down, the Manitoba Government would be brought down with it. It is a striking illustration of the lengths to which political madness can go that in a case such as this the end was regarded as justifying the means."[3] The report which drew these comments was issued just prior to dissolution of the House and included in its findings the fact that the Dominion Government could have saved the offices but had refused. More distant observers believed Prime Minister Bennett's refusal of Mr. Bracken's request for a securities guarantee, and later grant to nation-wide banks of the guarantee asked for by Premier Bracken, fed the Manitoba electorate's disenchantment with both federal and provincial Conservatives.[4]

Related to the closure of the provincial bank was a much earlier fiasco by which money had been stolen from the Farm Loans Board. Premier Bracken, as Provincial Treasurer, apparently had no knowledge of the lost monies until the two culprits admitted to absconding over $100,000 In his major address to his electors in Portage La Prairie Colonel Taylor reminded the electorate of the "defalcations" which had gone undetected for four or five years. "The Prime-Minister of Manitoba," he said, "is directly responsible to the government for the operation of the Treasury Department and of the Manitoba farm loans." "Yet," Mr. Taylor complained, "two men were able to steal $102,000 from the treasury department...with all the expensive auditing system which the government maintains," and "were not discovered until the men themselves went to the police court in Winnipeg and gave themselves up."[5]

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[2] WFP, May 6, 1932, p. 4.

[3] Ibid., p. 13.

[4] The report is outlined in CAR (1936), pp. 248-249. W. R. Herbert's "Bracken, Butter and Bennett" discusses the disenchantment with Mr. Bennett over this and other failures. The established banks received their guarantee after gaining "40,000 nice new customers" from Premier Bracken's bank. Canadian Forum, August, 1932, pp. 408-409.

Premier Bracken answered for his apparent ignorance by reminding Taylor that the Farm Loans Board was an agency independent of government. He, John Bracken, was not a member of the board. "He calls me a dictator and at the same time states that I did not interfere with the administration of the Farm Loans Association," Premier Bracken replied.[6]

There were other major events between the years 1927 and 1932 which were unalterably to transform the political milieu for provincial elections, notably the completion of the Hudson's Bay Railroad to Churchill, and the granting of the natural resources of Manitoba to provincial jurisdiction on July 15, 1930. So ended two major perennial issues. But the events which were to cause major concern and contention in the 1932 election were the depression and the coalition formed to confront it.

Major Issues on the Management of the Economy.

As leader of the chief opposition party Colonel F. G. Taylor conducted a vigorous attack on the "one-man-government" which, according to Taylor, had totally mismanaged all government organizations in the face of the depression crisis. Taylor cited an increase in expenditure from $4,500,000 to $17,500,000 to support his contention that the Bracken Government lacked ability as a sound business administration.[7] As the campaign progressed Taylor charged that the province was without credit, unable to sell its provincial bonds. When Premier Bracken later reported that eight million dollars in bonds had been sold and more were moving, Taylor replied that they had been sold at a fifteen per cent discount.[8]

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[5] WFP, May 26, 1932, p. 1.

[6] Ibid., May 27, 1932, p. 1.

[7] Ibid., May 26, 1932, p. 1.

The Conservative leader pointed to the importance of living within the province's income. Borrowing, he said, should cease, and all efforts should be made to have expenditures "brought down to the point where they will be covered by our total income." The Conservative leader then summarized the financial situation which necessitated a change in government.

> With the Rural Credits System in bankruptcy (and it must be remembered that they spent more money last year in trying to collect debts than they collected in cash); [sic] with the Manitoba farm loans having an investment of over ten millions of dollars of the money of the province in a position where it is bound to show a very large percentage of loss; with the Provincial Savings Office closed; with the telephone system which was purchased and built up by the Conservative Party to a splendid self-sustaining position showing signs of dropping back by the loss of subscribers: in other words with every commercial organization which has been run by this government looming up as a failure, owing very largely to its mis-management, and lack of proper care and attention, surely the people must be convinced that there is a necessity for some change.[9]

Taylor added his long list of government failures to his contention that what was needed was a Dominion-provincial tax arrangement to meet the crisis. Taylor argued that only a Conservative government in Manitoba could really expect to work proficiently with the Conservative Bennett Government in Ottawa. He claimed Premier Bracken lacked ability to get along with Prime-Minister Bennett and all too readily took snipes at him. To such criticisms Premier Bracken replied by saying he honestly believed Mr. Bennett could work as well with himself as anyone, providing local Conservatives desisted from interference. Throughout the campaign Premier Bracken and his supporters would point to instances of local Conservative interference which had influenced Prime-Minister Bennett against the government.

> The Conservative leader suggests that Mr. Bennett would do something for a Conservative government in Manitoba that he would not do for

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[8] WFP, June 4, 1932, p 14; and June 8, pp. 2 and 3.

[9] WFP, May 26, 1932, p. 1.

> another government. What a high rating he places upon the patriotism of the Prime Minister of Canada! I do not place such a low estimate upon Mr. Bennett's conceptions of public duty. I do not blame Mr. Bennett for any unfairness to the province of Manitoba. If there has been unfairness it has arisen through the political machinations of the Conservative party machine in this province.

Then citing instances of interference Premier Bracken continued his major campaign address by declaring:

> Party politics has been a costly game to this Province in recent months. It was through these activities that the federal government paid only one quarter of the cost of the University building, even after they had agreed to pay one half of its cost. This meant a loss to the province of $175,000 in this project alone and the loss of several times that amount in other unemployment projects. It was through their interference that no co-operation was extended in connection with the Savings office. It was through their interference that the project for a union government was eventually killed. For these and other things the electorate of the province of Manitoba will justly hold them responsible.[10]

. . . .

For most Conservatives, including their chief financial critic W. Sanford Evans, government finances were the main issue in the campaign, and Evans noted that Premier Bracken was unable to balance the 1931-32 budget.[11]

"Now you see it; now you don't," the Conservatives said of the $4,822,842.72 cheque from Ottawa for Manitoba's natural resources. It was gone and no tax reductions had followed, was the charge.[12]

In answer to government replies that the Manitoba per capita debt was less than any other western province, Taylor, Haig and others replied in the nature of "Does it help you very much to know that while you are bankrupt, the other man's debts are even bigger?"[13] Nor did other provinces matter when Manitoba had lost the confidence of investors, Taylor noted.

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[10] WFP, May 27, 1932, p. 1.

[11] Ibid., June 3, 1932, p. 2.

[12] Ibid., June 11, 1932, p. 2.

[13] Ibid.

Related Issues and the Government's Counter-Attack.

On more specific items, every one of which was a minor issue in it own right, the Conservatives called for free public schooling to ensure equality of opportunity; they criticized government policy towards widows and orphans whose allowances had been sacrificed for purposes of economy; claimed the Agriculture Department had spent more money on department automobiles than on agriculture, and, that the department needed total re-organization; blamed the government for neglecting and closing of public fish hatcheries; called Premier Bracken unsympathetic to the need for roads and cheap power in mining districts; and pointed to the need for the province to take responsibility for trunk highways, rather than the municipalities. A whole new network of roads was required, said Taylor, and car licenses and gas taxes should go to build local marketing roads which farmers needed and used more than the trunk roads.[14]

John Bracken, in a major speech in Winnipeg on May 26th, responded to Conservative criticisms while outlining his own policy. He used R. B. Bennett's own words to defend the need for his non-partisan stance towards reduced expenditures. "We are living in the most abnormal conditions under which people ever lived...," Mr. Bennett had said. Premier Bracken, therefore, championed a non-partisan administration and survey of revenue and expenditures. He advocated a reduction of government costs, cessation to borrowing for capital purposes and the development of wider markets, and recognized a need for balanced development of agriculture to avoid over-production.[15]

There were two major thrusts in his counter-attack to charges of general mismanagement. The first thrust was to accuse the provincial

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[14] Most of thse issues were raised and developed in Mr. Taylor's opening campaign speech at Portage, WFP, May 26, 1932, p. 1.

[15] WFP, May 27, 1932, p. 1.

Conservatives of a twenty per cent increase in expenditures in their policy intentions. Mr. Bracken's lengthy statement makes for interesting reading.

> It will have been observed that at least one-half of the planks in the Conservative platform promise greater expenditures. Where the reductions in expenditures are going to be made and where the money for all these new proposals is going to be found, is, of course, a secret known only to this "spend more and tax less" party of super-business and financial experts.
>
> An examination of all these proposals would indicate that if the promises implied in them are not broken they will mean an increase of at least twenty per cent. The electorate of Manitoba have now the opportunity of judging whether these undertakings are made to be broken or whether the people are willing to bear an added tax imposition that will be necessary to carry them out. Their proposals for schools, adjustment to securities, relief, telephones, trunk highways, mining, agriculture, adjustment of services, mothers' allowances and highways--if they mean anything at all involve increased expenditures. [16]

Premier Bracken's second thrust was to blame the Bennett Government for much of Manitoba's difficulties. The protective tariff was very likely amongst the chief enemies, although opposition candidates of all stripes called government talk of the tariff a "subterfuge." As Mr. Bracken dealt with specific items the role of the federal government became clearer. On the matter of trunk highways the Dominion Government had already turned down an all-Manitoba route to The Pas for relief work. The provincial government had also been turned down two years earlier when it attempted to turn over the fish hatcheries to the federal govenment. [17]

The Premier then moved on to hit each of the matters at issue with his chief opposition.

In the area of telephones he advocated carrying subscribers at present rates. The Conservative policy was to operate at a reduced rate with more subscribers. Premier Bracken would end installation charges and have subscribers pay their telephone bills once the crop year ended.

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[16] WFP, May 27, 1932.

[17] Ibid., p. 1 and June 1, 1932, p. 2.

Of the Conservative position Mr. Bracken declared: "The inference suggested in the Conservative platform that lower rates can be effected or more generous terms given, is mischievous. It can lead only to one or other of two things, broken promises or telephone deficits." The Premier noted that farmers could not even pay one dollar per month and that 3,189 of 10,243 subscribers, or 31 per cent, were already being carried.[18]

On the free schooling question Premier Bracken claimed it was already in effect. Later, the Education Minister R. A. Hoey accused Conservatives of fomenting dissent by contacting parents previously prosecuted for the non-attendance of their children.[19] On the question of roads, Mr. Bracken noted that municipalities paid only one-third of costs and any downward change would be at the expense of cities and towns. On the car expenses for agriculture officials he pointed to an even larger car allowance for federal agriculture personnel by comparison.[20]

Health Minister E. W. Montgomery later defended his department by pointing to an increase in the number of public health nurses and explaining that a fifty thousand dollar cut in mothers' allowances represented a ten per cent slice for food and clothing because the cost of such commodities had come down.[21]

Issues of the Left.

Labor spokesmen attacked the general issue of depression and mismanagement from the point of view that a radical restructuring of priorities was essential and what was required was "not so much a change in government as a change in our whole social and economic structure."[22] John McLean, former Liberal, now Independent Labour

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[18] WFP, May 26, p. 1, and May 27, 1932, p. 1.

[19] Ibid., June 7, 1932, p. 3.

[20] All of the above points were made in Premier Bracken's Winnipeg address, WFP, May 27, 1932, p. 1.

[21] Ibid., June 2, 1932, p. 2.

[22] Ibid., June 4, 1932, p. 1.

Party candidate in Assiniboia, called the financial difficulties and their remedy the main issue in his constituency. "The municipalities were so heavily burdened with debts and interest on bonds and debentures that there must be a change in the financial system, not only in his constituency but in the entire province," a report of a McLean meeting concluded.[23] Furthermore, that radical change in the financial system could come only with a complete change in economic policy, as a result of which there would be no production for profits or exploitation, MacLean had argued.

An Independent Labour Party convention held in the first week of the campaign called for the socialization of banking and credit, plus the immediate reduction of interest rates.[24]

In early June ILP leader John Queen pledged to work for a "co-operative commonwealth." He described the nature of the world-wide depression as "distress in the midst of plenty." Here was Manitoba supposedly with too much wheat in too many elevators so much so that it no longer paid to grow wheat. It was a feature, John Queen argued, that Manitoba had in common with a variety of different governments in various provinces and countries. "So it becomes relatively unimportant whether Mr. Bracken or Mr. Taylor is called on to form a government after this election," Mr. Queen insisted, "but it is of great importance to what extent the people of this province declare themselves in favor of a new social and economic system."[25]

Conservative comparisons of expenditures over the last ten years, Mr. Queen therefore dismissed as "crass hypocrisy." "...[B]etween the Brackenites and the Taylorites there is no essential difference. Both defend the system which concentrates great wealth in the hands of a few and the consequent impoverishment of the people, such as we are experiencing today." As evidence he cited the reduction of welfare allowances and civil service reductions while no reduction in the interest on bonds took place. The bondholders still get the same, he said.

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[23] WFP, May 14, 1932, p. 3.

[24] Ibid., May 16, 1932, p. 4.

[25] Ibid., June 4, 1932, p. 8.

John Queen outlined the ILP program that included reduced hours of labor without a reduction in pay; a minimum wage for all workers; unemployment insurance and public works for employment rather than a dole; and free and full education, with an end to fees which discriminated against those who could not afford schooling. The ILP would hold and develop the province's natural resources by public ownership and nationalization of the land to offer land security for farmers. Mr. Queen advocated public ownership and control of public utilities and large scale industries, claiming that, at the time, flour mills were "not working to full capacity" and bakeries were "capable of producing more bread and yet people cannot get enough to eat." The ILP leader proposed state insurance at cost to cover sickness, accident, crop failure and fire--or whatever misfortune befell Manitobans. He called for an enlargement of the Workmens' Compensation Act to include all industries and occupations, and increased allowances for widows and fatherless children. He criticized existing tax schemes claiming they protected the owners' great wealth, and advocated instead a graduated income tax. He also outlined ILP concerns for organization for workers with the right of collective bargaining and peaceful picketing; representation by population, and proportional representation with no property qualifications and no election deposits; and a debt adjustment to keep farmers going.

Mr. Queen promised support to any independent farmer candidate who held similar ideas. He concluded his address by a vigorous appeal to Manitobans to join the world-wide movement for a "co-operative commonwealth."

> We are not an isolated body working here alone but are part of a world movement striving to create a world fit for human beings to live in. This new world is possible but it will only come when we organize our forces sufficiently to bring it into being. So the ILP calls on the people of this province to organize, not just for the purpose of winning an election, but for the purpose of the establishment of a new social system, the great cooperative commonwealth and the creation of a world in which poverty shall be unknown. To the task then, everybody, against poverty. 26

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26 WFP, June 4, 1932, p. 8.

The party positions discussed above on this crucial issue indicate not only the stark differences in perspective on particular issues but, also, the depth of those issues when they call in question the very political or economic order within which they are viewed.

Unemployment.

Unemployment had been another issue raised perennially by Labour Party spokesmen but to no avail. In 1932 it could no longer be ignored. Unemployment in trade union organizations alone hovered around twenty per cent in Manitoba at election time, and Winnipeg was amongst the worst hit cities in Canada.[27] It was an issue directed as much against the Federal Government as against Premier Bracken, since most quarters were bitterly disappointed with Prime Minister Bennett's failure successfully to confront the situation. Labour candidates called unemployment insurance promises empty, and at an inter-party meeting with unemployed railwaymen Socialist George Armstrong questioned where relief was to come from in an economy in which the value of wheat had dropped hundreds of millions of dollars since 1927. Sympathy, he said, was not enough, and in reality unemployment insurance was co-equal with the "dole." He put his position to the unemployed in forceful terms.

> Mr. Bennett a short time ago had said he would create work, that Canadians would not tolerate the dole, but now all parties, even though they hated it, were agreed that it was necessary. That was in order to maintain the existing order....Present governments were no more than "collecting agencies for the bondholders." 28

Conservative John Haig took the measure of the Bracken Government on the issue claiming that the Manitoba Government required a Minister of Labour, not just a deputy, and a labor bureau; both of which could pressure the Dominion Government more effectively.[29] F. G. Taylor claimed the Bracken Government had no policy on unemployment but instead passively accepted federal assistance. Taylor proposed a non-partisan board to administer federal assistance plus accept and direct the proposed national contributory scheme for unemployment insurance.[30]

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[27] From unemployment tables for the period as contained in CAR (1932), pp. 401-403.

[28] WFP, June 3, 1932, p. 13.

[29] WFP, May 18, 1932, p. 5.

Government candidates believed the "bottom had been reached" and that overseas trade would help. Attorney-General W. J. Major promised the unemployed rail-workers at that inter-party meeting that the "railroads would thunder again" and that the railway shop should be used for the construction of trucks and motor bodies.[31]

The Premier faulted Taylor for talking of the Conservative Party solving the unemployment situation, when the federal Conservatives could not solve the unemployment situation which saw forty thousand unemployed in Manitoba.[32]

Long time Conservative Joseph Bernier of St. Boniface defended the Bennett Government. While admitting that Prime-Minister Bennett had not succeeded, he was, said Bernier, doing everything humanly possible, and had spent $150,000,000 on the unemployment relief.[33]

Minor and Local Issues.

Minor and local issues ranged from a shortage of poison for confronting the grasshopper plague, for which the closure of a government poison mixing station was blamed, to Assiniboia Conservative candidate Mayor Ralph Webb's concern for dandelions on the legislative grounds: "Only those who pass the legislative grounds daily can realize the disgrace they are to the people of this province. For months now I have been going back and forth along Osborne Street and I have never seen a better field of dandelions in my life.[34]

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[30] WFP, May 26, 1932, p. 1.

[31] Ibid., June 3, 1932, p. 13

[32] Ibid., May 27, 1932, p. 1.

[33] Ibid., June 7, 1932, p. 3.

[34] Ibid., June 2, 1932, pp. 13 and 16.

The more serious concerns of Winnipeggers, however, still hovered about that city's place in the total financial picture of the province. Early in the campaign one hundred prominent Winnipeg businessmen promised to end their support of the government in favor of the Conservatives and published their intent.[35] At a Conservative rally in June speakers deplored the increasing debt of the province, noting that seventy per cent of income tax, eighty per cent of amusement tax and the bulk of gas taxes were paid by Winnipeg to provincial coffers with nothing received in return.[36]

W. J. Major denied that Winnipeg was overlooked and claimed that while Winnipeg contributed $1,700,000 to provincial revenue she got back $1,419,000 in grants.[37]

Independent candidate F. W. Russell also claimed that Winnipeg got nothing in taxes back from the province, and described the need for independent men to fight for Winnipeg in the legislature without worrying about party stands.[38]

Winnipeg had a profusion of parties represented again in 1932. In addition to the six government candidates, which included Attorney-General Major, Minister of Health E. W. Montgomery and the newly sworn Minister of Mines, Natural Resources and Industry John Stewart McDiarmid, there were seven Conservatives, six ILP candidates, three Continuing Liberals, two United Front Workers of Communist persuasion, George Armstrong of the Socialist Party of Canada, and four independents which included Mrs. Jessie MacLennan a labor independent and C. Andrusychen, an Independent Ukrainian. For the most part Manitoba ethnic minorities tended to support, and work within, the major parties, at least if T. Peterson's recent study is correct, for fear of bringing "discredit and ruin" on themselves as a minority if they were to be associated with small radical movements.[39] Many observers stress the importance of the quality of individual candidates in the 1932 election rather than party differences.[40]

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[35] Winnipeg Tribune, May 18, 1932.

[36] WFP, June 11, 1932, p. 2.

[37] Ibid., June 3, 1932, p. 3.

[38] Ibid., June 11, 1932, p. 9.

Party Politics and Coalition Issues.

The perennial question of partisan versus non-partisan politics, as might be gathered from the events and other issues of the time, was of paramount concern.

Premier Bracken, as we have seen, had proposed a coalition of parties to meet the depression problems. Part of that offer was cabinet representation "of more than one representative" to the takers. Three Liberals were announced as members of Premier Bracken's new cabinet in his May 26th Winnipeg address. The Mayor of St. Boniface, David Campbell, K.C., after becoming leader of the "Continuing Liberals" who refused to join the coalition, indicated that he too was indirectly offered a cabinet position.[41] From the point of view of the Continuing Liberals the coalition was a "plot" hatched at a Liberal convention stacked with two-thirds government supporters.[42] Campbell explained his position by telling why he disliked the politics of the other parties. "Any party, or any politics, that is founded on class interest is wrong," he said. "It can lead only to chaos." As for the Conservatives, "for 125 years the Conservative Party fostered and promoted the special interests of the capitalist, and opposed every movement for the benefit of the common people," Campbell asserted. Labor, too, was "just a little too far in the direction of class politics."[43]

The Continuing Liberals, whose candidates numbered a mere dozen in the province, saw themselves as representing the only vote which could be registered against both Bracken and Bennett governments. They anticipated holding a balance of power in the next legislature.

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[39] Peterson, Ethnic and Class Politics," pp. 91-92.

[40] Ibid., p. 91 and F. C. Pickwell, "The Political Battle in Manitoba," Saturday Night, June 11, 1932, p. 3.

[41] WFP, May 20, 1932, p. 1.

[42] Ibid., June 10, 1932, p. 5.

[43] Ibid., May 14, 1932, p. 9.

Attorney-General Major outlined the issue involved in non-partisan administration and went on to describe and defend the establishment of the coalition.

> Throughout the campaign there will be an appeal to the electors on the one hand, to return legislators on the basis of the old worn-out party system, and on the other hand on the basis of submerging party politics in the interests of strong leadership and good government.
> When Premier Bracken advanced the coalition government proposal last fall, he emphasized the importance of submerging party politics so that the energies of the governing body might be directed exclusively to the solution of the grave problems facing the province.
> What we have in mind is a coalition administration capable of carrying forward the administration of provincial affairs without unnecessary expense or delay, a coalition administration the very existence of which would sustain public confidence to the readjustment of the economic problems of our people.[44]

Premier Bracken echoed the same remarks as he cited the "difficult days" as reason for a non-partisan government. "It is our belief that the first step towards the realization of improved conditions in Manitoba ought to be the abandonment of party warfare and the establishment of a government which will represent as far as possible the unprejudiced, non-partisan thought of the province.[45]

For Taylor and the Conservatives John Bracken was nothing short of a "one-man government," an egotist who failed to keep his supporters informed of what he was doing. Taylor claimed he had never seen any group of people so "consistently...at the dictation of their leader."[46]

He explained his decision against joining the coalition on the grounds that Premier Bracken intended to avoid an election if he could mould an all-party coalition.

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[44] WFP, May 17, 1932, p. 11.

[45] Ibid., May 27, 1932, p. 1.

[46] Ibid., May 13, 1932, p. 2, and May 26, p. 1.

> There is no doubt about it that Mr. Bracken's whole proposition was that there was to be no election at all. Had I agreed to go into coalition there would have been no election this summer. Mr. Bracken did not want an election, but wanted power for another five years. I would have been a traitor to my party had I consented.[47]

In fact one of the three new Liberal cabinet ministers, J. S. McDiarmid, while condemning the Conservative "selfish interest" in not joining the coalition, remarked, "it is a great pity that an election should be necessary."[48]

Premier Bracken's handling of the issues associated with coalition was to draw attention to the results of local Conservative interference in federal-provincial politics, as we have already described. Mr. Bracken attacked the Conservatives' refusal to join the coalition by saying:

> Apparently loyalty to party by the extreme politicians in that party was of more importance than loyalty to the province. They refused to follow the example of the statesmen in Great Britain who brought about the coalition government there and who thought their first duty was to their country rather than to their party.[49]

The editorial position of the Free Press was that the province could no longer tolerate partisan politicians.

> The prime disqualification for candidates, whatever they may call themselves, should be the manifestation of party spirit. This province simply cannot afford to have the next Legislature torn with party dissensions when the need will be for the co-operation of all to save the ship.[50]

In a post-mortem the Winnipeg Tribune interpreted the Conservative losses in the election as a "denunciation of partisanship, especially partisanship that is strongly in evidence when the clear call is for high public service." More conservative sources like W. L. Morton and Toronto's

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[47] WFP, May 19, 1932, p. 3.

[48] Ibid., June 2, 1932, p. 2.

[49] Ibid., May 27, 1932, p. 1.

[50] Editorial, WFP, May 11, 1932, p. 11.

The Mail and Empire blamed Conservative failures on the presence of Sir Rodmond Roblin in the campaign as well as his son as candidate in Dufferin.[51] A writer for the Canadian Forum declared that "Manitobans were weary of party politics in the provincial arena." "The electors," said the report, "couldn't vote against Mr. Bennett directly, so they did the next best thing."[52] This same account of the 1932 Manitoba election also carried a simple story said to be an "actual conversation" in which a Liberal-Progressive candidate gave up all hope of winning a Ukrainian farmer's vote, since his Conservative opponent, a medical doctor, had promised free services to the farmer's ailing son. However, when asked if he would, therefore, vote Conservative the farmer replied "Oh, no." He wasn't going "to vote for butter at 10 cents a pound!"[53]

The story may say more about the "gut issues" in the 1932 campaign than all our previous comments combined.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1932.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Liberal and Progressive	38	100,801	39.5	69.1
Conservative	10	90,151	35.3	18.2
I.L.P.	5	38,356	15.0	9.1
Continuing Liberals	--	5,544	2.2	--
Socialist & Workers	--	5,409	2.1	--
Independents	2	14,800	5.8	3.6

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[51] As cited in CAR (1932), p. 243, and Morton, Manitoba; A History, p. 425.

[52] W. R. Herbert, "Bracken, Butter and Bennett," August, 1932, p. 409.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1932.

Major, Province-wide.

1. Mismanaged Economy. (Cluster).
    - (a) Government expenditures. (Right).
    - (b) Provincial borrowing. (Right).
    - (c) Closure of Government Savings Bank. (partly Federal).
    - (d) Farm Loans Board "robbery." (Specific).
    - (e) Seven Sisters Hydro kickback. (Dead).
    - (f) One-man government. (Personality).
    - (g) Bracken--Bennett relationships. (Personality).
        - (i) Conservative interference in above.
    - (h) Use of natural resources monies.
    - (i) Bond interest.
    - (j) Agriculture department expenses. (Separate, Specific).

2. Coalition. (Political).
    - (a) Party versus class politics.
    - (b) See (f) and (g) above.

3. Labor. (Left, largely Concern).
    - (a) Radical social, economic, financial change. (Socialist Left, Diffuse, Underlying).
    - (b) Public control. (mostly New).
        - (i) Socialization of banking and credit,
        - (ii) Nationalization of land for farmers.
        - (iii) Nationalization of natural resources.
        - (iv) Nationalization of public utilities and large-scale industries.
        - (v) State insurance--fire, crop, accident, health.
    - (c) Unemployment. (Contention).
        - (i) Unemployment insurance. (Separate).
        - (ii) Public works for employment. (New).
    - (d) Reduced hours of work.
    - (e) Minumum wages.
    - (f) Enlarged workmen's compensation. (Sectional).
    - (g) Increased widows' allowances. (Sectional).

Major, Province-wide--Labor--cont'd.

(h) Graduated income tax. (Sectional).

(i) Collective bargaining.

(j) Electoral change.

    (i) "P. R." without deposits. (Perennial).

    (ii) End to property qualifications. (Perennial).

Minor, Separate, and/or Local.

Free Public Schooling.

Roads--Trunk Highways. (partly Federal).

Closing of Fish Hatcheries. (partly Federal).

Hydro Power in Mining Districts. (Local).

Telephones--Carrying Subscribers.

Civil Service Reductions.

Grasshopper Plague--Closing Mixing Station. (Specific).

Winnipeg's Share of Taxes. (Local, Right).

Dandelions on Legislative Lawns. (Side).

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1932.

Nominations, June 6, 1932—Deferred Nomination, The Pas and Rupert's Land, July 4, voting election, June 16; deferred election, nominations, July 4; voting, July 14, 1932.

ARTHUR	
Hon. D. L. McLeod (G.C.)	1,835
James A. Ross (C.)	881
ASSINIBOIA	
Col. E. H. Webb (C.)	2,812
John McLean (Lab.)	2,249
J. G. Smith (G.C.)	1,068
BEAUTIFUL PLAINS	
A. J. M. Poole (G.C.)	2,378
John S. Poole (C.)	1,729
BIRTLE	
J. W. Pratt (Ind.)	1,954
W. C. Wroth (C.)	1,315
BRANDON CITY	
Geo. Dinsdale (C.)	2,647
H. Spafford (Lab.)	1,574
D. E. Clement (G.C.)	1,429
H. W. Cater (Ind.)	898
CARILLON	
Hon. A. Préfontaine (G.C.)	2,390
M. Dupuy (C.)	904
CYPRESS	
J. L. Christie, (G.C.)	1,758
W. H. Spinks (C.)	1,589
DAUPHIN	
R. Hawkins (G.C.)	1,981
E. N. McGirr (C.)	1,206
W. S. Wickes (Lab.)	578
DELORAINE	
Hugh McKenzie (G.C.)	2,088
J. Agnew (C.)	1,833
DUFFERIN	
J. A. Munn (G.C.)	2,388
A. B. Roblin (C.)	1,968
EMERSON	
R. F. Curran (G.C.)	1,987
W. R. Johnston (C.)	1,742
Wm. Kolodzinski (Ind.)	839
ETHELBERT	
N. A. Hryhorczuk (G.C.)	2,231
N. Bilash (Lab.)	1,682
FAIRFORD	
S. S. Garson (G.C.)	1,031
A. W. Kirvin (L.)	677
FISHER	
N. V. Bachynski (G.C.)	863
W. N. Kolisnyk (Lab.)	354
W. E. Hodgins (C.)	282
J. G. Hamilton (L.)	195
GILBERT PLAINS	
A. R. Berry (G.C.)	1,662
H. A. Alley (C.)	1,513
GIMLI	
E. S. Jonasson (G.C.)	1,340
I. Ingaldson (G.C.)	1,089
G. S. Thorvaldson (C.)	658
Iwan Kapusta (Ind.)	710
M. Ewanchuk (L.)	258
GLADSTONE	
Wm. Morton (G.C.)	1,902
G. M. Hall (C.)	1,144

PARLIAMENTARY GUIDE

GLENWOOD

A. W. Bowling (G.C.)	[illegible]
A. R. Smith (C.)	1,[illegible]

HAMIOTA

?. Wolfenholme (G.C.)	1,[illegible]
W. J. Burrows (C.)	1,[illegible]

IBERVILLE

A. R. Boivin (G.C.)	1,[illegible]
R. R. Pattinson (C.)	[illegible]
L. A. Regnier (L.)	[illegible]

KILDONAN and ST. ANDREWS

James McLenaghen (C.)	2,[illegible]
W. H. Gibbs (G.C.)	2,[illegible]
Chas. H. Cook (Lab.)	1,[illegible]

KILLARNEY

A. E. Foster (G.C.)	1,571
John Bell Laughlin (C.)	1,[illegible]

LAKESIDE

D. L. Campbell (G.C.)	1,[illegible]
J. F. Bend (C.)	1,[illegible]

LANSDOWNE

Hon. D. D. McKenzie (G.C.)	2,[illegible]
G. E. D. Lyon (C.)	1,[illegible]
W. W. Griggs (L.)	[illegible]
F. C. Berton (Ind.)	[illegible]

LA VERANDRYE

Hon. P. A. Talbot (G.C.)	1,540
E. J. E. Arpin (C.)	1,[illegible]
Allen Ramsay (Ind.)	[illegible]

MANITOU

F. W. McIntosh (G.C.)	2,[illegible]
Jos. P. Lanigan (C.)	1,776

MINNEDOSA

E. J. Rutledge, M.D. (C.)	2,[illegible]
Neil Cameron (G.C.)	2,[illegible]
G. L. St. John (Ind.)	[illegible]

MORRIS

Hon. W. R. Clubb (G.C.)	2,[illegible]
C. R. McNulty (C.)	1,077

MOUNTAIN

Ivan Schultz (G.C.)	2,078
E. Perfect (C.)	1,[illegible]

MORDEN AND RHINELAND

G. W. Wiebe (G.C.)	2,[illegible]
Hugh McGavin (C.)	2,[illegible]

NORFOLK

John Muirhead (G.C.)	1,775
R. J. Waugh, M.D. (C.)	1,[illegible]

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

Col. F. G. Taylor, K.C. (C.)	2,[illegible]
E. A. McPherson, K.C. (G.C.)	1,[illegible]

ROBLIN

W. J. Westwood (G.C.)	1,867
F. Y. Newton (C.)	1,[illegible]

ROCKWOOD

W. C. McKennell (G.C.)	2,116
H. M. Hannesson (C.)	1,[illegible]
D. R. Lewis (Ind.)	[illegible]

RUPERT'S LAND

Hon. E. A. McPherson (G.C.)	[illegible]
H. G. Beresford (G.C.)	[illegible]
Capt. Evans-Anderson (Ind.)	[illegible]

RUSSELL

I. B. Griffiths (G.C.)	[illegible]
E. H. Whelpley (C.)	1,[illegible]

ST. BONIFACE

First Count	
Jos. Bernier (C.)	2,[illegible]
H. P. Lawrence (Lab.)	2,477
L. P. Gagnon (G.C.)	2,[illegible]
David Campbell (L.)	1,110 Campbell
Final Count	
H. P. Lawrence (Lab.)	4,074
Jos. Bernier (C.)	4,[illegible]

ST. CLEMENTS

Hon. R. A. Hoey (G.C.)	2,[illegible]
R. J. Bate (C.)	2,[illegible]
Thos. H. Dunn (Lab.)	1,774
R. A. Smith (L.)	[illegible]

ST. GEORGE

Skuli Sigfusson (G.C.)	1,[illegible]
R. Kerr, Jr. (C.)	1,[illegible]

STE. ROSE

M. D. McCarthy (G.C.)	1,[illegible]
Robert Doucette (C.)	1,[illegible]

SPRINGFIELD

C. Barclay (Ind.)	[illegible]
M. McKay (G.C.)	2,[illegible]
W. R. K. McBurney (C.)	1,[illegible]
James Grant (Lab.)	[illegible]
J. A. Mathieson (L.)	[illegible]

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

SWAN RIVER

G. P. Renouf (C.)	1,[illegible]
S. Emerson (Ind.)	1,[illegible]
C. H. Goodman (G.C.)	1,[illegible]

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

A. B. Welch (C.)	1,[illegible]
F. V. Bird (G.C.)	1,[illegible]

THE PAS

Hon. J. Bracken (G.C.)	1,915
N. S. McDonald (Lab.)	1,072
H. F. Maulson (Ind.)	[illegible]

VIRDEN

R. H. Mooney (G.C.)	2,101
J. H. Hennan (C.)	1,[illegible]
S. L. McBain (L.)	[illegible]

WINNIPEG

W. S. Evans (C.)	12,[illegible] E
John Queen (Lab.)	9,302 E
Hon. W. J. Major (G.C.)	5,940 E
S. J. Farmer (Lab.)	5,063 E
J. T. Haig (C.)	4,432 E
J. S. McDiarmid (G.C.)	3,540 E
H. D. B. Ketchen (C.)	3,[illegible] E
Leslie Morris (Lab.)	3,[illegible]
M. Hyman (Lab.)	3,[illegible] E
Ralph Maybank (G.C.)	3,[illegible] E
C. Andrusyshen (Ind.)	2,[illegible]
Wm. Ivens (Lab.)	[illegible] E 23423
W. V. Tobias (C.)	1,[illegible]
R. W. B. Swail (C.)	1,[illegible]
Hon. R. W. Montgomery (G.C.)	1,[illegible]
Jessie MacLennan (Lab.)	1,[illegible]
James A. Barry (C.)	1,[illegible]
F. W. Russell (Ind.)	1,[illegible]
Jacob Penner (Lab.)	1,[illegible]
V. B. Anderson (Lab.)	1,[illegible]
Beatrice A. Brigden (Lab.)	[illegible]
Geo. Armstrong (Lab.)	[illegible]
H. P. A. Hermanson (L.)	[illegible]
D. Cameron (G.C.)	[illegible]
J. Y. Reid (L.)	[illegible]
C. G. Keith (L.)	[illegible]
D. M. Elcheson (C.)	314
W. J. Fulton (G.C.)	[illegible]
Thomas Gargan (Ind.)	[illegible]

DATES OF MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTIONS.

1870	Dec.	27	1903	July	20
1874	Dec.	23	1907	Mar.	7
1878	Dec.	18	1910	June	11
1879	Dec.	16	1914	July	10
1883	Jan.	23	1915	Sept.	16
1886	Dec.	9	1920	June	29
1888	July	11	1922	July	18
1892	July	23	1927	June	28
1896	Jan.	15	1932	June	16
1899	Dec.	7			

FOUR PLATFORMS

ON

THE COSTS OF GOVERNING

JUNE 12 TO JULY 27, 1936

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberal-Progressives	John Bracken	49
Conservatives	Errick Willis	39
CCF-ILP	S. J. Farmer	20
Social Credit	- - - - -	20
Others (5 Independents, 1 Independent-Liberal and 1 Communist)	- - - - -	7

45 single member alternative or preferential districts plus ten-member Winnipeg district on Hare "P. R." Total: 55.

Context of A Snap Election.

This was the election which would have held Manitobans to the pattern of a change in government once every decade on the average. Premier Bracken's fourteen years in power brought the cry "time for a change" and criticisms of his heavy taxation policies were very likely enough to put the government in a minority situation after July 27. However, the profusion of candidates and parties did not allow for the choice of a clear cut alternative.

The new farm-labor-socialist union of 1932 brought the energies of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) to Manitoba, but, due to organisational problems, the labor party in the 1936 campaign was still officially the ILP, or as some would have it, the CCF-ILP.

In the summer of 1935 William Aberhart had swept Alberta with the grassroots movement, Social Credit, and that party also contested Manitoba's 1936 election for the first time. The Conservative Party had just completed the selection, by acclamation, of their new leader, Errick Willis, son of former MLA and party leader R. G. Willis. In fact, the Willis acclamation was said by many sources to have been the reason for the unexpected election call.

The Brandon Daily Sun spoke of a "defeatist somnolence" witnessed in the Conservative Party by the Bracken Government, hence, making the date for an election unimportant. The Sun, now a Conservative paper, claimed that the selection of "a young and vigorous Leader in Errick Willis...put the jitters into the Brackenites quickly...so a snap vote was suddenly decided upon before the new leader could organize and the Conservatives get busy." [1]

The Winnipeg Free Press defended the election call on the grounds that three Winnipeg vacancies existed and that it cost just as much to run a by-election as a general election under the "p. r." system in Winnipeg. The Free Press also spoke of the importance of filling three cabinet vacancies, which, if filled, would also call for by-elections since Manitoba still demanded re-election upon appointment to cabinet. But the chief reason justifying the election was the change in Dominion government. That change might offer a re-adjustment of relations, especially in regard to payment of unemployment relief and a more formal system of provincial borrowing from Ottawa. Such arrangements would rest on a government having the security of office for a period of years, said the Free Press. [2]

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[1] From the Brandon Daily Sun, as cited in Editorial: "As Viewed in the West," The Globe (Toronto), June 20, 1936, p. 4.

[2] These particular discussions were cited and commented upon in The Globe, June 20, 1936, p. 4; and Editorial: "Mr. Willis' Election," Saturday Night, June 20, 1936, pp. 1 and 3.

Conservative leader Willis himself faulted Premier Bracken for the election call. He called upon the Premier to explain the suddenness of an election which one day before its announcement government members apparently knew nothing about. Mr. Willis claimed that Premier Bracken wanted to get an election over before the low August prices of wheat were announced. The only other explanation, he posited, was that a movement was afoot to dissolve the Wheat Board, which was once again operative.[3]

The contending parties campaigned, as in 1932, in very difficult times. While unemployment had dropped at times between 1932 and 1936, in January of the latter year there were 99,000 unemployed in Manitoba, one-seventh of the province's population.[4] Drought covered two-thirds of the cultivated area and the long-distressed farmers would have to listen to campaign addresses in 90 and 100 degree heat with the threat of infantile paralysis everywhere present.

The Key Issue and the Conservative Attack.

As the campaign began the Winnipeg Tribune claimed "There is no issue other than the general administrative record of the Bracken government, which is not particularly brilliant, but at the same time may be described as adequate."[5] The politically independent Tribune did express a concern for a "stronger opposition" and its language may have carried hidden criticism or warning: "A parliament too one-sided in its political views tends to grow careless and inefficient."

The Winnipeg Free Press agreed with the Tribune on the main issue of the campaign, at least in the last week of campaigning: "...the judgement next Monday will be on the issue of business management." The Liberal daily went on to describe the approach of the Bracken Government in the non-critical style of the previous Tribune editorial:

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[3] WFP, July 16, 1936, p. 4.

[4] CAR (1935-1936), p. 379.

[5] As cited in The Globe, June 20, 1936, p. 4.

> The Bracken Government presents a clean financial sheet. It has resisted demands for extravagant spending and for experiment with untried economic theory. Yet the provincial services have been kept up to scratch and the budget, apart from necessary borrowings for relief, is balanced. The Government proposes to stay on this even keel. That, in brief is the Liberal-Progressive platform. It is unspectacular, but it is challenged only by Utopian theorists and by a new party leader who promises the impossible in the way of savings and tax reductions. The decision does not look difficult. [6]

And, presumably because that decision was not too difficult the Free Press could term the campaign "tame" with "no crucial issues" and "no sharp division between the parties."

However correct the Tribune and Free Press were in their assessment of the main issue, there were other perspectives on what can only be called a cluster of issues concerned with the efficient management of the costs of governing.

Errick Willis and his Conservative Party would reduce the costs of government by one million dollars, the Conservative leader promised as he opened his campaign in Brandon. He would save the province an additional one million dollars by reducing interest charges on provincial borrowings by that amount, and without repudiating any bonded debt.

Mr. Willis also promised to repeal a two per cent wage tax which Premier Bracken had placed on all incomes over $480. The Rowell-Sirois report was to call Manitoba's wage tax "the heaviest income tax on low income groups in North America" [7] and the measure, which seemingly discriminated in favor of rural non-wage earners and against urban workers, was roundly condemned in most quarters.

F. C. Pickwell of Saturday Night, who was based in Winnipeg in 1936, and with the wage tax in view, described the plight of Manitoba wage-earners in a fashion which may well have captured for his national audience something of the real mood of this campaign.

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[6] WFP, July 21, 1936, p. 11.

[7] Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), II, pp. 98-99.

> The average wage-earner (many long on reduced salaries) [sic] in Manitoba pays two income taxes to the Province, and one to Ottawa and seven cents per gallon tax on gasoline. The premier recompenses them with the doubtful honor of having enabled the Province to retain its financial independence during a crisis and kept the big government machine moving. Since their aggregate vote does not compare with the agrarian supporters, no striking suggestions are advanced for a "new deal" for the defenceless wage earners.
>
> But the new Conservative Leader Errick Willis, has sensed the inequitable and vicious features of a special self-collected tax aimed at one class of citizens. If elected he promises to abolish it, and work out some more equitable system. It may be merely a vote-getting gesture, timed at urban centers, but that is no worse than appeals to farmers to support a Government which assures the main burden of taxation will be paid by urbanites.[8]

The Willis plan also called for a cancellation of farmer indebtedness for seed and feed along with other forms of debt adjustment, and a reduction in automobile license fees.[9]

Premier Bracken's immediate response to the Willis proposal for a reduction in government costs was to call the reduction of interest charges a "repudiation of present obligations." The promise to reduce the cost of running the government by one million dollars would mean wiping out old-age pensions, mothers' allowances, and other services, he claimed.[10]

Later in the campaign Provincial Treasurer Ewan McPherson explained that Manitoba would pay no more than 3½ per cent interest on its future bond issues, for as long as the Bracken administration remained in office. He claimed that his analysis of the Conservative platform showed that if implemented it would produce a deficit of $1,037,000. He reiterated Mr. Bracken's contention that one million dollars could not be saved on interest charges without repudiation.[11]

Premier Bracken challenged Willis, as the campaign progressed, to show where the one million dollars could be saved. He also defended the wage tax which he considered a temporary measure to pay unemployment relief costs. "I challenge any one of the eight Conservatives who sat in the legislature during the last few years to come and say where they are going to cut off the million dollars? The tax was put on to help raise enough money so that eighty thousand people should not starve in Manitoba."[12]

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[8] F. C. Pickwell, "The Manitoba Contest," Saturday Night, July 25, 1936, p. 4.

[9] WFP, June 24, 1936, p. 1 and CAR (1935 - 1936), pp. 369-70.

[10] WFP, June 27, 1936, p. 1.

[11] Ibid., July 6, 1936, p. 1.

Willis answered Premier Bracken's challenge by offering an itemized account as to how one million dollars could be saved without impairing essential services. The items included $150,000 on government travel and use of gas, $50,000 on printing costs, $50,000 on unnecessary grasshopper control for the year plus cuts in various departmental expenditures and public works.[13] The Conservative leader also noted that he had called in the advice of an expert chartered accountant who had assured him the one million dollars could be saved.[14]

Premier Bracken's analysis of the Willis items led him to counter by saying that one third of the itemized one million dollars was not even contemplated expenditure, and that three-quarters of the total was "not possible of accomplishment except at the price of losses in revenue far exceeding the savings proposed."[15]

Mr. Bracken's own program would assimilate the wage tax into general income tax once conditions allowed. He would reduce interest rates on all forms of borrowing and write off municipal loans for relief purposes. In addition to plans to improve the general financial situation of municipalities, Premier Bracken listed a number of areas which would have to be the subject of Federal-provincial negotiation including unemployment relief and payment of provincial and municipal debts accumulated for that purpose over 5½ years.[16]

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[12] WFP, July 14, 1936, p. 1.

[13] Ibid., July 20, 1936, p. 3.

[14] Ibid., July 25, 1936, p. 1.

[15] Ibid., July 25, 1936, p. 1.

[16] CAR (1935 - 1936), p. 370, and WFP, July 4, 1936, p. 1.

Issues Arising From the Social Credit Program.

The electorate had other programs for cost-reduction to consider as well. Alberta Social Crediters slipped into Manitoba to explain that party's three basic principles: "the basic dividend," "a continuous flow of credit," and the "just price."

In outlining the Social Credit platform the party called for a provincial credit account whereby the wealth of Manitoba would be determined by equating consumption with total production. The surplus of this productivity "can be monetized," said party spokesmen, "by the issuance of credit of the province in the form of a dividend to all bona fide citizens...."[17] The Social Credit dividend would guarantee food, clothing, and shelter for all, as well as education for the young. The establishment of a just price and fair wages would parallel the dividend, guaranteeing a reasonable return to producers and distributors. The problem blocking the flow of credit was a matter of distribution not production, said the visiting Albertans.[18] And if the Manitoba elector could not understand the program he was gently reminded by Alberta's Rev. E. G. Hansell: "Its not necessary for you to understand all the little details. You don't have to understand all the details of electricity to be able to press a button and enjoy its benefits."[19]

Social Credit doctrine received a vigorous attack, most of it via newspapers which carried examinations of William Aberhart's Alberta program and its alleged failings. The only surplus production in Manitoba was wheat, the Free Press replied to the Social Credit platform.[20] The Provincial Treasurer claimed "I don't want to waste your time or mine" on Aberhart's Social Credit, but did go on to point out that Social Credit's founder Major Douglas had said himself it would never work satisfactorily unless adopted by the whole commercial world, not just a province.[21]

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[17] WFP, July 9, 1936, p. 3.

[18] Ibid., June 29, p. 3, and July 9, 1936, p. 3. The Globe, July 10, 1936, p. 4.

[19] WFP, June 29, 1936, p. 3.

[20] Ibid., July 10, 1936, p. 11.

Eric J. Poole, Red Deer, Alberta M.P., responded to the many rather facile dismissals of the basic divided by attacking the bankers as causing nine-tenths of human misery. "The people who ridicule dividends promised by the Social Credit Party are the people who have been drawing them all their lives themselves," he said in an obvious reference to bankers and bond-holders. Poole claimed that the old line parties feared losing the support of monied people and so avoided talk of monetary reform. He described the existing economic system as debt-creating and called attention to a need for new ideas and thinking on such matters.[22]

There was one matter linked to the Social Credit view of this major issue of government costs which did get plenty of response, and that was the party's alleged preparedness to repudiate the bonded indebtedness of the province.

Most of the concern about the repudiation of bonded debts and interest charges was related to precedents being set in Alberta by Mr. Aberhart. The province circulated with rumors that Premier Aberhart was coming to Manitoba to speak and by the end of the first week of that hot July the Free Press described debt interest as "a lively issue, perhaps the main issue, in the Manitoba election." "This fiscal year the province, paying an average of five per cent on its bonds, will pay $5,934,402 in interest out of a total expense budget of $14,097,549." Such a sum amounted to 42¢ on every tax payer's dollar, the Winnipeg daily pointed out.[23] According to the same editorial Mr. Aberhart had simply told his bondholders that interest rates would be dropped from five down to 2.5 per cent. The Free Press advocated delicate negotiation and, in a criticism equally of Social Credit repudiation and Mr. Willis's savings, argued why a Bracken government was the best to handle such negotiation by having chosen increased taxation.

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[21] WFP, July 21, 1936, p. 1.

[22] Ibid., July 25, 1936, p. 30.

[23] Ibid., July 7, 1936, p. 11.

> The Manitoba Government will...be able to say to its bondholders: Manitoba proposes to refund and invites bids on a new issue of bonds. Doing it that way, Manitoba will be asking no favors, repudiating no obligation and getting money no cheaper than investors think its credit is worth. And doing it that way, Manitoba may very possibly effect a substantial saving in interest without damaging its financial reputation in the slightest.
>
> That is how it must be done, if at all, and the question for the electors is whether to entrust the job to Mr. Bracken and his colleagues, who seem to appreciate the delicacy and difficulty of it, or to Mr. Willis, who is, rather unwisely, promising a $1,000,000 saving he may not be able to deliver. 24

The Manitoba Social Credit League was hard-pressed to have its position on bond issues recognized. It was a question of re-issuance rather than repudiation, they argued. The platform statement was issued as follows:

> We believe that all future maturities should earn only as much as is within the ability of the people to pay. The province has the right to control its credit. By refunding we mean the re-issuance of bonds which are promises to pay. Repudiating is not contemplated by Social Crediters. It is our desire that wages of money, or interest rates, on all securities shall be reduced. 25

The CCF-ILP Joins the Issues.

Members of the CCF-ILP advocated an econonic council which would survey the resources and needs of Manitoba with a view to determining the extent to which government might organize for public ownership. The CCF approach to the economic problems would be via the establishment of co-operatives and the public ownership and democratic control of public utilities and essential industries like packing plants and flour mills. The finance question, specifically, would be tackled by re-opening the Provincial Savings Office, by controlling and refunding all provincial and municipal debts; by abolishing the wage tax; and by raising the exemption level of the income tax at the lower scale while increasing income tax for higher incomes. The party also advocated a reduction in

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24 WFP, July 7, 1936, p. 11.

25 Ibid., July 9, 1936, p. 3.

license fees for low-priced cars.[26]

The response of the CCF-ILP to the contending parties was to fear, first of all, that the Conservative platform would sacrifice necessary social services in order to achieve its goals. The new party leader Seymour J. Farmer, speaking at Dauphin, claimed that Premier Bracken used the word "depression" as an excuse for doing nothing about relieving the distress of the people of Manitoba.[27] Speaking later in the campaign in Brandon, Mr. Farmer spoke of "using the resources of the province to meet the needs of the people of this province." He believed that there was enough food produced in the province for all, whereas Conservative and government programs were built on the assumption that there was not.[28]

H. Fred Lawrence (ILP--St. Boniface) recalled that both Liberal-Progressives and Conservatives had opposed cuts in interest rates in the House. On the CCF-ILP's intent to abolish the two per cent wage tax and to reduce interest charges by $1,750,000 he boldly stated:

> You can call it repudiation if you like and if you do I can say that we are definitely out for such repudiation, because the rights of the unemployed, the youth of the land and all who are suffering as a result of the present economic system are of more importance than property rights. 29

H. F. Lawrence's Liberal-Progressive opponent in St. Boniface, L. P. Gagnon, replied that the CCF continually called for fresh expenditures, hence piling up debts without bothering about how payments were to be made.[30]

There were suggestions to the left of the CCF-ILP from the Socialist Party of Canada and from James Litterick, who was to be the first Communist Party member elected to a provincial legislature in Canada. Mr. Litterick proposed a five-year moritorium on all provincial, municipal and private indebtedness.[31]

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[26] WFP, June 30, 1936, p. 1.

[27] Ibid., July 6, 1936, p. 5.

[28] Ibid., July 24, 1936, p. 6.

[29] Ibid., July 25, 1936, p. 30.

[30] Ibid..

The Government's Counterattack.

The government's approach to this variety of criticisms and alternative programs was to defend its record by comparison with other provincial governments. Manitoba, it was argued, had the lowest annual expenditures and capital debt of all four western provinces. The Bracken Government prided itself on a businesslike and sympathetic handling of relief, on an effective civil service, and on progressive legislation without being radical, and in the interests of the whole province. The government saw as its purpose the restoration of confidence in personal, corporate and co-operative enterprises. It intended to press for a better deal with Ottawa rather than making further raises in taxes. Premier Bracken said his government was prepared to be unpopular in its quiet, determined role to bring questions like the reduction of interest rates before Ottawa's proposed national committee on finance. His was a business-like cautiousness which had as its aim "the saving of the credit structure of the province and of the Dominion." He hoped to achieve "a refunding by general consent at lower rates of interest, after negotiation with representatives of bondholders...." The Manitoba Premier described what would happen if no agreement was reached at such a Dominion-provincial conference.

> ...the province will have no alternative but to face the problem by itself and take such action as it then considers necessary in the best interests of its people. That responsibility the government is prepared to assume. It means no threat to bondholders; it promises no "savings" of millions to taxpayers; it solicits the confidence of the public as it seeks to deal with this important matter in a manner that will result to the credit of the province and not to the disadvantage for all time to come. 32

In the face of the attacks on his administration's handling of government costs, therefore, Premier Bracken's view was that his government served as a sensible middle ground amongst the alternatives being put forward by opposition parties. The purpose of such a government was to restore confidence in enterprise. Mr. Bracken expanded on both these matters in his keynote address opening his campaign at Winnipeg's Marlborough Hotel. The "middle course" was explicitly enunciated in comments made on his government's approach to public services.

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[31] CAR (1935-1936), p. 370; and WFP, July 25, 1936, p. 30.

[32] WFP, July 4, 1936, p. 1.

> The Manitoba government now contributes $5.5 millions a year out of its $8 millions of controllable expenditures for these services. The Labor-CCF political group says this is far too little, and they have severely censured the government's programme on this ground in recent years. The present Conservative Party hints that these services cost too much, but dares not face the public with specific proposals for reductions.
>
> The government has tried in its policies to meet essential needs at a minimum of cost. It takes the position that while neither prodigality nor extravagance can be tolerated, a basic minimum of service must be provided. The public must reach its own conclusions as to the wisdom of the government's policies. In reaching it, however, it is respectfully suggested that there be kept in mind the fact that the Labor-CCF group would increase these expenditures. It is our view that a middle course such as we have been following is in accordance with the view of the great majority of the people. 33

Premier Bracken's arguments for the restoration of confidence in enterprise incorporate rebuttals to his opponents of various stripes. For him the important issue becomes his cautious "middle course." The following quotation, for example, seems to touch first the Conservatives, then CCF, Social Credit and finally the Communist Party.

> Taxes must be kept down to the lowest possible point; social experiments of an unsound or costly nature must be avoided; contracts must not be lightly broken, and the threat of Communistic teaching must be answered by such an expression of confidence in a sane programme as will encourage legitimate enterprise again to accept its rightful place as an employer.

Moderation is again sounded as he continues and directs his comments specifically at public enterprise.

> In this connection, public ownership has its place and is to be encouraged whereever it can serve the community better than private or co-operative enterprise. But if the alleged advantages of public ownership are to be given to every section of the industrial and business world and denied to agriculture, the result can hardly fail to be a further deepening of the distress in rural areas. 34

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33 WFP, July 4, 1936, p. 1.

34 Ibid.

Agricultural Issues.

Premier Bracken's statements above, reflected, not only his concern to follow a middle road between Conservative proposals for taxation reduction and a CCF demand for increased expenditure on public services, but, also, the Manitoba Premier's intention to "press for a better deal" for agriculture. Hopefully, such an agriculture "deal" would be accomplished by raising the prices of agricultural products, expanding international markets, encouraging co-operative buying and writing off drought taxes. Most of such a program demanded pressure on the Dominion Government, and, as we have seen, that was Premier Bracken's intent. He would also "urge the Dominion" to extend Dominion farm loans and push for lower interest rates.[35]

Errick Willis attacked Premier Bracken's "new deal" on this all important issue of the distressed farmer. "Mr. Bracken has been shuffling the cards for the last fourteen years and instead of a new deal he wants to keep on shuffling," the Conservative leader said.[36] He noted that the Premier promised farm income increases but failed to outline how they were to be achieved.

> Mr. Bracken says he will increase farm income, but is delightfully indefinite as to the process by which this is to be attained and has forgotten to tell us why he has neglected it so long. Farm practices are to be improved, but the methods to be invoked are as obscure as the reason why Mr. Bracken has deferred his own election in The Pas.
>
> Apparently we are going to get a better price for our wheat, but has anyone ever seen such a demand made by Mr. Bracken to Mr. King?[37]

Errick Willis made forthright attacks on Bremier Bracken's handling of rural problems reminding farmers that it was Mr. Bracken who had "forced the municipalities to tax you for your seed and feed, forced you to borrow from banks instead of from the federal government, forced the municipalities to take a lien on your livestock, forced municipalities to hold tax sales in order that they might own your land."[38]

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[35] CAR (1935-1936), p. 370; and WFP, July 4, 1936, p. 1.

[36] WFP, June 24, 1936, p. 1.

[37] Ibid., July 8, 1936, p. 3.

[38] Ibid., July 24, 1936, p. 1.

That same Bracken government had relieved farmers of land taxes but robbed them of a million dollars on liquor profits which had been promised to them, Mr. Willis protested. He described his own party's program, proposing that experimental farm stations be used to produce rust-proof wheat, and called for the agriculture extension service "to be taken out of politics and returned to the agriculture college." [39] The service had been taken out of the hands of the agriculture faculty at the University of Manitoba and Mr. Willis had been a steady opponent of such a move.

Mr. Willis believed a better price for wheat could be got from Ottawa. He proposed that the tax on gas for use in tractors and combines be removed, that such farm implements should not be excluded from rural road use, and that gasoline taxes on cars should be given to municipalities to assist in the maintenance of roads. He deeply deplored that almost all agriculture services given by the Norris Government to the farmers had been abolished by the Bracken administration. [40]

The CCF-ILP program to relieve the depressed state of agriculture called for government assisted co-operatives for the sale of farm machinery, gas, and oil, which would supply these commodities to farmers at cost. The party would write off all debts for seed and feed loans in drought areas, and put forward a proposal for rural electrification. All farm debts would be adjusted downward to fit existing commodity prices, and an adequate living standard would be protected by a CCF-ILP government as the "first charge on farm income." [41]

Issues of the Left.

Once again the now enlarged left-wing party opened up policies, and hence, issues, seemingly ignored by other parties. In addition to talk of an economic council and public ownership, as noted earlier, the party talked of co-operatives, province-wide housing, rural electrification, market roads and hospital extensions, all of which might be accomplished by the work of the unemployed. The party favored cash relief and constructive employment for the unemployed and would abolish relief camps and dining halls. A provincial labor code was still being called for--a code which would upgrade the Workmen's Compensation Act and minumum wage standards, as well as protect an unrestricted right to join a union. CCF-ILP candidates talked of a socialized health service, state insurance, a child welfare act, blind pensions, and a reduction in eligibility age for old-age pensions.[42] The ILP members at a gathering late in the campaign strongly condemned Premier Bracken for what they called a "betrayal" on his public ownership platform. "What is the difference between a premier who holds you up through legislation and a thug who holds you up with a gun," the party members were cited as asking. They decried the five cuts made in mothers' allowances by the government and a reduction to two meals per day for the single unemployed on relief, as bondholders continued to receive their annual increases.[43]

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[39] WFP, July 24, 1936, p. 1.

[40] Ibid., and July 25, 1936, p. 1.

[41] CAR (1935-1936), p. 370, and WFP, June 30, 1936, p. 1.

The party's new leader S. J. Farmer was particularly exercised about the need for a shorter work week.

> Both the Bracken and Conservative parties preach economy and that interest rates are sacred. Neither has a word to say in its platform about reducing unemployment by instituting a seven-hour day and a five-day work week. We of the ILP demand that hours of labor be shortened without any cut in pay.[44]

The CCF-ILP had its own "Achilles heel" which came under attack, i. e. its alleged association with the new Communist Party of Canada. The latter party's leader, on a speaking tour of Western Canada, made reference to the new CCF as potentially a "people's party." Tim Buck's comments, and, perhaps, the presence of James Litterick in the campaign, prompted the Winnipeg Tribune to editorialize against sedition: the organized over-throw of the government which it believed was the Communist goal.[45] J. S. Woodsworth, now national CCF leader and once again an ardent campaigner throughout the province, voiced his resentment of the CCF-Communist conspiracy contention, which, Mr. Woodsworth said, was part of Central Liberal Committee tactics.[46]

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[42] WFP, June 30, 1936, p. 1.

[43] Ibid., July 24, 1936, p. 6, and July 25, 1936, p. 30.

[44] Ibid., July 25, 1936, p. 30.

[45] A report of these events is carried in an editorial in The Globe, July 27, 1936, p. 4.

James Litterick asserted a program which would see a Communist member in the legislature lead the unemployed to the House to demand better relief and lead the farmers to demand better conditions. He would be prepared to lead workers in a general strike for higher wages and better working conditions, but he explained of his program, "We are asking the electors to vote for a progressive program based on the needs of the people, not the program of the bankers; we are not asking for a revolution."[47] Litterick, like the CCF-ILP candidates, believed Bracken economics were made at the expense of the unemployed. His own program would give work and wages to all unemployed Manitobans. He spoke of slum clearance and irrigation in drought areas. He also spoke of the needs of hospitals, which had been turned down but still required, provincial grants.[48]

Minor Issues.

Other election issues were minor in comparison to those already discussed. Some contention existed over what Mr. Willis called an "overstaffed" provincial civil service, and Conservatives were generally opposed, as were other parties, to the apparent profusion of well-staffed government advisory boards which seemingly duplicated Dominion services.[49]

On the educational scene matters were peculiarly quiet, compared to several years earlier, when it had been discovered that J. A. Machray, Chairman of the Board of Governors and Bursar of the University, had since 1903 stolen from three different governments a total of $901,175. Willis attempted to raise up the three-year old discovery by challenging Premier Bracken to explain the secrecy which had surrounded the University until after the 1932 campaign.[50] Willis also questioned the cost of text books in the province. He called the business a "racket," indicating that the same texts going for $2.20 in Ontario were sold by companies for $6.85 in Manitoba.[51]

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[46] WFP, July 24, 1936, p. 6; and July 25, 1936, p. 30.

[47] Ibid., June 30, 1936, p. 3.

[48] Ibid., July 25, 1936, p. 30.

[49] F. C. Pickwell, "The Manitoba Contest." Saturday Night, July 25, 1936, p. 4.

Local Issues.

While there was little of serious contention on a province-wide scale outside of the two or three issues already examined there were, as always, heated local campaigns to be considered. The chief of these was the contest in Brandon. This western Manitoba city was on the verge of financial collapse. One of its main rail lines, south to the international boundary, had been abandoned.

Speaking in Brandon on July 13, John Bracken announced that the city had asked his government for a provincially-appointed administrator to supervise the serious financial difficulties of the city. The Premier commented on the need for a government representative in Brandon which would be for the first time since a Norris Liberal was elected in 1915. The Premier also defended the sale of elevators in the area for one million dollars to farmers, saying that it was the best price the government could get and that most residents were agreed that they "would rather the farmers have them than anybody else."[52]

Errick Willis called Premier Bracken's comments in Brandon a threat that unless Dr. H. O. McDiarmid, highly touted as a future cabinet minister, was elected, the western Manitoba city would receive no provincial aid.[53]

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[50] WFP, July 16, 1936, p. 4.

[51] Ibid., July 18, 1936, p. 1.

[52] Ibid., July 14, 1936, p. 16.

[53] Ibid., July 16, 1936, p. 4.

Local Conservative MLA George Dinsdale criticized the government for not coming to the financial aid of Brandon until the eve of an election. Dinsdale also faulted Premier Bracken for enducing support for McDiarmid by promising him a cabinet post.[54] In what the Free Press dismissed as a "roorback", Dinsdale charged that Brandon civil servants and employees of the local mental hospital had been threatened with dismissal unless they subscribed to the campaign funds of the government candidate. Dinsdale apparently showed pledge cards to prove his point.[55]

Brandon ILP candidate Alderman H. Spafford reproved the government for closing down the Great Northern Railway in the area. It had been closed, he said, because the operation did not show a profit regardless of whether or not the railway served the needs of the people.[56]

After July 27th when Spafford's alternative or second choice ballots had been distributed between the two front runners, George Dinsdale, Conservative opposition, once more represented Brandon City constituency in the provincial legislature.

. . . .

In Deloraine constituency Colonel Royal Burritt, Liberal-Progressive candidate, attempted to reconstruct a "personality" issue by reminding his electorate that his opponent, Errick Willis, had been one of the men responsible for the run on the Provincial Savings Office which had consequently led to its closing.[57]

Winnipeg and the Results.

Finally, in Winnipeg where Mines and Resources Minister J. S. McDiarmid attempted to relate Winnipeg's growth to northern development, the big news was Lewis St. George Stubbs, Independent. In 1932 County Court Judge Stubbs had been charged by Attorney-General W. J. Major "for improper remarks reflecting on the probity and integrity of the Manitoba Court of Appeal." Mr. Stubbs was dismissed as a judge but not before winning the admiration of Manitobans for his courageous outspokenness. L. St. G. Stubbs spoke of one law for the rich and another for the poor. He advocated socialization of the administration of justice, creation of a public defender, and was opposed to the lash and capital punishment.[58]

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[54] WFP, July 25, 1936, p. 30.

[55] Ibid., July 25, 1936, p. 30.

[56] Ibid., July 24, 1936, p. 6.

[57] Ibid., July 29, 1936, p. 3.

The Free Press described Mr. Stubbs as "an out and out socialist" even though running as an independent.[59] His support came from every quarter and when ballots were counted after July 27th, Lewis St. George Stubbs headed the Winnipeg poll with an unprecedented 24,805 first choice ballots. His nearest opponent was 18,941 votes behind, and he was none other than Mr. James Litterick, Communist.

Most post-mortems conducted at the time and since on the 1936 election results have spoken of a notable decline in labor support.[60] Their analysis fails to consider the Stubbs phenomenon with care.

If we examine the excess second-choices on the Stubbs ballots we discover the following interesting breakdown of second choice ballots. In the first place the two top recipients were CCF-ILP candidates: John Queen 3,045, and S. J. Farmer 2, 564. James Litterick was next in line with 2,107. Ralph Webb was the fourth highest recipient of the Stubbs' second choice ballots with 1,669. Although a Conservative, Webb was a popular figure because of his outspokenness on a myriad of issues including labor matters. He was also a former Mayor of Winnipeg. Both Webb and Litterick reached the election quota of 7,214 by virtue of the Stubbs ballots. The fifth and sixth highest recipients were again CCF-ILP members. William Ivens with 944 and Morris Hyman with 898. If we were to divide the Stubbs "second choice" total on the basis of popular vote we would find the following interesting figures:

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[58] The Globe (Toronto), July 28, 1936, p. 1.

[59] WFP, July 22, 1936, p. 19.

[60] See for example, The Globe, July 28, 1936; Saturday Night, August 8, 1936, p. 1&8; and CAR (1935 - 1936), p. 370.

Party	No. of Candidates	Popular vote	% Pop. vote
CCF-ILP	6	8008	45.5
Conservative	5	4001	22.8
Communist	1	2107	12.0
Liberal-Progressive	5	2085	11.3
Social Credit	3	1390	7.9

There is no doubt that CCF-ILP figures are down significantly in Winnipeg, but the Stubbs vote accounts almost entirely for that decline. It perhaps says more about the type of vote that was cast in Winnipeg. It would appear that there had been a consistent anti-government, pro-workingman vote. That vote goes where it will to those who most accurately reflect the aspirations of this dissenting electorate, whether ILP, Independents, Communists or radical Conservatives. Such a phenomenon, we would argue, is the way it had always been.

The ethnic minorities, if Peterson is correct, tended to vote for Premier Bracken. Peterson cites the Ukrainian Voice of Winnipeg urging fellow Ukrainians as follows:

> All signs show that the Bracken government will remain in power. This means that we have to elect candidates put forward by the governing party...candidates from parties making strange and impossible promises will bring us no advantage, only national dishonour.[61]

There is evidence, however, as Peterson notes, that some Ukrainians joined both French and interlake Icelanders in casting a protest vote by supporting Social Credit candidates.[62]

The minority position which Premier Bracken found himself in following this election was eventually resolved by the promise of support of the five Social Crediters elected in the campaign. Even the Social Credit support came about only after the Conservatives had refused any overtures and after William Aberhart interceded to support what, for the Manitoba Social Credit League, was a very unpopular move.

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[61] Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 92. Originally contained in Ukrainian Voice (Winnipeg), July 22, 1936.

[62] Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 92.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1936.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Liberal-Progressives	23	91,378	36.0	41.8
Conservatives	16	71,934	28.5	29.1
CCF-ILP	7	30,996	12.3	12.7
Social Credit	5	23,413	9.3	9.1
Communist Party	1	5,864	2.3	1.8
Independents	3	29,892	11.8	5.5

Winnipeg First Ballots - 1936.

PARTY	POP. VOTE	% POP. VOTE	SEATS WON
Independent (L. St. G. Stubbs alone)	24,805	31.3	1
Conservatives	18,311	23.1	3
Liberal-Progressives	16,634	21.0	2
CCF-ILP	10,198	12.9	3
Communist	5,864	7.4	1
Social Credit	3,512	4.4	--

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1936.

Major, Province-wide.

1. The Costs of Governing. (Cluster).
    - (a) Heavy taxation.
    - (b) Repeal of wage tax. (Specific).
    - (c) Auto license fees.
    - (d) Bond interest.
        - (i) Bond repudiation. (see Social Credit).
    - (e) Municipal debt.
    - (f) Hospital extensions and funding.
2. Agriculture.
    - (a) Wheat prices.
    - (b) Municipal taxes on agriculture.

Major, Province-wide--Agriculture--cont'd.

(c) Partisanship in extension service.

(d) Cooperatives. (Left, New).

(e) Drought assistance.

(f) Need for market roads.

3. Social Credit Monetary Reform. (New).

(a) Dividend, just price and flow of credit.

(b) Bond repudiation.

(c) "Monied bankers." (Left).

Left, largely Concern.

Public Control.

(a) Socialized health service.

(b) State insurance.

(c) Need for economic council.

Better Housing.

Rural Electrification. (Sectional, New).

Unemployment Relief. (Contention).

Labor Code.

Child Welfare.

Blind Pensions. (New).

Lower Eligibility for Old-age Pensions.

Allowance Cut-backs. (Contention).

Slum Clearance.

CCF--Communist Relationships. (Right, Contention).

Minor.

Snap Election Call. (Political).

Overstaffed Civil Service.

Machray University Steal. (Dead).

Cost of School Text Books.

Local.

Brandon's Financial Position.

(a) Cabinet post offer. (Dodge).

(b) Civil Service dismissal. (Roorback).

(c) Closing of G. N. R.

Deloraine--E. Willis Role in Provincial Savings Office. (Personality).

Winnipeg--L. St. G. Stubbs Candidacy. (Contention, Personality).

(a) Penal and judicial reform. (New, Left, Concern).

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1936

Nominations, July 17, 1936; voting July 27, 1936. Deferred: The Pas and Rupert's Land. Nominations, August 11, 1936; voting August 21, 1936.

ARTHUR

J. R. Pitt, L.P.	1,[illegible]
J. A. Ross, C.	1,[illegible]

ASSINIBOIA

First Count—

Jas. Aikens, I.L.P.	2,411
H. P. McPhail, C.	1,[illegible]
J. L. Morton, L.P.	[illegible]
Wm. Sanders, S.C.	[illegible]

Final Count—

Jas. Aiken, I.L.P.	2,[illegible]
H. P. McPhail, C.	2,[illegible]
J. L. Morton, L.P.	[illegible]

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS

First Count—

J. S. Poole, C.	1,[illegible]
A. J. M. Poole, L.P.	1,403
J. H. Duffy, S.C.	[illegible]

Final Count—

J. S. Poole, C.	1,784
A. J. M. Poole, L. P.	1,[illegible]

BIRTLE

First Count—

F. C. Bell, L.P.	1,[illegible]
W. C. Wroth, C.	1,12[illegible]
W. Cameron, S.C.	[illegible]

Final Count—

F. C. Bell, L.P.	1,477
W. C. Wroth, C.	1,4[illegible]

BRANDON CITY

First Count—

Geo. Dinsdale, C.	2,847
H. O. McDiarmid, L.P.	2,042
H. Spafford, I.L.P.	1,[illegible]

Final Count—

Geo. Dinsdale, C.	2,974
H. O. McDiarmid, L.P.	2,[illegible]

CARILLON

E. Prefontaine, L.P.	2,[illegible]
C. H. McBurney, C.	1,[illegible]

CYPRESS

J. L. Christie, L.P.	1,[illegible]
E. G. Hurton, C.	1,[illegible]

DAUPHIN

First Count—

Robt. Hawkins, L.P.	1,[illegible]
E. N. McGirr, C.	1,129
H. Moore, I.L.P.	[illegible]

Final Count—

Robt. Hawkins, L.P.	1,[illegible]
E. N. McGirr, C.	1,[illegible]

DELORAINE

E. F. Willis, C.	2,[illegible]
R. Burnett, L.P.	1,[illegible]

DUFFERIN

J. A. Munn, L.P.	2,1[illegible]
T. H. Lytle, C.	1,7[illegible]

EMERSON

First Count—

H. H. Wright, Ind.	1,[illegible]
R. P. Curran, L.P.	1,[illegible]
W. W. Warkna, S.C.	[illegible]
H. M. Podolsky, Ind.	1,[illegible]

Final Count—

H. H. Wright, Ind.	1,[illegible]
R. P. Curran, L.P.	1,[illegible]
H. M. Podolsky, Ind.	1,[illegible]

ETHELBERT

Wm. Lisowsky, S.C. ————	[illegible]
S. A. Hryhorczuk, L.P. ———	1,839

FAIRFORD

Hon. S. S. Garson, L.P. —	Accl.

FISHER

N. V. Bachynsky, L.P. ———	949
A. Hopgood, Ind. ————	663
F. Romanchych, I.L.P. ———	194

GILBERT PLAINS

S. W. Fox, S.C. ————	1,486
G. D. Shortreed, L.P. ———	752
R. J. Dagleish, ————	790

GIMLI

First Count—

J. Wawrykow, I.L.P. ———	1,577
R. J. Lifman, L.P. ————	1,388
Mrs. A. Oddson, S.C. ———	1,032
S. A. Magnusson, C. ———	129

Final Count—

J. Wawrykow, I.L.P. ———	1,590
R. J. Lifman, L.P. ————	1,520
Mrs. A. Oddson, S.C. ———	1,056

GLADSTONE

Wm. Morton, L.P. ————	1,348
A. R. Brydon, C. ————	861

GLENWOOD

J. W. Breakey, L.P. ———	1,487
R. G. Hetherington, C. ——	755
J. H. Wood, I.L.P. ———	758

HAMIOTA

N. L. Turnbull, S.C. ———	1,235
J. Spalding, L.P. ————	1,112

IBERVILLE

J. S. Lamont, L.P. ————	1,289
A. R. Boivin, Ind. ————	1,237

KILDONAN & ST. ANDREWS

First Count—

J. McLenaghen, C. ————	2,094
C. E. Fillmore, L.P. ———	2,048
E. A. Wise, I.L.P. ————	1,776

Final Count—

J. McLenaghen, C. ————	2,578
C. E. Fillmore, L.P. ———	2,571

KILLARNEY

J. B. Laughlin, C. ————	1,525
A. E. Foster, L.P. ————	1,326

LAKESIDE

D. L. Campbell, L.P. ———	1,894
G. M. Blair, C. ————	1,447

LANSDOWNE

First Count—

M. R. Sutherland, L.P. ——	1,416
E. D. Alder, C. ————	1,324
L. C. deGagne, S.C. ———	681

Final Count—

M. R. Sutherland, L.P. —	1,573
E. D. Alder, C. ————	1,322

LA VERANDRYE

S. Marcoux, L.P. ————	2,209
J. Hamelin, C. ————	1,379
A. G. Gobert, S.C. ———	464

MANITOU

H. B. Morrison, C. ———	2,217
F. W. McIntosh, L.P. ——	1,356

MINNEDOSA

First Count—

E. J. Rutledge, C. ————	2,462
H. S. Rungay, L.P. ———	2,233
H. F. Morton, I.L.P. ———	753

Final Count—

E. J. Rutledge, C. ————	2,734
H. S. Rungay, L.P. ———	2,461

MORDEN & RHINELAND

W. C. Miller, C. ————	3,024
J. J. Enns, L.P. ————	2,665

MORRIS

W. R. Clubb, L.P. ———	2,020
P. Bourgeois, C. ————	1,252

MOUNTAIN

I. Schultz, L.P. ————	2,328
T. S. McIntyre, S.C. ———	1,334

NORFOLK

First Count—

J. P. Lawrie, C. ————	1,078
J. Muirhead, L.P. ————	1,014
J. L. Burrows, S.C. ———	936

Final Count—

J. P. Lawrie, C. ————	1,258
J. Muirhead, L.P. ————	1,306

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

W. R. Sexsmith, C. ———	1,727
E. A. Gilroy, L.P. ————	1,279

ROBLIN

First Count—

S. E. Roger, S.C. ————	1,391
W. J. Westwood, L.P. ——	854
C. D. G. Barber, C. ———	587

Final Count—

S. E. Roger, S.C. ————	1,461
W. J. Westwood, L.P. ——	1,028

ROCKWOOD

M. T. Lewis, C. ————	2,429
W. C. McKinnell, L.P. ——	2,056

RUPERT'S LAND (deferred)

O. Clafson, Ind. Lib. ———	650
W. W. Kennedy, C. ———	466

RUSSELL

I. B. Griffiths, L.P. ———	1,357
H. J. Peddie, I.L.P. ———	1,011

ST. BONIFACE

First Count—

H. P. Lawrence, I.L.P. ——	3,127
L. P. Gagnon, L.P. ———	3,830
G. C. McLean, C. ———	2,747
J. P. Jodoin, S.C. ———	1,720

Final Count—

H. P. Lawrence, I.L.P. ——	4,020
L. P. Gagnon, L.P. ———	4,275
G. C. McLean, C. ———	2,820

ST. CLEMENTS

First Count—

H. Sulkers, I.L.P. ————	2,579
R. A. Hoey, L.P. ————	2,922
R. J. M. Bates, S.C. ———	1,335

Final Count—

H. Sulkers, I.L.P. ————	[illegible]
R. A. Hoey, L.P. ————	3,154

ST. GEORGE

Miss S. A. Halldorson, S.C.	1,402
S. Sigfusson, L.P. ————	[illegible]

STE. ROSE

First Count—

M. D. MacCarthy, L.P. ——	1,505
E. S. Everall, C. ————	1,044
F. B. Zaplithy, I.L.P. ——	701

Final Count—

M. D. MacCarthy, L.P. ——	1,582
E. S. Everall, C. ————	1,527

SPRINGFIELD

First Count—

E. P. Shannon, L.P. ———	2,442
L. J. Pulfer, S.C. ————	1,898
S. H. Barefoot, I.L.P. ——	1,576

Final Count—

E. P. Shannon, L.P. ———	2,527
L. J. Pulfer, S.C. ————	2,391

SWAN RIVER

First Count—

G. P. Renouf, C. ————	1,689
D. Baldwin, L.P. ————	1,748
F. Holmes, I.L.P. ————	868

Final Count—

G. P. Renouf, C. ————	1,980
D. Baldwin, L.P. ————	1,974

THE PAS

Hon. J. Bracken, L.P. ——	2,089
G. Mainwaring, C. ———	1,381

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

A. R. Welch, C. ————	1,538
F. V. Bird, L.P. ————	1,008

VIRDEN

R. H. Mooney, L.P. ———	1,829
G. S. Ross, C. ————	1,633

WINNIPEG

First Count—

L. St. G. Stubbs, Ind ———	24,086	E
J. Litterick, Comm ———	5,594	E
R. H. Webb C ————	5,561	E
Hon. W. J. Major, L.P. —	5,211	E
J. S. McDiarmid, L.P. ——	4,982	E
J. A. Barry, C. ————	4,636	E
Dyma L.P. ————	3,549	
H. D. B. Ketchen, C. ——	2,773	E
M. Hyman, Lab. ————	2,450	E
J. Queen, Lab. ————	2,709	E
R. W. B. Swail, C. ———	2,580	
Thoraldson C ————	2,400	
S. J. Farmer, Lab. ———	1,909	E
Smith, S.C. ————	1,738	
Rice-Jones L.P. ————	1,767	
Bardal L.P. ————	1,155	
Wm. Ivens, Lab. ———	1,136	
Strethar S.C. ————	944	
Benjamin S.C. ————	799	
R. A. Brigden, Lab. ———	687	
Stewart Ind ————	318	

PARLIAMENTARY GUIDE

Final Count—

J. S. McDiarmid, L.P.	8,258
Hon. W. J. Major, L.P.	7,920
H. D. B. Ketchen, C.	7,771
J. A. Barry, C.	7,253
S. J. Farmer, Lab.	7,214
J. Litterick, Comm.	7,214
J. Queen, Lab.	7,214
L. St. G. Stubbs	[illegible]
R. H. Webb, C.	7,2[illegible]
H. Hyman, Lab.	6,12[illegible]

Seventeen counts were necessary before the final result in Winnipeg was completely known, but members were declared elected as the count proceeded and the quota in each case was attained.

PREVIOUS GENERAL ELECTIONS

1870	Dec.	27	1903	July	20
1874	Dec.	23	1907	Mar.	7
1878	Dec.	18	1910	June	11
1879	Dec.	16	1914	July	10
1883	Jan.	23	1915	Sept.	16
1886	Dec.	9	1920	June	29
1888	July	11	1922	July	15
1892	July	23	1927	June	28
1896	Jan.	15	1932	June	16
1899	Dec.	7	1936	July.	27

STANDING OF PARTIES

The party standing at dissolution of the 19th Legislature in 1936, was as follows:—

Government	[illegible]
Conservatives	9
Co-operative Commonwealth Federation	5
Independents	2
Vacancies	3
Total	55

The standing of parties, Jan. 2, 1941, was as follows:

Government (Liberal-Progressive)	23
Conservatives	15
Independent Labour (C.C.F.)	6
Social Credit	5
Independents	4
Communist	1
Vacancy	1
Total	55

THE WAR COALITION

AND

A PARADOX OF ISSUES

MARCH 12 TO APRIL 22, 1941

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Coalition.		
Liberal-Progressive	John Bracken	40
Conservative	Errick Willis	18
CCF-ILP	S. J. Farmer	15
Social Credit	Sidney E. Rogers	3
Independents	- - - - -	14
Anti-Coalition.		
Social Credit	- - - - -	9
Conservative	H. G. B. Ketchen	4
Liberal-Progressive	(L. A. Regnier)	1
Workers (Communist)	William A. Kardash	1
Independents (including 3 Sound Money Economics)	- - - - -	5

45 single member districts revert back to simple plurality system. 10 Winnipeg seats continue with Hare P. R.
Total: 55.

Major Issues: (1) The Coalition Cluster.

The only thing we know about Winnipegger Henry Wilson, is that some time on March 20, 1941, he wrote a letter to the editor of the Winnipeg Free Press to ask rhetorically "how can anyone vote when there is no issue to vote on." Between the years 1936 and 1941 a complete coalition of all major political parties had taken place ostensibly to bring about a united effort as regards the Second World War, to confront the distressed agricultural conditions in the province, and to push for implementation of the Rowell-Sirois report on Dominion-provincial relations with some kind of inter-party unity. Only three MLAs had refused to enter coalition: L. St. George Stubbs, Miss Salome Halldorson, Social Credit member for St. George, and Major-General H. G. B. Ketchen, Winnipeg Conservative. To citizen Henry Wilson, and many others like him, this election was a "waste of money," for, as he argued, where "there are no issues...the public will vote with no idea of what they are voting about." [1]

The election of March-April 1941 is unprecedented not only in Manitoban history but perhaps in all Canadian provincial histories. The goal of the UFM and Premier Bracken for a non-partisan administration had seemingly been reached in the dying months of 1940 as representatives of all four parties formed the new provincial cabinet.

Support for the "coalition" was widespread and both major Winnipeg dailies, the Tribune and Free Press defended the move. The Free Press, for example, applauded the wisdom of both the Manitoba electorate and of Mr. Bracken, and in glowing terms.

> This election campaign which is without parallel in the history of Manitoba, reflects the good sense and the political maturity of the people of the province. When there is a real issue in provincial affairs, the electors know how to fight it out and settle it decisively as has been shown on diverse occasions; but where the public interest calls for co-operation in the pursuit of common interests as is the case in the present instance, the electors are demonstrating that they do not propose to be divided by artificial shibboleths.
>
> It certainly speaks for our Premier that after nearly 19 years of office his leadership, in a time of stress and strain, was accepted without question by the great majority of the people as desirable and essential, having regard to the problems to be met and the difficulties to be overcome. It was a recognition that in public life, as in business, experience, knowledge and proved capacity are valued assets in the days of trial. This public attitude towards Mr. Bracken has been in evidence ever since the outbreak of the war; and it was not out of place that, recognizing this good

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[1] WFP, March 22, 1941, p. 20.

> feeling, he should have reciprocated by so reconstructing his government as to give representation to all the political groups in the province. The determining factor throughout has been to get together for the time being on the things that unite and postpone the consideration of matters which, when they have to be dealt with, there will be division. 2

But the Henry Wilsons of the province disagreed and so the coalition question was the dominant issue which dwarfed all others, in this peculiar campaign. Throughout the entire province with its fifty-five constituencies there were not more than eighteen candidates who ran as anti-coalitionists. Eight of this number ran in the ten-member Winnipeg district. As to party affiliation, nine of the eighteen were Social Crediters, four were Conservative, two were Winnipeg Liberals and three independent. On April 14 when all nominations were complete Messrs. Bracken and Willis plus fourteen more of their supporters had been elected by acclamation and when the results were tabulated it was discovered that a mere 49.9 per cent of the population had even bothered to vote; this in a province which had never had less than a two-thirds turn-out in any previous election. 3

Numbers aside, the criticisms of coalition government were as vocal as defenses of the move. The issue had many nuances. Each party felt constrained to defend its participation and each party had its critics of its particular involvement.

The "real" reasons for Premier Bracken's restructuring of his government were the subject of nation-wide speculation, and conclusions were varied. Saturday Night's editor-in-chief, B. K. Sandwell, after an extended visit to watch the campaign declared that he could find "nobody in Manitoba who professed to have any inside knowledge" as to what motivated Mr. Bracken. Mr. Sandwell speculated that Premier Bracken had his eye on a post-war position of Canadian leadership, and that the direction of western political energies to achieve some healthy "satisfaction and rehabilitation" from Ottawa might well be worth a "temporary suspension of the democratic machinery of Manitoba for a few wartime

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2 WFP, April 12, 1941, p. 21.

3 Sources: CPG (1944) and H. Scarrow, Canada Votes: A Handbook of Federal and Provincial Election Data (New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1962), pp. 214-217; and WFP, April 14, 1941, p. 3.

years."[4]

The Winnipeg Free Press dismissed as "unjustified" all allegations that coalition was the result of "consideration of political safety." The newspaper noted that Premier Bracken had never once in four years been challenged by the combined opposition groups in the legislature, even though they did possess a majority of seats. The newspaper claimed that Mr. Bracken could easily have won an election at any time since the commencement of the war. Given such considerations "it must therefore be agreed...that Mr. Bracken extended his invitation to the other groups in good faith and in what he regarded as the public interest..." The Free Press concluded that the invitation must also have been "accepted in the same spirit."[5]

Whatever reasons Premier Bracken had for inviting coalition those who joined it did not do so without criticism, and in March and April of 1941 the anti-coalitionists criticized the move and its motivations as well as warned of its consequences. Perhaps the argument which stole the spotlight more than any other was that between Conservative leader Errick Willis, who had taken his party into coalition, and Major-General Ketchen who remained a Conservative anti-coalitionist. At his nomination meeting H. G. B. Ketchen described the coalition as a "tightly closed corporation" which, he believed, would deprive Manitoba voters of their right to select amongst alternative parties. He represented as "an insult to the loyal people of Manitoba" the use of the war as an excuse for coalition.[6] Major-General Ketchen's most heated words were directed against his party leader who, Mr. Ketchen argued, was the first to agree to coalition. Describing him as a deserter, H. G. B. Ketchen claimed Errick Willis had completely handed over the Conservative Party and its organization for the price of three cabinet positions. In Major-General Ketchen's view Premier Bracken had agreed to coalition simply in order to remain in office indefinitely, and Mr. Willis had played into the Premier's hands.

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[4] B. K. Sandwell, "What Coalition Means in Manitoba," Saturday Night, April 26, 1941, p. 17.

[5] WFP, March 13, 1941, p. 13.

[6] Ibid., March 26, 1941, p. 8.

Harrison Dysart, a second anti-coalition Conservative, chosen as a candidate along with Mr. Ketchen at Winnipeg's Marlborough Hotel, criticized Errick Willis for failing to call a party convention at the time of coalition. Mr. Dysart claimed Mr. Willis failed to do so because he knew the party would never have agreed. "If it was necessary for Willis to sell out to Bracken why is it not necessary for Col. Drew (Ontario Conservative leader) [sic] to sell out to Mr. Hepburn"?, Mr. Dysart asked his audience, "...are we the only ones to be condemned to a totalitarian form of government"? [7]

Errick Willis replied to Major-General Ketchen's charges that he had "deserted" the Conservative Party. He named date and places of meetings where H. G. B. Ketchen had given his consent to join coalition along with the rest of the party members, implying that it was only after Mr. Ketchen failed to get a cabinet post that he backed out. To Mr. Dysart's charges, Mr. Willis replied that he had received unanimous letters of acceptance from all Conservative MLA's and that surveys had shown provincial support paralleled the federal party's position in favor of a union government. At this time, he recalled, the CCF and Social Credit parties had already joined. "It is said that we sold out. If we wanted to sell out 1936 was the time because then we were offered four seats in the cabinet and I was offered the position of Premier for two years," Mr. Willis said of an earlier Bracken initiative. [8]

H. G. B. Ketchen, in turn, replied to Mr. Willis by reading from a notebook which indicated he had been consistently opposed to coalition but because "the rural members" were in favor and constituted a majority he agreed to say no more. Having later discovered that his supporters were equally opposed he wrote Errick Willis again. "I now leave it to the people of Manitoba to judge who the deserter is," he concluded. [9]

For men like Mr. Ketchen the weaknesses of coalition government were legion. Mr. Ketchen argued over Winnipeg's CJRC (radio addresses having overtaken public meetings as a means of campaigning) that the coalition offered security, by means of money and the certainty of victory to candidates. He quoted a government spokesman as having said that what he liked about coalition was that "it provided elected members a long continuance of their seats in the legislature." [10]

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[7] WFP, March 26, 1941, p. 8.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., March 28, 1941, p. 9.

In a large advertisement in the Free Press, Mr. Ketchen's perspective on the history of coalition in the province attempted to show that it had always been a device to retain power by Premier Bracken.

> It is now clear that coalition was not brought about to aid our war effort, nor to implement the Sirois Report, but solely to maintain the Bracken Government in power, Mr. Bracken nibbled at coalition four times. In 1922, lacking a majority, he absorbed Talbot and Prefontaine; in 1932 he absorbed the Liberal party; in 1936, he absorbed the Social Credit Party; and in 1940, knowing he could not command a majority in the pending election, he absorbed all parties except myself (General Ketchen) [sic] who held out against coercion, as did also Mr. Stubbs and Miss Halldorsen.

He then warned of his second major concern with regard to coalition government: that it would lead to one-party government and totalitarianism.

> All coalition candidates are pledged to support the Government. If you elect only coalitionists, then, Manitoba will furnish the spectable of being the only Province in the Empire with a one-party government. Germany, Italy and Russia furnish horrible examples of one-party governments. God forbid that we follow their example! Rather let us adhere to the 1,000 years old British system of two-party Democratic Government....

General Ketchen also argued that strong oppositions ensured strong governments citing the coming to power of Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, and Jan Smuts in South Africa, as examples of the importance of a "fearless opposition." "Manitoba surely needs an opposition," the advertisement repeated. "By electing me and my running mate, Harrison Dysart, you will have at least two members to watch the 53 coalitionists.

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[10] WFP, April 9, 1941, p. 11. The contention may well have been true. T. Peterson notes that there was no contested election for Mr. Willis in seventeen years and a similar number for future Premier D. L. Campbell. Coalition minister William Morton was acclaimed without opposition for twenty-two years in Gladstone constituency. Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 96.

Your duty is clear."[11]

Errick Willis, in reaction to criticisms like the above, described "the functions of any provincial government" as being "largely administrative." He believed that "the principles which divided political parties in the federal field did not apply to the same degree in provincial politics." He explained the place of opposition in a coalition situation by commenting: "Opposition in the legislature by one party has been replaced by critical co-operation by all parties."[12]

The CCF-ILP was in a particularly vulnerable position as it explained its place in the coalition. Here was a party of principle seemingly forgetting such principles for its own party interests, or so charged at least one anti-Coalition Conservative.[13] L. St. G. Stubbs said the CCF move had been controlled by a compact and selfish political clique, and that the decision should have been referred to the labor movement for approval.[14] In defence, party spokesmen gave as reasons for joining coalition: the emergency situation of war, the agricultural crisis, implementation of the "Sirois Report" (especially labor policies), and a concern for post-war production. Seemingly, the only way to get the social and labor reforms that the party wanted was to support adoption of the Sirois report and that was the chief reason for joining the coalition in the mind of leader S. J. Farmer now Minister of Labor in the new cabinet.[15] Members of the CCF-ILP preferred to speak of "non-partisan government" rather than "coalition," since the party still sat as a group with identifiable party principles, it was argued. For Mr. Farmer it was an experiment which permitted round-table conference rather than "acrimonious debate," and at its Winnipeg nominating convention for Messrs. Farmer, Queen, Ivens, Aldermen M. A. Gray and James Simpkin, and a newcomer to Manitoba politics--Stanley Knowles--the party issued the following explanation of coalition:

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[11] WFP, April 19, 1941, p. 5.

[12] WFP, April 3, 1941, p. 12.

[13] Reeve D. A. Best of Assiniboia. WFP, March 22, 1941, p. 21.

[14] WFP, April 18, 1941, p. 17.

[15] Ibid., March 26, 1941, p. 22.

> It might be called a non-partisan government, or better still, a co-operative government, since it is one in which all parties cooperate for certain, well-defined, specific objectives, while retaining their identity and their freedom to promote their own policies.
>
> In a statement issued to the press following the decision of the (1940) [sic] convention we said the CCF will, without prejudice to the new set-up continue its work of organization and education, in the firm belief that its program will ultimately be accepted by the people as the surest way to their own emancipation. That statement still stands. We shall work loyally with the other groups for the purpose for which we joined them. We shall work just as loyally for the principles and programme of the CCF. [16]

Even CCF national leader M. J. Coldwell who opposed coalition in Ottawa defended it in Manitoba and told provincial electors that Premier Bracken and the coalition had been successful in bringing prairie concerns to Ottawa. [17]

The provincial Liberal association had offered its support "to any candidate who was one hundred per cent behind the war effort, believed in democratic institutions, and was of Liberal antecedents." If a candidate could fulfill such conditions his stand on coalition would not matter. [18] If the policy was operative it encouraged only two anti-coalitionists of Liberal-Progressive vintage in the entire province. One such outspoken Liberal-Progressive was Louis A. Regnier, who, in reference to the March 26, 1940 election of Prime-Minister Mackenzie King's Liberal government, called it a vote against national government, and for a Liberal to support coalition provincially was hypocritical.

"There are three or four such governments in Europe today giving us a pain in the neck," he told the Winnipeg nominating convention. [19] A pro-coalitionist Liberal at the same convention, Paul Bardal, noted that Winnipeg had long suffered by the partisanship of the provincial house.

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[16] WFP, March 15, 1941, p. 3. If one sympathetic commentator of the time is correct the CCF-ILP failed completely in its endeavour to educate the electorate, particularly as to the reasons for CCF involvement in coalition, and that this lack of education and organization was chiefly responsible for the poor CCF showing in 1941. See Alistair Stewart, "The Manitoba Election," Canadian Forum, June, 1941, pp. 71-73.

[17] WFP, April 18, 1941, p. 5.

[18] Ibid., March 13, 1941, p. 5.

[19] Ibid., March 27, 1941, p. 22.

Another issue arising from the establishment of a coalition government was the degree of control by members of a local constituency in selecting a candidate. In Winnipeg it appeared that both Conservative and Liberal-Progressive parties were very open to nominations pro er con coalition, although it may have been that Winnipeg was the one area in which a large measure of anti-coalition feeling was everywhere present. In Brandon there was considerable discussion and dissension between Conservative and Liberal-Progressive parties over the candidacy of Conservative MLA George Dinsdale. The Liberals called Mr. Dinsdale a "self-appointed candidate" who had not received endorsation from local party executives and who refused to withdraw so that an inter-party convention could select a candidate agreeable to all.[20] The gentleman's agreement was that each constituency could nominate whoever they wished without interference from any party's headquarters. It was also understood that any MLA supporting coalition would not be opposed by a candidate of another party, but this practice was observed, generally speaking, only when it was politically advantageous to do so. In the case of George Dinsdale it is difficult to piece together the entire story. Certainly Liberals seemed anxious to run Dr. H. O. McDiarmid again, and in the end they did. Mr. Dinsdale refused to withdraw calling the whole business "unBritish."[21]

B. K. Sandwell reporting in Saturday Night claimed that the re-nominations by respective party headquarters of all sitting members who wished to run again was carried on "without reference to the desires of the local constituency." He notes that such a practice did not go down at all with the electorate, as evidenced by the number of candidates nominated to oppose them even though equally supportive of coalition. "Frequently," such opponents belonged "to the same political party as the sitting member," Sandwell claimed.[22]

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[20] WFP, March 28, 1941, p. 6.

[21] Ibid., April 1, 1941, p. 7.

[22] Sandwell, "What Coalition Means in Manitoba," p. 17.

Alistair Stewart denied the accuracy of Sandwell's claim, which, if true, would likely have made the lack of constituency control over nominations show up even more clearly as a major province-wide issue. Stewart described the agreement and practice amongst the various party headquarters as follows:

> A gentleman's agreement was reached between the parties to the effect that the respective party headquarters would not interfere in any way with constituency autonomy. If resident and dissident party members in a constituency wished to nominate some new candidate or objected to coalition, then they had the right to go ahead and do what they wanted. Quite a number seized the opportunity, some with the connivance of party headquarters, thus demonstrating that such an agreement is one no gentleman would sign. [23]

Stewart's analysis is likely closer to the truth since it explains the more isolated local concern with this issue in places like Brandon. A careful examination of candidates also shows that while there were many instances of party rivalry between opposing coalition candidates, (fifteen contests outside of Winnipeg) there is not a single instance of opposition to a sitting member by a member of his own party, thus totally refuting Sandwell's claim that this "frequently" took place.[24]

It would appear, therefore, that this particular issue--constituency versus party headquarters control of candidate selection--was an integral part of a cluster of coalition issues, but was confined to relatively infrequent localities.

But there were even deeper issues involved in this cluster of coalition questions. Premier Bracken, in a radio address called for an election free of "bickering." In his mind the war effort, the agriculture problem and the problem of federal-provincial adjustments took precedence over other issues, and even the latter two should not be pressed to the point of damaging the war effort. He defended the intent to defuse issues by observing that all points of view of the public were already represented in the cabinet. He spoke of the electoral law

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[23] Stewart, "The Manitoba Election," p. 72.

[24] Based on candidate lists in WFP, April 14, 1941, p. 3. and CPG (1944), pp. 444-446.

"demanding" an election as if it were with great reluctance the contest had to be called. He explained his position as follows:

> In the existing circumstances the government has sought to avoid unnecessary dissension. In preparing for the coming election we have taken every precaution to avoid useless controversy. We have determined to introduce no issues of a contentious character into our discussions.[25]

The above statement may help us to understand why there may have been infrequent cases of local competition between coalition candidates if such an attitude prevailed in any way. But Premier Bracken's attitude also presented the climate for additional concerns.

Mr. Bracken's statements were added to by candidates like Winnipeg Liberal-Progressive Mrs. Harriet Dick, who was officially neutral on coalition at her nomination, but who later said:

> I believe coalition is a fine patriotic gesture, when soldiers join the army they don't lose their identity, they just march shoulder to shoulder. The same is true of coalition.[26]

Anti-coalitionist L. St. George Stubbs condemned as "base" statements like that cited above. Such argument, he said at his nomination, "savors of political blackmail. It imputes dishonesty to all who oppose coalition."[27] Such "patriotic dust to blind the people" was one line of defense of a coalition which temporarily made a change of government impossible. And Mr. Stubbs wanted not only a change of government but "a change of the system under which we live." Coalition, L. St. G. Stubbs argued, had "stereotyped the political status quo--to the extent at least of ensuring the continuation in office of the present government." Such a situation of course made the creation of "a strong opposition all the more imperative."[28]

The larger controversies, even if confined to the more latent type of issue or speculative candidate, or writer, had to do with the threat to democratic government. As one very perceptive writer "F.B.W." put it in the Free Press:

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[25] WFP, March 29, 1941, p. 21.

[26] Ibid., April 8, 1941, p. 6.

[27] Ibid., March 28, 1941, p. 24.

[28] Ibid., April 4, 1941, p. 23.

> The point is not that we should have less politics, but better politics. The present election in Manitoba in its very emphasis on non-partisanship, shows something wrong in the body politic of the province. There should be no stigma in partisanship, for any opinion worthy of the word should be sorth defending and propagating.

The article continued by describing as bad and dangerous that partisanship which favored personal interest at the expense of the common good. The discussion ended with a comment on the centrality of voting for the most worthy candidate, even in the wartime climate, and warned, prophetically in retrospect:

> All present indications point to a record low vote in the province this election. Perhaps there is an excuse for this at the moment. There are greater things at stake, but the greatest of them all is democracy, and it will not be any stronger for staying at home at the very time when it can be exercised in its fullness.[29]

This issue of the defense of democracy and, relatedly, civil rights, was receiving public attention across Canada as the RCMP investigated and arrested private citizens and several newspaper editors for alleged Communist subversive activity, under the Defence of Canada Act. In Manitoba, while the campaign was in progress, James Litterick, who had been expelled from the legislature in 1940 because of his association with the Communist Party of Canada, was the "object of a widespread Mounted Police search as a member of an illegal organization."[30] William Kardash, following in Litterick's footsteps as the only Progressive Labour or Workers' Party candidate in 1941, called coalition so undemocratic that a radio speech he had prepared which was critical of it had been cancelled.[31] Kardash was defended by those who opposed his coming under attack by the un-Canadian activities branch of a local Canadian Legion.[32]

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[29] "Coalesced Election," WFP, April 19, 1941, p. 21.

[30] WFP, April 14, 1941, p. 3.

[31] Ibid., April 10, 1941, p. 4.

[32] Ibid., April 12, 1941, p. 24.

The spring of 1941 was that interegnum following the Hitler-Stalin anti-aggression pact just prior to the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. Hence, anti-communist feeling was at fever pitch. The city of Winnipeg had the largest Ukrainian population in Canada. Since the Ukrainians had, over the years, "formed the largest wing of the Communist party,"[33] the suppression of the Communist Party, various Communist and/or Ukrainian newspapers, including some from Winnipeg, and the closing of 108 halls of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, including the largest temple in Winnipeg, created a climate of suspicion and fear in this election. Following the June, 1941 Nazi aggression on the Soviet Union any remaining arguments in defence of Hitler or fascism took a sudden turn and the re-opening of the "temples" under a new nomenclature and organization lessened any anti-Ukrainian and anti-communist purge. But during the period of this campaign, in March and April 1941, minorities like the Ukrainians were in the difficult dilemma of seeing their new homeland indirectly at war with their old homeland. T. Peterson observes that "few non-British voters could afford to share" the more strident views of the suppressed Communists. "More representative of their attitude," Peterson writes, "was the advice given by Wasyl Swystun to a Ukrainian convention in Winnipeg in 1941, telling them to vote for the Liberal Party in office because "we must all be good Canadians."[34]

We introduced this lengthy discussion of the cluster of election issues around the question of coalition and the climate of war encircling it by citing citizen Henry Wilson's letter to the Free Press. Perhaps another letter writer offers a fit conclusion as he describes coalition as a "benevolent dictatorship," portrays the campaign as a "mock election," points to the next issues we must examine, and reiterates the serious nature of various aspects of the issue just examined:

> The adoption of the report [Rowell-Sirois] is not a real issue in Manitoba, no considerable body of thought in this province would think of doing other than pressing for its adoption in whole or part.

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[33] Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), p. 101.

[34] Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 95, from a local newspaper report of March 31, 1941.

> The record of the administration cannot be intelligently dealt with because we are only allowed to hear the generous praises of itself by the entire membership of the legislature, with one or two notable exceptions.
>
> I suggest to Mr. Bracken, that if his administration is returned, it is not necessarily because he has the whole-hearted support of the people of Manitoba but because we have no possible alternative, in which condition his actions, intentionally or otherwise, has handed us.[35]

Major Issues: (2) Rowell-Sirois and Social Credit.

The implementation of the Rowell-Sirois report on Dominion-Provincial Relations, which Manitoba had so painstakingly contributed to and supported, had received a rude rebuff from Ontario's Premier Hepburn and notable indifference or reservations from British Columbia, Alberta and Quebec. In this particular campaign it was the presence of anti-coalitionist Social Crediters who opposed the "Sirois Report" and who really raised the matter as a major question of contention. As in 1936 the Social Credit Party made extensive use of Alberta MLAs, party organizers and federal MPs. They attacked the report because in their view it avoided a fundamental coming to grips with monetary reform. Alberta campaigners described it as a "waste of $500,000 " and a "pile of nonsense," warning that its centralization features would give greater power to big financiers.[36]

But for John Bracken and his many coalition supporters the "Sirois Report" was a means to Manitoba's salvation. The advantages included the assumption by the Dominion of the cost of relief, the taking over by Ottawa of provincial debt, and higher prices for wheat. A reduction of Manitoba taxes to the Canadian average and including a repeal of the wage tax was a further advantage, Premier Bracken said.[37]

CCF-ILP candidates like William Ivens were also quick to defend the importance of the report. But Ivens tended to stress its labor proposals which included a stipulation that the provinces could improve standards in such matters as minimum wage laws, hours of labor, minimum employment age, employment service offices, unemployment insurance and relief, and enactment into law of the International Labour Conventions. Furthermore, the provinces would be prevented from lowering standards below federal levels in regard to any of these matters.[38]

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[35] Letter of Alex H. Parkes, Cartwright, Man., WFP, April 19, 1941, p. 32.

[36] WFP, March 6, 1941, p. 2, and April 17, 1941, p. 15.

[37] Ibid., March 12, p. 11, March 29, p. 21, and April 15, 1941, p. 5.

In a major radio address Premier Bracken decried the fact that failure to implement the "Sirois Report" put the whole burden of costs and taxes back on the provinces and municipalities. The link between coalition and support for the report was articulated as he complained of the performance of other provinces.

> It is the price we have to pay as a result of the refusal of certain men from other provinces to sit in on a discussion of the Sirois report. Fortunately for us in Manitoba all political parties, except the official Social Credit Party, are united in all...of these matters. It remains for us to present an aggressive and united front until these problems shall have been solved to the satisfaction of reasonable people.[39]

Anti-coalition Liberal Louis Regnier blamed the Bracken Government for having constructed "iniquitous trade barriers" which were responsible for the "ill-will" between Ontario and Manitoba. "If the report is ever to be adopted," he explained, "harmonious understanding between the provinces must be established prior to the holding of the next conference."[40]

Certainly the eye of the storm over the "Sirois Report" matters was the opposition to it by the Social Credit Party in Manitoba and its visiting Alberta counterparts. Health Minister McLenaghen said with annoyance that the real opponents in the campaign were not from within the province but were from outside--the Alberta Social Crediters opposed to the report.[41]

Throughout the campaign Premier Bracken became increasingly embittered and while he had attacked the Social Credit Party vigorously all throughout the campaign his final radio address was a blistering attack touching on all sides of the issue of the "brazen interference of Alberta."

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[38] Letter from Ivens to Editor, WFP, March 15, 1941, p. 22.

[39] WFP, March 29, 1941, p. 21.

[40] Ibid., April 17, 1941, p. 12.

> The Alberta government...has projected itself indirectly if not directly onto the domestic affairs of this province. It has seen fit not only to refuse to sit with us and other provinces in the consideration of reforms aimed to improve conditions in Manitoba and to strengthen the Canadian nation in its war effort, but that government has now seen fit to permit one of its employees to come here as Social Credit organizer for the province of Manitoba and to furnish that employee with the literature of its propaganda mill.
>
> The brazen action of one province interfering in the affairs of another, the brazenness of permitting Alberta civil servants and encouraging members of the legislature and even federal members to project themselves into the domestic affairs of another province is wholly unwarranted, and with some minor exceptions, wholly unprecedented in Canada.
>
> "...these uninvited guests from Alberta" were seeking to justify the Alberta government's part in wrecking the Ottawa conference by misleading propaganda, repetition of half-truths and appeals to prejudice.
>
> They are doing it as well by promises of the millenium. They are causing distrust where we have sought to bring about unity and cooperation. They are raising false hopes on the part of the innocent and well-meaning people. They are doing it the same way they misled their own people six years ago.[44]

Major Issues: (3) Rowell-Sirois and Agriculture.

Another side of the report which received special attention was the plight of western agriculture. "The immediate agriculture problem," Premier Bracken explained, was "for the Dominion to maintain the industry at a reasonable standard of efficiency until the war is over. The problem then will be one of markets. In the meantime, one-third of Canada's population is getting a much lesser proportion than that of the national income."[45] The many hopes for post-war improvements in agriculture were a commonly expressed concern. Premier Bracken recommended the attendance of Canadian agriculturalists at the peace conference following the war to help in a wise disposition of excess Canadian grain. He advocated that western democracies should rationalize their economies and so lessen their vulnerabilities after the war.[46] Both Errick Willis and John Bracken described the high hopes they had held for higher wheat prices under terms described in the Rowell-Sirois report.[47]

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[44] WFP, April 21, 1941, p. 9.

[45] Ibid., March 29, 1941, p. 21.

Louis Regnier, as we have seen, believed that government concerns for Manitoba agriculture were entirely misplaced. For Mr. Regnier it was the relations between provinces as such, and not the coalition which would help the agricultural economy. He returned to his argument for free trade:

> Western economy can only be revitalized and stabilized when free trade is prevalent throughout the world. This can only be accomplished by the winning of the war. Coalition has not and will not give the western farmer a higher price for his wheat. It only offers him the promise of a higher price. Have we not had enough empty promises from our leader in the past? 48

Major Issues: (4) The War and Consequent Issues.

Discussions of the post-war economy were frequent and often moved much beyond prairie agricultural problems. Each party stressed its own predominant concerns. Social Credit's Dr. S. W. Fox in Gilbert Plains spoke of post-war management of Manitoba's economic resources to assure food, clothing and shelter for all. Dr. Fox insisted that the control of currency and credit would aid the war effort.[49] CCF-ILP candidate Stanley Knowles described the problems created by the war and the necessity of laying plans for the post-war period, as the most important issues facing the next provincial legislature. Coalition, in his mind, was a minor issue which all fifteen CCF-ILP candidates supported. His major concern regarding the war effort centered on the fact that those least able to help were often the most willing, and that such people should be protected for their own sake and for the sake of maximum and efficient production. He outlined the need following the war for large enterprises for employment, protection against crop failures and loss of markets, adequate social services, free education for all, hospitalization, and protection for worker organization and collective bargaining.[50]

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[46] WFP, April 1, 1941, p. 7.

[47] Ibid., March 12, 1941, p. 11 and April 14, 1941, p. 5.

[48] Ibid., April 17, 1941, p. 12.

[49] Ibid., March 28, 1941, p. 7.

Many politicians questioned the war effort and Manitoba's seeming inability to obtain its share of war contracts. James Cowan, a Winnipeg Conservative, was particularly outspoken on this matter as he described Winnipeg steel plants working at only twenty-five per cent capacity and railroad shops that could be used as they were in the First World War.[51] William Ivens condemned Canadian manufacturers who were balking at the controlled five per cent profit limit on war contracts.[52] Others attempted to "keep the peace" on all such questions. C. Rhodes Smith, a Winnipeg Liberal-Progressive, claimed the war effort depended on an "avoidance of trouble" over all war contracts and labor questions.[53] The Free Press, taking the same line, claimed editorially that no grievance existed on provincial variations in war contracts since, for the Free Press at least, the larger consideration had to be the forwarding of the war effort.[54]

Major Issues: (5) The Bracken Management.

Our letter-writing friend, who describes the inability of the electorate intelligently to deal with the record of the administration because all that was heard was the "generous praises of itself by the entire membership of the legislature," seems reasonably accurate when one considers the issue of administrative record and government finances. Only the "one or two notable exceptions," which the letter spoke of, criticized Premier Bracken's handling of his administration. Harrison

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[50] WFP, April 17, 1941, p. 22.

[51] Ibid., March 28, p. 6, and April 2, 1941, p. 11.

[52] Ibid., April 5, 1941, p. 7.

[53] Ibid., April 19, 1941, p. 10.

[54] Editorial: "Provincial Variations," WFP, April 15, 1941, p. 11.

Dysart called the Bracken Government "a regime of extravagance and useless commissions" beside which the Norris administration was a "government of angels." [55] The criticism of Premier Bracken's commissions and advisory boards was shared by Liberal anti-coalitionist L. A. Regnier, who described their ultimate authority in matters within their jurisdiction as a denial of democratic rights. Mr. Regnier argued for the right of appeal in a properly constituted court for any decisions coming from such boards. He also scored the government for neglecting welfare services. [56]

David A. Best, anti-coalition Conservative in Assiniboia, cited the closing of the savings bank and rural credit societies, shut-down of the wheat pool, plus municipal shortages, as evidence of "financial ruin" brought onto Manitoba by the Bracken administration. [57]

To all such charges Premier Bracken and his Provincial Treasurer Stuart S. Garson replied by comparing the administration's showing with other provinces. Manitoba's debt increase was less than any other province save Prince Edward Island, Mr. Garson pointed out, and Manitoba showed the lowest annual expenditure of all western provinces, plus the smallest increase in current expenditures of any western province in twenty years. Provincial Treasurer Garson also pinpointed a "gross public debt $2,893,000 less than it was at April 30, 1936." [58]

Major Issues: (6) Northern Development.

Premier Bracken and his Minister of Mines and Resources were the recipients of abundant praise (much of it "self-inflicted") for the development of Manitoba's northland. J. S. McDiarmid was praised by leading Winnipeg businessmen like H. C. Ashdown, by his party, and in newspaper advertisements and editorials as the man who had developed the north, founded new industries, changed dried up waste land into fur producing marsh land, and supplied employment and housing for an additional 25,000 people.[59] All such projects were applauded as producing a larger market and more employment in McDiarmid's own Winnipeg. The perennial concern to develop Manitoba's northern resources and diversify the economy was answered pointedly by Premier Bracken in The Pas on April 6th as he outlined programs to develop low-lying marshland, organize registered trap lines, prohibit beaver-trapping, and invest much more money in the north. Mr. Bracken called it a "revolutionary policy" which would "result in the rationalizing of the economy of the north and place the whole area on a sounder basis" than ever before. "We intend to develop this area," he explained, "because there is no place in the province where we can spend a few dollars and get so much in return. We mean to have it done, as fast as we can find the money."[60] It can be readily speculated that such a non-contentious solution concerned two potentially very controversial issues: When was Manitoba going to take the development of her northern resources seriously? and How does one justify a revolutionary policy of development and expenditure in wartime? It would appear Premier Bracken had found the answer and announced it in the middle of an election campaign. As an eastern commentator put it, John Bracken was not Machiavellian but he was a "shrewd" politician.[61]

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[55] WFP, March 26, 1941, p. 8.

[56] Ibid., April 5, p. 10, and April 8, 1941, p. 6.

[57] Ibid., April 18, 1941, p. 17.

[58] Ibid., April 5, 1941, p. 9.

Education Issues.

Education problems had become much uglier with the continued depressed economy. Candidates made consistent complaints of low-paid teachers and of a general teachers' shortage. The Manitoba Teachers Federation called for a $700 minimum salary for Manitoba teachers at a time when many rural teachers were obtaining a mere $50 per month living wage.[62] Several politicians were angered at the government's continued failure to take advantage of a $600,000 federal offer for vocational training.[63]

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[59] WFP, April 4, p. 23, April 15, p. 5, and April 18, 1941 pp. 12 and 17.

[60] Ibid., April 7, 1941, p. 20.

[61] Stewart, "The Manitoba Eelection," p. 71.

William Kardash, the Workers' Election Committee candidate, deplored what he called the government's "attempt to create a hugh reserve of unskilled labor that will jump at the beck and call of the government or individual employers." This government-sponsored industrial training scheme he described as inadequate, that it excluded young people, and that it "superseded trade unions and removed the person trained from contact with legitimate unions." Kardash linked the entire program with the government's failure to take advantage of the federal vocational school offer. Manitoba was "the only provincial government that did not build a full-time vocational school, even though the money was available for the prupose," he charged.[64]

Education Minister Ivan Schultz also described as "unjust and unfair" the much lower standards of education in rural as against urban areas, blaming the difference on economic conditions which fostered the higher urban standards. Schultz described the essential responsibility of the state for providing "at least approximate equality of opportunity." He also recognized, what he called, "a new emphasis..technical education" as the need for the future. On educational standards he said: "The Sirois Report recognizes the need for minimum education standards for all parts of Canada; we recognize the same need for all parts of Manitoba."[65]

Minor Issues and Conclusions.

There were other matters of heated argument: Alberta Social Credit organizer J. C. Landeryou's counter-attack on the Free Press for having compared his party members to radical Nazis;[66] the perennial complaints about poor roads and the presence of "Dominion issues in the provincial campaigns;"[67] and the alleged coercion of workers to buy war savings bonds or risk losing their jobs. Such coercion took place said CCF-ILP members "so that the employer may enjoy the publicity of having his name appear on the gold seal list."[68]

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[62] WFP, April 15, p. 6, and April 19, 1941, p. 32. A letter from W. H. Belyea discusses the low pay for rural teachers, the shortage, and need for financing student teaching.

[63] WFP, April 17, 1941, p. 12.

[64] Ibid., April 16, 1941, p. 7.

[65] Ibid., April 2, 1941, p. 18.

Hence, an election which had all the makings of an issue-less campaign became one filled with the most vital issues. Many of those issues must be categorized as speculative or latent in nature--such matters as democratic control of constituencies, the place of opposition, and the low level of voter interest. They nevertheless offer something of a lesson. Perhaps the specificity and evident nature of most issues are no final and clear indication of their ultimate significance. By almost any traditional measure of election importance--voter turnout, numbers of candidates, numbers of public meetings, parties contesting each other--this election looks quiet. It was a "foregone conclusion," the Free Press early concluded. But by the measure of the kinds of issues considered and discussed it was surely a highly significant campaign.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1941.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% POP. VOTE WPG.	% SEATS WON
Coalition.					
Liberal-Progressives	27	57,293	35.0	25.7	49.1
Conservatives	13	27,524	16.8	16.8	23.6
CCF-ILP	3	28,301	17.3	17.3	5.5
Social Credit	3	2,723	1.7	1.7	5.5
Independents	5	18,879	11.5	11.5	9.1
TOTALS	51	134,720	82.3	69.2	92.8

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[66] March 20, 1941, CJRC radio broadcast as reported in WFP, March 21, 1941, p. 3. The original articles comparing Social Crediters to "radical Nazis, who preached that economic salvation lay in supporting Hitler" were contained in WFP, February 15, 1941.

[67] Letter to the Editor, WFP, April 10, 1941, p. 4, and Editorial, WFP, April 12, 1941, p. 21.

[68] Ibid., April 10, 1941, p. 8.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1941 - cont'd.

PARTY Anti-Coalition.	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% POP. VOTE WINNIPEG	% SEATS WON
Social Credit	--	9,156	5.6	1.5	--
Conservatives	2	7,430	4.5	8.4	3.6
Workers (Communist)	1	4,889	3.0	8.3	1.8
Liberal-Progressive	--	701	.4	1.2	--
Independents	1	6,712	4.1	11.4	1.8
Totals	4	28,888	17.6	30.8	7.2

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1941.

Major, Province-wide.

1. Coalition. (Cluster).
    (a) Reasons for it.
    (b) Lack of election issues.
    (c) Lack of opposition.
    (d) Division of Conservative Party. (Political).
    (e) Control of nominations.
        (i) Brandon--George Dinsdale case. (Specific, Local).
    (f) Patriotism. (Right).
        (i) Suppression of Communism.

2. Costs of Governing.
    (a) Extravagant spending.
    (b) Number of commissions and boards.
    (c) Neglect of welfare services.
    (d) Shut down of government agencies.
        (i) Savings bank and Rural Credit Societies. (Dead).
        (ii) Wheat Board. (Federal).

3. Implementation of Rowell-Sirois Report.
    (a) Monetary reform and Social Credit attacks.
        (i) Alberta interference in campaign. (Political).
    (b) Need for agriculture policy.

Major, Province-wide--cont'd.

4. War Effort.
    (a) Post-war management. (New).
    (b) War contracts. (Right).
    (c) Coercion of workers to buy bonds. (Left, Local).

5. Northern Development--Resources and Diversification.

Left.

Unemployment.

Crop Insurance. (Concern).

Free and Full Education.

Hospitalization. (Concern).

Collective Bargaining.

Education. (Liberal Left).
    (a) Teachers' salaries.
    (b) Teacher shortage.
    (c) Vocational training.
    (d) Rural-Urban disparities.

Minor.

Social Credit as "Radical Naziism." (Right).

Poor Roads. (Perennial).

2

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1941

Nominations, April 12, 1941; voting, April 22, 1941.

LEGEND: L.P. (C.) Liberal-Progressive (Coalition); C. (C.) Conservative (Coalition); C.C.F. (C.) Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Coalition); S.C. (C.) Social Credit (Coalition); Ind. (C.) Independent (Coalition); C. (A.C.) Conservative (Anti-Coalition); W. (A.C.) Workers; (Anti-Coalition); Ind. (A.C.) Independent (Anti-Coalition).

ARTHUR

John R. Pitt, L.P.	Accl.

ASSINIBOIA

David A. Best, Cons. (A.C.)	2,296
Jas. Aiken, Lab.	2,022

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS

Dr. J. S. Poole, Cons. (C.)	Accl.

BIRTLE

F. C. Bell, L.P. (C.)	1,417
W. C. Wroth, Ind. (C)	1,229

BRANDON

Geo. Dinsdale, Cons. (C.)	2,265
Dr. H. O. McDiarmid, L.P.	2,021

CARILLON

Ed. Prefontaine, L.P. (C.)	1,825
W. A. Parenteau, S.C. (A.C.)	957

CYPRESS

Jas. L. Christie, L.P. (C.)	1,429
Dr. R. G. Hurton, Ind. (C)	917

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

DAUPHIN

Hon. Robt. Hawkins, L.P. (C.)	Accl.

DELORAINE

Hon. E. F. Willis, Cons. (C.)	Accl.

DUFFERIN

Dr. J. A. Manion, L.P. (C.)	Accl.

EMERSON

John R. Solomon, Ind. (C.)	2,423
H. W. Wright, L.P.	1,738

ETHELBERT

N. Hryhorczuk, L.P. (C.)	2,229
Fred Zaplitny, C.C.F.	1,966

FAIRFORD

Hon. S. S. Garson, L.P. (C.)	1,142
C. E. Toutant, S.C. (A-C)	[illegible]

FISHER

N. V. Bachynsky, L.P. (C.)	926
L. W. Michalchuk, Ind.	853

GILBERT PLAINS

Dr. S. W. Fox, S.C. (C.)	1,449
R. Mitchell, L.P.	820
Mike Baryluk, C.C.F. (C)	786

GIMLI

Joseph Warykow, C.C.F. (C.)	2,878
S. T. Sigurdson, L.P.	2,111
Jas. Grant, Ind. Con. (A-C)	47

GLADSTONE

Hon. Wm. Morton,* L.P. (C.)	Accl.

GLENWOOD

Jas. W. Breakey, L.P. (C.)	Accl.

HAMIOTA

Hon. N. L. Turnbull, S.C. (C.)	1,277
Wm. K. Fraser, L.P.	875

IBERVILLE

A. R. Boivin, Ind. (C.)	1,579
J. E. Lamont, L.P.	946

KILDONAN & ST. ANDREWS

Hon. J. O. McLenaghen, Cons. (C.)	3,447
C. Byle, C.C.F.	1,029

KILLARNEY

John D. Laughlin, Cons. (C.)	1,415
A. E. Foster, Lib. (A-C)	814

LAKESIDE

Hon. D. L. Campbell, L.P. (C.)	Accl.

LANSDOWNE

M. R. Sutherland, L.P. (C.)	Accl.

LA VERANDRYE

Hon. S. Marcoux, L.P. (C.)	1,793
J. H. Graham, Cons. (A.C.)	221
J. S. A. Lemoine, S.C. (A.C.)	1,209

MANITOU

Hugh B. Morrison, Cons. (C.)	Accl.

MINNEDOSA

Dr. E. J. Rutledge, Cons. (C.)	2,969
H. S. Bungay, L.P.	1,912

MORDEN-RHINELAND

W. C. Millar, Cons. (C.)	1,234
H. Stevenson, Ind.	914
R. Wolkof, L.P.	1,030
L. Kruger, Ind.	109

MORRIS

John C. Dryden, Ind. (C.)	1,788
L. A. Slater, L.P.	1,169

MOUNTAIN

Hon. Ivan Schultz, L.P. (C)	Accl.

NORFOLK

John Lawrie, Cons. (C.)	1,287
John Muirhead, L.P.	1,248

PARLIAMENTARY GUIDE

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE
W. R. Sexsmith, Cons. (C.) Accl.

ROCKWOOD
M. T. Lewis, Ind. (C.) ---- 1,984
A. H. Campbell, Cons. ---- 1,129
H. H. McIntyre, L.P. ---- 748

ROBLIN
Sidney E. Rogers, S.C. (C.) Accl.

RUPERT'S LAND
D. R. Hamilton, L.P. (C.) -- 668
G. L. Van Vliet, Ind. ---- 297

RUSSELL
W. W. W. Wilson, L.P. (C.) 1,909
H. J. Peddie, C.C.F. ---- 1,596

ST. BONIFACE
A. L. Clarke, L.P. (C.) ---- 3,984
A. E. Hansford, C.C.F. ---- 2,750
A. J. Tarbutt, S.C. (A-C) -- 1,404

ST. CLEMENT
M. J. Stryk, L.P. (C.) ---- 3,087
H. Sulkers, C.C.F. ---- 2,634

ST. GEORGE
Skuli Sigfusson, L.P. (C.) 1,477
H. Halldorson, S.C. (A-C) 981

STE. ROSE
Daniel MacCarthey,
L.P. (C.) ---- 1,624
Paul Prince, S.C. (A-C) ---- 1,425

SPRINGFIELD
E. P. Shannon, L.P. (C.) -- 2,013
M. J. H. Hoban, Ind. (LP) -- 867
Alex McLeod, S.C. (A-C) -- 1,716
Fred Small, C.C.F. ---- 939

SWAN RIVER
Geo. P. Renouf, Cons. (C.) 2,624
W. J. Lamb, L.P. ---- 696

THE PAS
Hon. John Bracken,
L.P. (C.) ---- Accl.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN
Hon. A. R. Welch,
Cons. (C.) ---- Accl.

VIRDEN
Robert Henry Mooney,
L.P. (C.) ---- Accl.

WINNIPEG
(10 Members)

(First Count Votes Only)

Paul Bardal, L.P. (C.) -- 3,127 E.
J. A. Barry, Cons. ---- 2,496
Jas. Cowan Lvns ---- 697
Mrs. H. Dick, L.P. ---- 1,620
J. K. Downes, Ind. (A-C) 193
H. Dysart, Cons. (A-C) -- 780
T. H. Elliott SAR -- 261
J. J. Evans S.C. (A-C) -- 394
Hon. S. J. Farmer,
C.C.F. (C.) ---- 2,249 E.
M. A. Gray, C.C.F. (C.) 3,066 E.
M. Hyrniewiecki SAR -- 216
Wm. Ivens CCF ---- 962
Wm. A. Kardash,
Workers (A.C.) -- 4,880 E.
H. D. B. Ketchen,
Cons. (A.C.) ---- 4,123 E.
S. H. Knowles CCF ---- 1,849
S. N. Krawchyk, Ind. (C.) 4,673 E.
T. McConochie SAR ---- 187
Hon. J. S. McDiarmid,
L.P. (C.) ---- 6,963 E.
Mrs. A. Oddson, S.C. (A-C) 575
John Queen, C.C.F. ---- 2,170
L. Regnier, L.P. (A-C) 701
J. Simpkin, C.C.F. ---- 510
C. R. Smith, L.P. (C.) -- 4,055 E.
L. St. G. Stubbs,
Ind. (A.C.) ---- 5,901 E.
G. S. Thorvaldson,
Cons. (C.) ---- 3,220 E.
W. V. Tobias, Cons. (A-C) 1,815
P. E. Warriner, Cons. -- 1,706

NOTE: Letter "E" appearing after number of votes indicates Member elected.

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA
PREVIOUS GENERAL ELECTIONS

1870	Dec.	27	1903	July	20
1874	Dec.	23	1907	Mar.	7
1878	Dec.	18	1910	June	11
1879	Dec.	16	1914	July	10
1883	Jan.	23	1915	Sept.	6
1886	Dec.	9	1920	June	29
1888	July	11	1922	July	18
1892	July	23	1927	June	28
1896	Jan.	15	1932	June	16
1899	Dec.	7	1936	July	27
			1941	Apr.	22

...AND NOW

...POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

SEPTEMBER 8 TO OCTOBER 15, 1945

Keep faith with the great hopes of our fighting forces!
Keep in step with the world movement of the common people!
Keep alive the courage and vision which won the war!

--CCF advertisement, WFP, October 13, 1945.

...unless provincial and federal authorities take greater interest in the decentralization of both industries and institutions there is no sound financial basis for postwar planning in Western towns.

The end of air training at the big Souris air school brings this situation right home. And the situation is just as serious to us in Souris--very much more so--than the closing of war industries in Winnipeg are to Winnipeg. We will have more unemployment in Souris in proportion to population than in the larger centers where huge housing projects will be undertaken to house people who will never be able to get profitable employment in those very same centers of the West, unless--and here is the point--industries and institutions are established elsewhere than in the East.

The postwar use of the Souris Air School is the only hope of full employment in Souris.

--The Souris Plaindealer, September 5, 1945.

Certainly the government has need for a woman's guidance. Imagine putting on an election in the middle of pickling and preserving time.

--Mrs. M. Walsh, Liberal-Progressive Candidate.

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Coalition.		
Liberal-Progressive	Stuart S. Garson	35
Progressive Conservative	Errick Willis	21
Social Credit	- - - - -	2
Independents	- - - - -	7
Anti-Coalition.		
CCF	S. J. Farmer	40
Labor Progressive Party	William A. Kardash	13
Social Credit	- - - - -	1
Independents	- - - - -	4

45 single member plurality districts. Ten-member Winnipeg district using Hare P. R. Total: 55 seats.

Context for the Issues.

The war had continued to rage during the life of Manitoba's coalition government and the allies were marching victoriously into Tokyo following the atomic-bomb blasting of two Japanese cities as Manitobans returned to the polls to elect a government to work at post-war development problems.

On December 11, 1942, John Bracken agreed to serve as leader of the federal Conservative Party. He resigned as Premier on January 8, 1943 to take up the helm of a party he insisted should henceforth be called the Progressive Conservatives. Also in December 1942 the CCF left the coalition to become the chief opposition party. The decision arose out of a dispute between CCF leader S. J. Farmer and Premier Bracken over the enactment of a labor code for Manitoba, and was decided once Mr. Bracken showed his interest in the national leadership position.[1]

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[1] WFP, September 12, 1945, pp. 11 and 19.

The CCF's fortunes took an immediate upswing, with by-election victories in Brandon and John Bracken's The Pas constituency serving as but part of the evidence of increased support. The winning candidates, Dr. Dwight Johnson and Berry Richards, respectively, quickly became an embarrassment to the party even before the 1945 campaign as their pacifist international positions became increasingly unpopular in a growing Cold War climate. The end result was their expulsion from the party. [2]

The federal government had met with the provinces; and Manitoba, like every other province except Ontario and Quebec, was seriously weighing federal offers of a program of federal-provincial financing. Through such agreements Ottawa would collect taxes for Manitoba and supply funds for old-age pensions, a health insurance scheme, unemployment relief and a northern development program, all at twelve dollars per capita. [3] Coalition's raison d'etre was now to bring about post-war development and improve federal-provincial agreements to enable that development. At least the above rationale for the coalition was the issue in 1945 for Manitoba's new Premier and former Provincial Treasurer Stuart S. Garson.

Since the last Manitoba campaign the neighboring province of Saskatchewan had elected a CCF government on June 15, 1944, and the performance of North America's first "Socialist" government would also become a major issue in this fall 1945 campaign.

Post-war aspirations saw Canada's labor movement re-organizing and flexing its muscles so that considerable discussion of labor questions also enter this campaign.

Major Issues: (1) The Government's Record.

As the provincial legislature dissolved Premier Garson outlined his "well thought out plans for expansion" [4] to the Manitoba electorate.

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[2] Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 96 and Frank Walker, "Manitoba: Love that Coalition," Saturday Night, October 25, 1949, p. 13.

[3] Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 460-461.

[4] Editorial: "A Good Record," The Northern Mail (The Pas, Manitoba), September 26, 1945, p. 2.

Described as a "typical Manitoban," "not flambuoyant" but "progressive, well-balanced and full of common sense";[5] Stuart Garson followed in John Bracken's footsteps stressing stringent management and full co-operation with federal programs unless they were "wholly and conspicuously wrong."[6] Mr. Garson believed only chaos and confusion could result from any attempt by Manitoba to rush into her own programs separately from federal plans.

The Coalition Government intended to continue plans for farm electrification, drainage projects, highway construction and surfacing, new schools, mining, furs and fisheries development, and municipal sewer and water projects.[7] Premier Garson described the government's health scheme, which included health units, diagnostic clinics and plans for small rural hospitals, as having captured attention around the world.[8] His approach early in the election campaign was to describe a program in the course of development, stress Manitoba's relatively sound financial position in the face of depression and war, applaud the province's lead in financial relations with the Dominion, and attack the CCF for lacking alternatives and complaining of matters like housing which were federal in nature. Premier Garson also drew attention to the CCF's earlier support of federal-provincial financial arrangements and his government's own post-war program.[9] Throughout the campaign Mr. Garson's theme was that the CCF's attack on government programs simply proved the opposition party's inexperience and lack of good business judgement. Opposition platforms, meaning the CCF and the newly-formed Labor Progressive Party, Premier Garson dismissed as the "introduction of vague generalities in contrast to what we propose in specific terms."[10] Some of those specific examples were cited in support of Premier Garson by the Winnipeg Free Press. The Liberal-Progressive Party's good business judgement was evidenced, said the paper, by the development of the Manitoba Power Commission in 1924 and the leasing of the Seven Sisters hydro plant to the Winnipeg Electric Company in 1928. The now expanding rural electrification program supposedly owed its existence to these very developments. According to the Free Press the CCF, on the other hand, had always attacked the heavy charges on interest and in 1932 proposed an eighteen per cent reduction "which would have dried up credit" and hence worked against long-term programs. The Liberal Free Press summed up Mr. Garson's contention that only his party consisted of sound managers:

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[5] WFP, September 20, 1945, p. 13.

[6] Ibid., September 8, 1945, p. 8.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., September 19, 1945, pp. 1 and 4.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., September 26, 1945, p. 10.

> Mr. Farmer's proposal seems to be to toss aside this experienced and capable administration in favor of one whose leaders showed short-sightedness and lack of concern for long range objectives, during the 1930's. This is the issue before the electorate and it can settle it as it sees fit. 11

For the Free Press, Premier Garson's contention that his record was a token of the good faith of his platform was "rightly" spoken. "It is proof that promises are not vain," the paper editorialized. "The pattern of the past flows into the design of the future." 12

There is no doubt that Mr. Garson's appeal to what one citizen called his "good, sane democratic administration," was in keeping with a well-established tradition of "businesslike" "non-partisan" government. Premier Garson, one correspondant said, shared the Bracken Government practice that would get loans from anywhere, and pay them back. A predominant Manitoban mood is therefore captured by this writer to the Free Press as he defends the government.

> No successful private business which had a competent, honest, loyal staff would think of discharging any of them as a matter of caprice, and the same rule should apply to public servants who have done their jobs efficiently. 13

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11 Editorial: "The CCF Election Campaign," WFP, September 22, 1945, p. 15.

12 Editorial: "Mr. Garson's Case Before the Public," WFP, Sept. 20, 1945, p. 13.

13 Letter of W. R. Deacon, Winnipeg, WFP, Sept. 22, 1945, p. 18.

CCF leader S. J. Farmer described as an "effrontery" Premier Garson's contention that the CCF opponents of coalition were inexperienced and had no part in originating existing legislation in the province. For the CCF the issue boiled down to "a choice between talking and doing...on plans on paper and plans in action." [14]

A ten-point CCF manifesto outlined a program for a labor code and greater farm security. It included larger expenditures for housing, a comprehensive health plan and various allowances, all of which matters became issues in their own right. Government complaints that the opposition lacked experience and business sense were met with a denunciation of the government for insulting the intelligence of the common people of Manitoba. J. Harry Wood, provincial CCF chairman, contended that average people with the "interests of humanity at heart" could administer the government better than those whose only interest was private profit. The "old line parties," he insisted, had permitted poverty "when the means for producing abundance for all is right at hand." [15] Mr. Wood pointed to Saskatchewan CCF'ers as evidence of those who were considered inexperienced making a better effort than the so-called experienced men in office. [16]

CCF provincial secretary-treasurer Donovan Swailes turned the question of practical-minded experience back onto the government as he made reference to the success of Socialist governments in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Saskatchewan.

> Not very long ago our hard-headed, practical-minded businessman's government could afford to smile tolerantly whenever they heard of such CCF proposals as higher old-age pensions, free health services, marketing boards, shorter hours of labor and higher wages. Those things, they would say indulgently are just the dreams of starry-eyed idealists.
>
> These same tough-minded servants of big business, these practical solid, stolid members of the Garson cabinet are now in a panic, because time and experience have proven that the idealists were right and the hard-headed ones were wrong. 17

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[14] WFP, September 20, 1945, p. 1.

[15] Ibid., September 22, 1945, p. 2.

[16] Ibid., September 25, 1945, p. 13.

[17] Ibid., September 27, 1945, p. 5.

As to a counter attack, the CCF criticisms of the Government campaign were summed up by national organizer David Lewis: (1) the Coalition Government was using the importance of federal-provincial financial agreements as an excuse to do nothing in the meantime, and, (2) the government's advertisements emphasized provincial debt and budget surpluses while ignoring "the real human issues of the campaign."[18]

Party leader Seymour Farmer initiated the first criticism by tagging the Coalition Government as "timid and slow and out of date"--a government which had given Manitobans nothing but reports while Saskatchewan engaged in definite plans and activities. Mr. Farmer argued:

> Premier Garson is again using the alibi that nothing can be done for Manitoba until the financial arrangements between the Dominion and the provinces have been re-adjusted. New financial arrangements are indeed necessary and the CCF will seek to obtain them with all possible vigor and confidence. But that is no excuse for neglecting in the meantime the things which come under provincial jurisdiction. The present critical situation calls for courageous and constructive action, not for agile political footwork.[19]

CCF Member of Parliament Stanley Knowles warned in his speeches during the campaign that failure in the upcoming federal-provincial conference could leave Manitoba with nothing, given a government which was "making the Dominion-provincial relations the main issue" in the campaign, and given the reluctance of the government to provide truly progressive legislation.[20] What David Lewis called Mr. Garson's "suave inaction,"[21] Stanley Knowles denounced equally as a lack of imagination. "The CCF believes the time has come," the Winnipeg MP declared, "to use a little imagination in provincial administration and to go just as far as possible in building the kind of economy which was fought for with the opportunity of justice and security for all our people."[22]

Government strategy was to advertise Manitoba as the province with the lowest per capita land tax, provincial tax and even per capita debt whereas it had once been the highest in Canada,[23] and to make comparisons with Saskatchewan so that the latter province's record entered the campaign. The second major CCF criticism, that government budget surplus talk was conducted at the expense of social issues, was perhaps best voiced on a radio program supportive of the party which reflected the "forgotten" issues.

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[18] WFP, October 10, 1945, p. 2.

[19] Ibid., September 24, 1945, p. 5.

[20] Ibid., October 9, p. 6 and October 11, 1945, p. 25.

[21] Ibid., Sept. 20, 1945, p. 12.

[22] Ibid., October 11, 1945, p. 25

> What is the actual social importance of a little wartime surplus if the working people of this province are inadequately protected against the fundamental selfishness of employers. How can Stuart Garson, holding the position which he does, take credit for a row of figures derived from such things as liquor profits and racing taxes and at the same time utterly ignore the starvation level on which pensioners are reduced.[24]

Independent Lewis St. George Stubbs made the same two major criticisms of the government as the CCF, and his answer to what constituted the central matter at issue was expressed with his typical aplomb as he too turned government criticisms of opposition parties back on the government.

> The transcendent issue is, of course, postwar reconstruction, for which the Government is unprepared with immediate practical plans, except for an installment of rural electrification. It is asking for a sham mandate to implement uncertain proposals in an uncertain future. It cannot see the woods of reality for the trees of speculation. Its only concern now is to fool the people, win the election and continue in office.[25]

The 1945 campaign was one in which party advertisements in newspapers played a part in both defining and creating issues.

In city papers the CCF advertisements spoke of the "Coalition 'if' versus CCF action." The advertisements opened with comparisons with Saskatchewan, charging that that neighboring province was "just as dependent as Manitoba upon the proper financial arrangements with the federal government," but that the Saskatchewan CCF administration had taken "immediate action to provide for the needs of the people of

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[23] WFP, October 6, 1945, p. 2.

[24] CCF supporter Harry Chappell speaking on CKRC as reported in WFP, October 9, 1945, p. 6.

[25] WFP, Sept. 22, 1945, p. 7.

Saskatchewan."

The many "ifs" of the Coalition Government were then outlined to reinforce the CCF major emphasis, that the various campaign issues boiled down to government inaction.

> Manitoba may get health services if the federal government provides the funds.
>
> Teachers may get higher salaries, if financial re-adjustments are made.
>
> Old people may get higher pensions if the Dominion-provincial conference succeeds.
>
> Farmers may have security if world markets expand.
>
> Workers may have jobs if private industry locates in Manitoba.[26]

Country advertisements were the issue-makers however, and by October 1st, Premier Garson had reacted sharply to CCF country newspaper advertisements like the following:

> If our government continues to be controlled by a group which thinks our economic problems can be solved by private enterprise then we are doomed to suffer economic disaster.
>
> Supporting private enterprise means to support the principle of first come first served, dog eat dog and devil take the hindmost. It means the complete negation of Christian, humanitarian ideals. It means constant unemployment as a device for keeping wages down. This in turn means low prices for farm products![27]
>
> Big business is making a last desparate effort to retain its dictatorship by creating a coalition. The coalition exists because big business wants to defeat CCF.[28]

Premier Garson condemned as "falsehood and impudence" such attacks by a party which had itself been a part of a coalition designed to strengthen Manitoba against the "big provinces opposed to a fair deal for Manitoba." Replying to what he called "deliberate and calculated falsehoods," Mr. Garson damned CCF socialism by saying: "The men who thus insult our intelligence are the men who advocate that most of your business should be turned over to the state and that they should be put in control of that state."[29]

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[26] WFP, October 11, 1945, p. 9.

[27] The Souris Plaindealer (Souris, Manitoba), Sept. 26, 1945, p. 3. One large CCF advertisement criticized an equally major coalition "ad" which preceded it making something of an "ad-war" in country constituencies. The Souris Plaindealer, Sept. 26, 1945, p. 4, and Oct. 3, 1945, p. 6.

[28] WFP, Oct. 1, 1945, p. 3. The report also cites the country advertisement.

Major Issues: (2) The Coalition.

The major issue in this first post-war campaign, then, was what kind of administration could best tackle all the problems associated with post-war development, a practical business-like non-partisan coalition, or a programmatic socialist party? Such an issue slides inevitably back into the long-standing one of the pros and cons of coalition itself. The interrelationship between these two issues, as reflected in the country newspaper advertisements and Premier Garson's reply, may have had the stamp of party organizer David Lewis. The Montreal-based National Secretary saw coalition as an admission on the part of the "two old parties" that there was really no difference between them. "One capitalist candidate only against the CCF," said Mr. Lewis, and brought together, he alleged, by the threat that the CCF posed.[30] Speaking at the Weston CPR shops he described the Coalition Government as "champions of reaction cloaked in progressive language" so different from a CCF party which was determined, he said, "to place the needs of the people ahead of the profit-seeking few."[31]

So there had been plenty of fuel for Stuart Garson's heated outburst. His Minister of Public Works, Conservative leader Willis, had added to Mr. Garson's own defenses of the coalition. Errick Willis argued that, unlike the federal government, a province was like a "king-sized municipality" and could be run in a similar non-partisan fashion as most municipalities; particularly was this the case when a united effort to develop post-war prosperity could now be added to the original crisis of war and the implementation of the "Sirois Report," which prompted coalition in the first place.[32]

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[29] WFP, Oct. 1, 1945, p. 3.

[30] Ibid., Sept. 20, 1945, p. 12.

[31] Ibid., Sept. 26, 1945, p. 5.

Government apologists tagged the CCF criticisms of their performance as largely federal issues, like housing, which they claimed were inevitably raised by a party with a federal counterpart, whereas, the coalition was free of such a practice simply because it lacked a corresponding federal party.[33] The Winnipeg Free Press had perennially argued that "Dominion issues" should be kept free of provincial elections and that coalition could be an instrument to that end.[34] The newspaper also claimed that coalition non-partisanship put an end to patronage by spreading business contracts and appointments more widely. The result was better service at less cost with more time and energy available to direct the administration rather than being lost in party conflict.[35]

Support for the coalition seems to have been reasonably widespread and both the Tribune and Free Press had spoken in favor of the Coalition Government over the years.[36] But as we have indicated there was a considerable growth in CCF support as that party took a clear opposition stance. It might be argued, therefore, that coalition was an issue which deeply divided Manitobans and perhaps the continuing low turn-outs at the polls, but with a steady rise from 1941, is indicative of another "predominant Manitoban mood," an attitude against coalition.

---

[32] WFP, Sept. 8, 1945, p. 9. The municipal analogy was a common one. It was made by other government members and supporters, for example, the editor of the Souris Plaindealer who explained his weekly's position as follows: "The Plaindealer is supporting the candidature of G. H. Grant, Coalition candidate in next Monday's election for the very simple reason that it is firmly convinced this is no time for a two-party system in Manitoba. Indeed it might be reasonably argued that the provincial legislature should not at any time be anything more than a glorified town or rural council as provincial policies can never be of national character and therefore not subject to such differences of opinion as exist in the larger field." Editorial: "The Election," October 10, 1945, p. 2. Robert F. Milton, Coalition candidate in The Pas constituency also spoke of what he called the "municipal-like responsibilities of coalition." The Northern Mail, October 3, 1945, p. 2.

[33] Editorial: "What is the CCF Program?" WFP, Sept. 11, 1945. p. 13.

[34] Ibid., and Editorial: "The Election Campaign," April 12, 1941.

[35] Ibid., Sept. 28, 1945, p. 11.

[36] Editorial: "The Manitoba Election," The Globe and Mail (Toronto), April 4, 1941, p. 6.

It is important and interesting to examine CCF leader Seymour Farmer's response to Premier Garson's outcry over country newspaper advertisements, as it pinpoints some of the many criticisms of coalition. Mr. Farmer challenged Premier Garson to prove that his government was not tied up with reactionary forces, and blamed coalition for Mr. Garson's irritable reaction. "Premier Garson's indignation at a statement in one of the CCF advertisements and his violent language are proof that the statement struck home," Mr. Farmer said. Then, attacking the weaknesses of coalition, the CCF leader called the Premier's behavior, "...proof that Mr. Garson has become so used to a legislature dominated by his yes men that he can no longer take criticism with proper democratic grace." [37] Mr. Farmer reiterated charges that the coalition continued only out of fear of the CCF and that that fear was shared equally by both Premier Garson's "political friends" and "his big business friends."

S. J. Farmer's explanation of the CCF stint in the coalition and later withdrawal presented an important summation of the coalition issue and its many ramifications, re-opening the cluster of issues we noted in 1941. On one occasion he said: "The CCF entered the Manitoba Government in 1940 on the clear and definite understanding that it would not be a coalition, but a temporary, co-operative, non-partisan administration, that every party would continue its present independent existence and activity." [38] On an earlier occasion Mr. Farmer had explained further that "We were never partners in a coalition. I was never minister in a coalition government. What we did was to write Mr. Bracken a letter giving reasons for accepting his invitation to join a non-partisan government. We did not agree on a coalition but only to do certain things on which we were all agreed." [39] The CCF leader claimed that John Bracken had tried to get members of the government to vote alike, and the last straw came for the CCF when it was apparent that the non-partisan idea was being used "to boost Bracken's stock."[40]

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[37] WFP, October 2, 1945, p. 7.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., September 20, 1945, p. 12.

The situation in 1945 Mr. Farmer described as "entirely different":

> With the exception of a few old-party recalcitrants, the CCF is opposed by coalition candidates, chosen at joint or coalition conventions. This amounts to organic union of the Liberal and Conservative parties in the provincial field.
>
> What Mr. Garson wants, in effect, is one-party government. He resents the possibility not only of the CCF taking power, but of there being a strong and effective opposition in the legislature.
>
> One party government is tantamount to dictatorship. That's what big business wants. That's apparently what Premier Garson wants. The common objective is clear. 41

. . . .

Another side to the coalition issues were the views of other opponents of the CCF role. Both William Kardash, leader of the Labor Progressive Party and Independent member Lewis St. George Stubbs articulated a long-standing concern that the CCF would unite for a time with the "forces of the right," but refused to work towards a coalition of the left. Mr. Kardash summed up his party's perspective while attacking the CCF avoidance of left-wing alliances.

> It is very strange that the CCF which is now condemning the old-line parties, so willingly joined those same parties in the coalition in 1940 while refusing to work, both then and now with the Labor Progressive Party and other progressive forces. Not only that, it suspended two of its own members of the legislature who expressed the opinion that the CCF should co-operate with such forces against the coalition. 42

The latter point was a reference to Messrs. Richards and Johnson, the two by-election winners, both of whom were running as Independent CCF candidates in the 1945 campaign. Mr. Richards himself said: "My future relationships with the CCF will be decided at the annual convention which

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40 WFP, September 20, 1945, p. 12.

41 WFP, October 2, 1945, p. 7.

42 WFP, September 25, 1945, p. 13.

sits after the elections. My differences with that party concerning mainly federal election policies, have no bearing upon this campaign."[43] His opponent thought differently and let it be known that views could be expressed within the coalition "without fear of expulsion."[44]

The CCF had for many years been criticized for the "long retention of control by a small group of men"[45] and John Queen's defeat in 1941 may have been related to his continued attempts to serve both as MLA and mayor of Winnipeg. The reluctance of the CCF to co-operate with the "far left," what Lewis Stubbs called "the autocratic, exclusive and intolerant attitude of the CCF," accounted in his view "for the paucity and poverty of its leadership."[46]

Saskatchewan and the Other Major Issues.

The beginning of October marked another outburst from Premier Garson when, speaking in Steep Rock, he denounced the influx of "Saskatchewan imports," who he claimed, came to Manitoba to make attacks "and then retire back to Saskatchewan after the election is over."[47] "If the CCF can't conduct its own campaign without the help of four cabinet ministers from Saskatchewan, what will the members do if they ever get on the floor of the house," he asked,[48] and so launched a debate which became the most heated issue in the last two weeks of what The Globe and Mail had called the "quietist election campaign in the history of Manitoba."[49]

The Free Press argued that the presence of the Saskatchewan ministers was an attempt to take over the organisation of the campaign from local men in the hopes of avoiding the defeats suffered earlier in the year by the party in federal and Ontario provincial elections. The newspaper also feared that the presence of the "men from Saskatchewan" would detract from the real issues of the campaign, citing discussions of rural electrification and Manitoba's fine credit position as examples of the "real" issues.[50] Saskatchewan's Attorney-General J. W. Corman explained his presence on a radio broadcast in Winnipeg.

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[43] The Northern Mail, September 19, 1945, p. 1.

[44] The Northern Mail, October 3, 1945, p. 2.

[45] Stewart, "The Manitoba Election," p. 72. Author Alistair Stewart who served as CCF organizer in Manitoba agreed with this Free Press judgement.

[46] WFP, October 10, 1945, p. 10.

[47] The Globe and Mail, October 9, 1945, p. 3.

[48] WFP, October 8, 1945, p. 5.

[49] The Globe and Mail, October 15, 1945, p. 2.

> Every battle between monopoly capitalism and so-called free enterprise on the one hand and democratic socialism on the other, must be the business of all of us who are enlisted in the war against privilege and an outmoded economic system.[51]

Attorney-General Corman saw the "present economic system" giving way to democratic socialism all throughout the British Commonwealth.

David Lewis explained the presence of the Saskatchewan ministers as an attempt to "tell the story" of how a "CCF program worked out in one province."[52] The socialist model was no longer a foreign one, Mr. Lewis argued.

Throughout the campaign the Garson Government compared its administrative record with the government of Saskatchewan. Coalition advertisements cited figures to indicate that Saskatchewan had a greater per capita debt than Manitoba, that Saskatchewan had introduced six million dollars of new taxes while Manitoba had avoided any new taxes. Interest rates were cited as being higher in Saskatchewan, and while Manitoba boasted cash reserves of $9,242,605.62, Saskatchewan had none.[53]

CCF advertisements, on the other hand, listed "The CCF in Saskatchewan" achievements which, in addition to farm security and health care for the 25,000 people most in need, included the "highest teacher salaries in Canada"; free textbooks for all children in the first eight grades; the first Department of Co-operatives in Canada, designed to provide essential research and information services; "better services than any other provinces for war veterans"; and the "best legislation on the North American continent to assist and protect Labor."[54]

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[50] Editorial: "Invasion from Saskatchewan," WFP, October 2, 1945, p. 11.

[51] WFP, October 10, 1945, p. 2.

[52] Ibid.

[53] WFP, October 12, 1945, p. 2.

In his platform addresses and radio broadcasts Premier Garson continued to attack Saskatchewan policy contending that the province lacked farm electrification and public health programs and asserting that "socialistic ideas" would put a provincial government in competition with co-operatives: "under socialism co-operative enterprises and their managers will become the instruments of the social state."[55] Premier Garson also went into a detailed criticism of Saskatchewan's policy of farm security which we will examine later as a separate issue.

Saturday Night in an unusually sympathetic air towards the CCF provided a helpful explanation of the "Saskatchewan invasion."

> It happens that a large part of the argument against Socialism in the current Manitoba elections consists in the allegations that Saskatchewan is badly governed. Politicians who use that argument can hardly be surprised if those who oppose them call on the men who are actually governing Saskatchewan to give what evidence they can to the contrary.[56]

T. C. Douglas, Premier of Saskatchewan, made several key addresses in the campaign outlining his province's record of social service achievements. In Winnipeg's Civic Auditorium he explained that he had not come to Manitoba "to pick a quarrel with Premier Garson" but he had found that "what the Saskatchewan CCF Government has accomplished has become an election issue." "If Mr. Garson wants to play it tough," Premier Douglas challenged, "it's all right with me."[57]

The Saskatchewan Premier then proceeded to point out that the large public debt in his province "which Mr. Garson raves about" had been put there by the previous Liberal administration in Saskatchewan. He argued that his government had reduced the debt by eight million dollars since assuming office, and that the sales tax burden which Mr. Garson had referred to was also a Liberal measure soon to be removed. "To do this," he said, "we take money from the only place we can get it--those who have it--and big businesses such as timber and mining corporations and fishing companies that are depleting the province of its natural resources will have to bear the burden."[58]

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[54] The Souris Plaindealer, Sept. 26, 1945, p. 3.

[55] WFP, Oct. 10, 1945, p. 11.

[56] Editorial: "Outside Orators," Saturday Night, Oct. 20, 1945, p. 3. The Toronto Globe and Mail also rebuked Mr. Garson for complaining in an editorial: "One Country, Not Nine," Oct. 5, 1945, p. 6.

[57] WFP, Oct. 12, 1945, p. 11.

The Saskatchewan policy for farm security--protection against foreclosures or eviction from farms--was to protect the home quarter of all farms and to forego payments of interest in years of crop failure.[59] The Manitoba CCF picked up the policy as part of their ten-point manifesto. Premier Garson argued that such a policy put the farmer in a position where he was "incapable...of entering enforceable contracts in respect of certain of his lands." He claimed a better system for Manitoba would be to secure lower rates of interest for the "mere" 2½ per cent of the farmers who had need of lower rates. He would attack all such agricultural problems at a broader level, to keep farmers out of debt by providing better markets and prices, and by continuing to urge such matters in Ottawa. Saskatchewan's approach he dismissed as "arbitrary legislation which will hamstring everybody," an attempt to "cure the disease by killing the patient."[60]

The Free Press praised both Premier Garson's and the CCF's stand on farm tenure but maintained that the policy in itself was not a clear-cut issue. The Winnipeg paper claimed that it was the concepts behind such policies which were important, and that CCF programs for city laborers had to be achieved in conjunction with equally progressive programs for farmers, lest the country pay for urban labor advances and, so, further divide city and country.[61]

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[58] The Northern Mail, October 12, 1945, p. 1.

[59] CCF advertisement, The Souris Plaindealer, Oct. 10, 1945, p. 6.

[60] WFP, October 9, 1945, p. 1.

[61] Editorial: "Coalition and CCF Compared," WFP, September 26, 1945, p. 13. Also Editorial: "Real Farm Security," WFP, October 10, 1945, p. 13.

Agriculture Minister D. L. Campbell attempted to make political capital out of his government's demands for federal assistance for crop insurance the first stage of which would be hail insurance. Mr. Campbell would insist that the federal government return a one per cent tax levied against grain marketing for such use if Ottawa refused to initiate a program. Agriculture programs, outlined by Mr. Campbell, included plans for soil protection, weed control and veterinary hospitals.[62]

Talk of rural electrification on Mr. Campbell's part did seem to gain plenty of political capital and would continue to do so in campaigns to come. The success of the Seven Sisters hydro-development could be used to show that earlier CCF criticisms lacked foresight. But, more important, the success of hydro-development enabled Mr. Campbell to announce electrification for every Manitoba farm within seven years.[63] "*Power delivered* right in *Your* farm yard at *no cost* to you for the line," a country coalition advertisement promised."[64] Premier Garson pledged electricity to the first one thousand farms within one year's time.[65] Rural electrification would promote private industry and keep the young on the farm, Agriculture Minister Campbell argued, and whenever those "men from Saskatchewan" talked of the "highest minimum wage," the "right to organize for civil servants," legislation for two weeks vacation with pay, higher old-age pensions, and free health care for the mentally ill, Premier Garson, Mr. Campbell, coalition advertisements and the *Free Press* talked rural electrification and credit.

Finally, there was some controversy over health schemes with both Saskatchewan and Manitoba arguing the comparative merits of their own programs and future plans. Manitoba had seemingly advanced in some areas with twenty-five full-time health units and thirty-two diagnostic clinics associated with local hospitals.[66] Saskatchewan had established free health care for 25,000 persons of special need and provided assistance for the mentally ill, old-age pensioners and those with venereal disease.[67] Many Manitoban politicians believed legislation for venereal disease control was essential for their own province, including Conservative candidate and Winnipeg health officer Dr. Morley Lougheed.[68] It was of course the underlying philosophies in health care which were essentially at issue and, while the most heated debates still lay in the future, the Free Press did its best to criticize a state-supported health scheme by publishing articles attacking New Zealand's national scheme as being too expensive and subject to extensive abuse. The Free Press asked whether the failure of "socialists" to admit of defects in programs like the New Zealand health scheme meant that the Manitoba electorate would have any certainty that they would "not tomorrow fall for some equally glittering but equally defective piece of legislative goods"? Premier Garson's health plan, on the other hand, would move slowly, basing further extensions and even changes of direction on past experience, the newspaper argued. "But surely the history of Manitoba is testimony to the fact that trial and error is good practice and that it pays dividends in the end."[69]

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[62] *WFP*, September 11, p. 6 and September 24, 1945, p. 1.

[63] *WFP*, September 7, 1945, p. 1.

[64] *The Souris Plaindealer*, October 3, 1945, p. 3. The advertisement claimed the "post-war project" would reach a majority of the 58,686 Manitoba farms serving an additional forty towns and villages each year. Each year's work on the project begun June 15, 1945 was the equivalent of "a 4,000 mile line from here to Brazil."

[65] *The Globe and Mail*, October 3, 1945, p. 3.

Labor Issues.

The opposition CCF was still predominantly an urban labor party as results over the next few campaigns would clearly indicate. One observer described the party as "dominated by trade union elements" which would not help them very much in a province in which "land-holding agriculture is still the occupation of a vast solid and very powerful element of the electorate."[70] But labor issues were becoming increasingly more central as Canadian unions re-structured themselves to gain their share of post-war prosperity. One omnipresent issue was whether unions should officially support the CCF and make the party its political arm. The Winnipeg Labor Council endorsed the CCF, particularly since George Stapleton, an executive member of the council, had been selected as a Winnipeg candidate.[71]

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[66] The Souris Plaindealer, September 26, 1945, p. 4.

[67] Ibid., p. 3.

[68] WFP, September 27, 1945, p. 5.

[69] Editorial: "CCF Should Look, Not Leap," WFP, October 11, 1945, p. 15.

[70] Editorial: "Manitoba Election," Saturday Night, October 27, 1945, p. 1.

The biggest labor issues were the demands for a provincial labor code and bargaining rights for civil servants.

James A. McLenaghen, Minister of Labor and Attorney-General, talked of preparations by the provincial government to "re-enter the legislative field on labor and industry," as the Dominion Government retired from it. Mr. McLenaghen said that all provincial programs would have to be viewed from a national perspective to achieve "concerted national planning and nation-wide uniformity." On the much debated labor code the Conservative minister promised a "round table discussion" of employers and labor organization executives to create the code. If such discussions did not work the government itself would create the code.[72] Mr. McLenaghen's labor code committee was strongly condemned by CCF and union officials, who withdrew from it, because of its alleged "anti-union character." CCF advertisements called the matter an attempt to "compromise labor on the eve of the elections by the setting up of a phony...committee."[73]

Mr. McLenaghen counter-attacked by claiming that S. J. Farmer had left no "legacy of progress" towards a labor code while he was Minister of Labor. The coalition minister charged that Mr. Farmer's haste in wanting a provincial labor code could be "detrimental" to the achievement of a national labor code which was desired by Canadian unions. A provincial code, he said, "...would be the one effective way of making certain that there would never be a dominion code."[74]

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[71] WFP, September 26, 1945, p. 3.

[72] WFP, September 13, 1945, p. 4.

[73] WFP, September 22, 1945, p. 4.

[74] WFP, October 9, 1945, p. 6.

The Coalition Government was under heavy attack from many quarters on the labor front. The International Fur and Leatherworkers local unions called for all candidates to commit themselves to the promotion of a provincial labor code.[75] Winnipeg candidate A. N. Robertson said a CCF government would appoint a full-time Minister of Labor and take a careful look at Saskatchewan's Labor Relations Board and collective bargaining agreements with civil servants. Mr. Robertson criticized the coalition for failing to guard against the lay-offs which resulted from the closing of war plants.[76]

LPP leader William Kardash summarized his criticisms of Labor Minister McLenaghen and coalition labor legislation on Winnipeg's CKRC radio station:

> Here is the labor record of the coalition government. Shamefully low minimum wages, discrimination against female employees through lower pay for the same work, no legislation to provide two weeks vacation with pay, no shorter hour work week, and discrimination in the civil service.[77]

The "discrimination in the civil service" was described by Independent Lewis Stubbs as the failure of the provincial government to pay decent salaries and wages to civil servants. "Instead of the government being a model employer," Mr. Stubbs argued, "...it is the worst of any large scale employer in the province.... The salaries and wages paid by the city are bad enough, but by and large, those paid by the province are 25 to 50 per cent worse." Lewis Stubbs advocated organization of the civil servants along trade union lines (not a company union) in which "those who now dominate the present association would not even be eligible."[78]

Winnipeg Labor Council's George Stapleton described returning soldiers as "the most important problem" in the labor field. He discussed the failure of the former Manitoba administrations and the important new roles for labor as he asked his CKY radio audience:

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[75] WFP, Sept. 27, 1945, p. 3.

[76] WFP, Sept. 26, 1945, p. 5.

[77] WFP, October 12, 1945, p. 5.

[78] WFP, October 9, 1945, p. 6.

> How can these boys live on sub-standard wages? Is that the reward of preserving democracy at home? The trade unions try to protect the soldiers, but the labor movement must have a voice, along with capital, in the management of industry. The workers know that they will not receive a labor code worth the paper it is written on from the coalition government in Manitoba.
>
> The coalition had their opportunity and failed miserably to meet the post-war period. We who have been born and raised in Winnipeg do not easily forget the hungry lines at the soup kitchens, the marching reliefers, the smashed heads of demonstrators. This was the work of the old parties. We do not want the soldiers selling apples on street corners. If we are sincere, we will elect a people's government--the CCF.[79]

Education Issues.

The major educational issues during the 1945 campaign were: firstly in Winnipeg, the lack of a school for deaf children. The Tuxedo school which had originally been built for that purpose had been transferred to military use as a wireless school, and now various associations and parent groups called on the government and Education Minister J. C. Dryden to re-open the Tuxedo school. A. N. Robertson (CCF-Winnipeg) said the loss of the deaf school when added to teacher shortages, and Winnipeg's forced responsibility for schooling the mentally deficient because of provincial neglect, equalled a government education program, the sum of which was "complete failure."[80]

A special education committee recommendation to establish larger school divisions had been made earlier in the year. It would be the subject of bitter debate in a variety of constituencies in future campaigns, and was, on the face of it at least, a serious threat to the old principle of one school board for each school building, which was an umbrella for the control of minorities of their schools. The constituency of LaVerendrye was the isolated instance of debate on this issue in 1945.[81]

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[79] WFP, Sept. 28, 1945, p. 5.

[80] WFP, October 5, 1945, p. 2.

In northern constituencies the lack of schools for children in isolated areas and continued teacher shortages were issues raised by candidates.[82]

Education Minister Dryden explained teacher shortages by blaming military enlistment for a lack of personnel. Temporary permits for young teachers just out of high school, he claimed, had worked well, and he promised future equalization grants to school districts and high schools, which would thus handle the question of low-paid teachers. He described the government's new comprehensive system of scholarships and bursaries as the best in Canada.[83]

Northern Issues.

The government under J. S. McDiarmid's leadership continued to expand its program of northern development and, aside from the Manitoba Motor League and individuals demanding completion of a Flin Flon-The Pas highway, there was little discussion in most parts of the province on northern issues. In the northern communities, of course, things were different. There were indications of dissatisfaction and frustration with the shortage of government services and facilities. In The Pas, various women's organizations protested the possible removal of the area's only public health nurse, ostensibly because the premium space of the Community Building was required for the Department of Mines and Resources. As the case progressed it became a matter of a provincial shortage of nurses.[84]

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[81] WFP, Oct. 5, 1945, p. 2.

[81] Roger Turenne in his unpublished M.A. thesis: "The Minority and the Ballot Box: A Study of Voting Behavior of the French-Canadians of Manitoba 1888-1967," (University of Manitoba, 1969), discusses the situation in other predominantly French-speaking constituencies. St. Boniface already had an enlarged division. Since Edmond Prefontaine opposed the larger divisions the Social Credit Party allowed him to be elected without contest in Carillon. pp. 129-130.

[82] The Northern Mail, October 5, 1945, p. 3.

[83] WFP, Sept, 15, p. 20, and Sept. 17, 1945, p. 7.

Berry Richards, running as Independent CCF described similar shortages and lacking services in areas like Churchill. He claimed the northern areas were forgotten because local residents owned no land or property on which to be taxed for services. Such an attitude, he claimed, overlooked that the northern people in communities like Churchill were being taxed in "fur royalities, timber leases, stumpage fees, hay leases" and helping to make up McDiarmid's $450,000 departmental profit.[85] A vigorous debate also ensued in The Pas constituency over the death of a group of Indians in Gillam, where a whooping cough epidemic ravaged amongst already tubercular children. Again, it was a question of whether the government had supplied adequate service, Richards claiming the government had "hushed up" the affair, and government supporters explaining that definite action had merely been delayed by adverse weather conditions.[86]

The government's program for hydro development was criticized for proceeding much too cautiously with a failure to sense that the production of power would develop the north in the same way as electrification would increase rural production. Government speakers spoke of too much surplus power and of the need for eventual private development.[87]

A perennial matter was the Hudson's Bay Railway and the lack of interest seemingly directed to keeping it in good repair and ensuring maximum usage. The activities of the Hudson's Bay Route Association were significant in keeping the issue alive during election time.[88]

A Sherridon, Manitoba delegation at the nominating convention for a coalition candidate for The Pas constituency urged their member "to do all in his power" to have the provincial government urge the Dominion to

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[84] The Northern Mail, Setp. 12, p. 1; Sept. 14, p. 2; and Oct. 3, 1945, p. 3.

[85] The Northern Mail, Oct. 5, 1945, p. 3.

[86] Ibid. Front page coverage on Oct. 5, 9, 10, & 12, 1945.

[87] The Northern Mail, Oct. 3, p. 2; Oct. 5, p. 3; and Oct. 9, 1945, p. 2.

[88] Ibid., Sept. 14, p. 3; Sept, 24, p. 1; Sept. 26, p. 1.

"make use of the Hudson's Bay line as the outlet for shipment of Canadian commodities to Europe."[89] Coalition candidate Robert F. Milton agreed, and later promised his constituents as well, that a post-war reconstruction committee set up in 1943 had made completion of a Flin Flon-The Pas highway a priority as part of the Athapapuskow park development along the proposed route.[90]

What is interesting to note about the outlines of development explained to the electorate by J. S. McDiarmid is that whenever he made announcements--whether they were promises of more aircraft to patrol forests, or reports on the rise in mineral production, forestry products, or increase in numbers of fur farms, trappers' and fishing licenses--they almost always coincided with defences of the government's co-operative stance with the federal government. "Continuity" was therefore essential, Mr. McDiarmid argued, and then, perhaps most significantly, he would explain how a pioneer spirit of labor, know-how, and capital to develop resources would continue to build up Manitoba. "There are people who do not see what is all too plainly written for all to see--that the dynamic at the root of all our jobs and all our wealth production is the unquenchable desire of you and I and everyone to get ahead."[91] Milton, his northern colleague asserted that "free enterprise by its very nature provides...unconscious checks and balances" for development, that socialism would have to do "by supervision" and a "loss of initiative, efficiency and personal freedom."[92]

Such comments reflected the deeper issue perennially involved in these campaigns where the chief opposition, and therefore alternative government, was of a socialist nature: "what is the dynamic which leads to development and progress?"

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[89] WFP, Sept. 21, 1945, p. 20.

[90] The Northern Mail, Oct. 3, 1945, p. 2.

[91] WFP, Sept. 22, 1945, p. 17. Also Oct. 13, p. 8.

[92] The Northern Mail, Oct. 3, 1945, p. 2.

The Minor Parties.

The smaller political parties had their answers to the implicit or underlying issue hidden in the McDiarmid and Milton praise of free enterprise. Miss Salome Halldorson condemned all other political parties but her own as "blindly following the beaten path of old money policies." She described the Social Credit way under which:

> ...the shortage of buying power would be made up by an issue of debt-free money given to you in the form of a monthly dividend, reduced prices and reduced taxation, the amount distributed being measured scientifically so as to avoid both inflation and deflation. That way, there could be full employment without regimentation. Our people would have security with freedom.[93]

Social Credit policy and even Alberta practice was not an issue in 1945 as it had been in 1936 and 1941. All that was left of a circle of issues about the party, its program, and activities in Manitoba were a mere handful of candidates, some waning Quebec Creditisme influence with Franco-Manitobans, two coalition members, and the party's small part in the larger issue: what constitutes the most appropriate political philosophy in the post-war world?

A Mr. J. Shepherd speaking for the campaign's lone Socialist Party of Canada candidate, James Milne, expressed that party's position in the course of answering criticisms that the party should advance social reforms, hence, improving the condition of workers and bringing support to the socialist cause. His reply to the criticism was that:

> ...the task of the Socialist Party is to establish Socialism, and that, as this can only be accomplished by a working class possessing an understanding of the issues involved, our propaganda must at all times be directed to spreading the essential socialist knowledge for the task ahead. This could never be accomplished by a party which became entangled in the advocacy of numerous reforms because those who would be attracted by the reform measures would soon swamp the Socialist element and the party would then degenerate into another Labor reform movement, such as the CCF and the Labor Progressive parties are now.[94]

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[93] WFP, Oct. 12, 1945, p. 10. Miss Halldorson was speaking for Winnipeg Social Credit candidate, F/S T. H. Taylor.

[94] WFP, Oct. 13, 1945, p. 9.

The Labor Progressive Party, as we have seen, was particularly critical of the CCF's failure to encourage a left-labor coalition. Of the many elements of the LPP manifesto--use of the HBR route, a provincial health plan, basic minimum salaries for teachers, and an eighteen year voting age--it was their talk of housing needs which was of considerable importance in the campaign. More established parties scarcely mentioned housing and LPP candidates made much of the fact that their leader had proposed provincial loans to home builders and with lower down-payments, only to have the proposal blocked by the Carson Government. LPP advertisements called attention to the National Housing Act under which only persons earning more than $1900 annually were eligible for loans. The LPP noted that seventy per cent of Winnipeggers earned less than $1900.[95] Assiniboia LPP candidate, Trooper W. C. Ross claimed that one-half of returned service personnel faced a housing shortage.[96] National LPP leader Tim Buck claimed that by investing ten per cent of the cost of housing and asking the Dominion to provide the balance the province could "launch a determined and comprehensive policy on housing."[97]

The housing concern tended to be shared more in outlying areas where there was a recognition that homes meant people and employment. Some advocated that proper planning might ensure employment associated with the location of new houses. "All the ex-servicemen needing homes cannot live in Winnipeg," said the editor of the Souris Plaindealer.[98]

The Minor Issues and Results.

Less predominant matters included the growing concern for expanded old-age pensions. Comparisons were made with Saskatchewan and one correspondent described the government's "dismal record" on old-age pensions where, the president of the Manitoba Pensionsers' Society, George Palmer, said, "nothing had been done."[99]

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[95] WFP, Sept. 29, 1945, p. 4.

[96] WFP, Oct. 9, 1945, p. 6.

[97] WFP, Oct. 13, 1945, p. 8.

[98] The Souris Plaindealer, Sept. 12, 1945, p. 2. The editor of The Northern Mail blamed the loss of the area's public health nurse on a housing and building shortage, Oct. 5, 1945, p. 2.

Winnipeg citizens complained of the government's handling of Dr. George Davidson, a doctor convicted of malpractice in the treatment of cancer. Lewis St. G. Stubbs championed their concern declaring that Dr. Davidson had been a "victim of the medical hierarchy" and that he had not even received a copy of the evidence presented at the commission which investigated and tried him in his absence.[100]

Mr. Stubbs continued to be the great defender of various Winnipeg causes and of the city's position generally. On his CKY radio broadcasts he compared Winnipeg to other large Canadian cities noting that the Manitoba capital was behind in old-age pensions, railway taxation, provincial subsidies, school grants and the city's share of motor licence fees and social aid costs.[101] Mr. Stubbs charged that Stuart Garson used Manitoba's position vis-a-vis the federal govenment as an excuse for failing to implement existing powers which would end the "unjust treatment of Winnipeg." Under-representation in the legislature had gone on unchanged for a quarter of a century, candidate Stubbs noted, where a city with one-third of the province's population continued to have but ten of fifty-five seats. The answer as to why such under-representation persisted he claimed was "...because it suited the political purposes and fortunes of the Bracken and Garson governments to maintain the status quo, so that they could favor rural Manitoba, whence came their political strength, and exploit Winnipeg."[102]

Lewis St. George Stubbs was re-elected in Winnipeg once more while the coalition as well returned to power with little difficulty. The results gave the Conservatives and Liberal-Progressives almost the same number of seats as in the previous house. The CCF increased its number of seats to ten, including The Pas Independent Berry Richards. But, more significantly, the CCF received 2,000 votes more than the Liberal-Progressives.

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[99] WFP, October 6, 1945, p. 22.

[100] WFP, October 12, 1945, p. 2.

[101] WFP, October 2, 1945, p. 7.

[102] WFP, September 29, 1945, p. 2.

That there was something to the Stubbs charges of Winnipeg's under-representation can be seen by examining CCF support in Winnipeg. Its total percentage of the popular vote (34.1) brought it only 17.9 per cent of the seats in the house (and 9 out of 10 were urban seats), whereas Liberal-Progressives, with a slightly lower percentage of total popular vote (33.2), had 44.6 per cent of the seats, and only 3 of their 25 seats were urban.[103]

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1945.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Coalition.				
Liberal-Progressive	25	72,679	33.2	45.5
Progressive Conservative	15	39,834	18.2	27.3
Social Credit	2	2,953	1.3	3.7
Independents	1	5,754	2.6	1.8
Totals.	43	121,220	55.3	78.3
Anti-Coalition.				
CCF	10	74,745	34.1	17.5
Labor Progressive Party	1	10,566	4.8	1.8
Social Credit	--	913	.4	--
Independents	1	11,586	5.3	1.8
Totals.	12	97,810	44.6	21.1

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[103] The alternative or transferable voting system used in rural areas in the elections of 1927, 1932 and 1936 had reverted back to the straight plurality system in 1941.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1945.

Major, Province-wide.

1. The Government's Record and Post-War Development. (Key, Cluster).
    - (a) The record--achievements versus inaction.
    - (b) Socialism versus free enterprise.
        - (i) Opposition experience. (Right).
    - (c) Comparisons with Saskatchewan.
        - (i) Influx of spokesmen. (Political).
    - (d) Financial versus "human issues." (Left).
    - (e) Federal-provincial conference. (Dodge).
2. Coalition as the Means. (Political).
    - (a) Non-partisanship versus principle.
    - (b) One-party government.
    - (c) Role of the CCF in coalition.

Minor and/or Local.

Labor. (Sectional).

- (a) Provincial labor code.
- (b) Bargaining rights for civil servants.
- (c) Work for veterans.
- (d) Government record in old-age pensions.

Agriculture. (Sectional).

- (a) Farm tenure and foreclosure protection.
- (b) Crop and hail insurance.
- (c) Rural electrification. (Concern).

Education.

- (a) School for deaf children. (Concern).
- (b) Larger school divisions. (New).
- (c) Lack of schools in north. (Local).
- (d) Teacher shortages and low salaries. (Perennial).

Health.

- (a) Shortage of government services and facilities. (Social, Local).
- (b) Venereal disease control. (Social, New, Unprompted).

Minor and/or Local--Health--cont'd.

(c) Philosophy of health care. (Diffuse, Underlying)
(d) Medical Hierarchy and malpractice of Dr. Davidson. (Isolate).

Low-cost housing. (General, Province-wide).
Newspaper Advertisements War. (Side).
Hydro Needs in North.
Government Achievements in North. (Local).
Maintenance and Use of HBR. (Perennial, Local).
Indian Deaths at Gillam. (Local).
Flin-Flon to The Pas Highway. (Local).
Under-Representation of Winnipeg in House. (Local, Perennial).
Winnipeg's Share of Services and Costs. (Local, Perennial).

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

OFFICIALS OF THE LEGISLATURE

Clerk of the House—H. H. Dunwoody. Apptd. 1930.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Henry Stanley Bennett.

Provincial Librarian—J. L. Johnston. Apptd. July 1, 1937.

Legislative Counsel—Gerald S. Rutherford. Appointed Oct. 4, 1941.

LP = Liberal-Progressive
LPP = Labor Prog. Party
C = coalition
A-C = anti-coalition where used.

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1945

Nominations, Oct. 5, 1945; voting, Oct. 15, 1945.

ARTHUR

John R. Pitt, (LP)	1,158
Guy Craven, (CCF)	448

ASSINIBOIA

Ernest R. Draffin, (CCF)	2,840
David A. Best, (PC)	2,778
William C. Ross, (OO) LPP	388

BEAUTIFUL PLAINS

Dr. J. S. Poole, (PC)	1,775
A. J. M. Poole, (CCF)	902

BIRTLE

F. C. Bell, (LP)	1,807
G. B. Reed, (CCF)	792

BRANDON

Leslie H. McDorman, (LP)	3,088
Peter McDuffe, (OO) CCF	1,650
Dwight, L. Johnson, (CCF) Ind	1554

CARILLON

Edm. Prefontaine, (LP)	Accl.

CYPRESS

James L. Christie, (LP)	1424
Robin C. Parsons, (PC)	870

DAUPHIN

Robert Hawkins, (LP)	2,312
M. W. Cryderman, (CCF)	1,277

DELORAINE

James O. Argue, (PC)	Accl.

DUFFERIN

Earl T. Collins, (Ind) (C)	Accl.

EMERSON

J. R. Solomon, (LP)	2,039
N. C. McLean, ([illegible]) Ind Lib	1,097
P. J. Olchowecki, (OO) CCF	753

ETHELBERT

M. M. Sawchuck, (CCF)	2,081
N. A. Hryhorcz, (LP)	1,743
John Dubno, (OO) LPP	163

FAIRFORD

Hon. S. S. Garson, (LP)	1,254
G. W. Leonard, (CCF)	295

FISHER

N. V. Bachynsky, (LP)	879
L. W. Michalchuk, (CCF)	753
John Kapusta, (OO) LPP	168

GILBERT PLAINS

Dr. S. W. Fox, (SC) (C)	1,375
W. G. Doak, (CCF)	1,179

GIMLI

Dr. S. O. Thompson, (LP)	2,133
S. S. Johnson, (CCF)	1,437
M. J. Sago (OO) LPP	248

GLADSTONE

Hon. Wm. Morton, (LP)	Accl.

GLENWOOD

Gilbert H. Grant, (LP)	1,741
Leslie V. Robinson, (CCF)	698

HAMIOTA

Hon. H. L. Turnbull, (SC) (C)	1,578
Stanley Dawley, (CCF)	380

IBERVILLE	
John McDowell, (Ind-PC)	1,290
W. D. Lawrence (LP)	942
E. F. Kendall, (CCF)	683
KILDONAN and ST. ANDREWS	
Hon. J. McLenaghen, (PC)	3,518
William Grundy, (CCF)	2,313
William Gilbey, (OO) LPP	428
KILLARNEY	
Abram. W. Harrison, [illegible]	1,045
G. M. Anderson, (LP)	939
G. W. McMillan, (CCF)	560
LAKESIDE LP	
Hon. D. L. Campbell [illegible]	Accl.
LANSDOWNE	
M. R. Sutherland, (L)	1,759
W. Hargreaves, (CCF)	720
LA VERANDRYE	
Hon. S. Marcoux, (LP)	1,506
Paul Prince, (OO) SC (a-c)	913
A. Lagimodiere, (OP) IND-LP (C)	824
MANITOU	
Hugh B. Morrison, (PC)	Accl.
MINNEDOSA	
Dr. E. J. Ruthledge, (PC)	2,639
R. G. Frith, (CCF)	1,420
MORDEN RHINELAND	
W. C. Miller, (PC)	2,093
J. R. Walkof, (LP)	1,850
Edward Freison, (CCF)	326
MORRIS	
Hon. J. C. Dryden, (LP)	1,676
Ivan Langtry, (CCF)	714
MOUNTAIN	
Hon. Ivan Schultz, (LP)	2,300
David L. McBrien, (CCF)	723
NORFOLK	
John P. Lawrie, (PC)	1,710
James H. Wood, (CCF)	870
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE	
Charles E. Greenlay, (PC)	1,878
Margaret Mann, (CCF)	746
Earl Moffat, (OO) LPP	105

ROBLIN IND (C)	
Ronald D. Robertson, (LP)	1,247
Leslie Thompson, (CCF)	1,032
ROCKWOOD	
W. J. Campbell, (PC)	1,879
Mungo T. Lewis, (LP) (C)	1,582
RUPERT'S LAND	
D. R. Hamilton, (LP) (C)	438
W. Olafson, [illegible] LP (C)	230
W. H. G. Gibbs, (Ind.) (C)	175
M. R. Burritt, (OO) LPP	55
RUSSELL	
W. W. W. Wilson, (LP)	2,250
M. J. Tokar, (CCF)	1,768
ST. BONIFACE	1st
Edwin A. Hansford, (CCF)	6,605 6350
Walter H. Tod, (LP)	4,331 5349
L. A. Regnier, (OP) IND-LP (C)	1,812 7710
Angus McDonald, (OO) [illegible]	[illegible] 876
Jules J. Pinos, (OO) LPP	483 4071
ST. CLEMENTS	
William Donelyko, (CCF)	3,615
N. J. Stryk, (LP)	3,395
Andrew Bileski, (OO) LPP	1,041
ST. GEORGE	
C. Halldorson, (LP)	1,150
Eric Stefanson, [illegible] CCF	892
John A. Howardson, (OO) IND-LP (C)	237
Olie P. Johnson, (OO) LPP	56
STE. ROSE	
Dane M. MacCarthy, (LP)	1,907
J. Hessaker, (CCF)	823
SPRINGFIELD	
George E. Oliver, (CCF)	3,108
Murdoch McKay, (LP)	1,932
M. J. Hoban, [illegible] IND (C)	1,392
Joseph Ilchena, (OO) LPP	490
SWAN RIVER	
George P. Renouf, (PC)	2,519
Robert Niven, (CCF)	1,448
THE PAS	
Beresford R. Richards (CCF) IND-	2,840
Robert F. Milton, [illegible] LP	2,759
TURTLE MOUNTAIN	
Hon. E. F. Willis, (P.C.)	Accl.

VIRDEN	
Robert H. Mooney, (LP)	2,099
Cecil L. Nichol, (CCF)	856
WINNIPEG	
(10 Members)	
Bardal, Paul, (LP)	2,053
Farmer, Hon. S. J. (CCF)	11,237 E.
Gray, Morris, (CCF)	4,075 E.
Kardash, Wm. (LPP)	4,014 E.
Long, Mark, (PC)	3,012
Loughead, Morley (PC)	2,681
McDiarmid, Hon. James (LP)	10,771 E.
Milne, James (S)	222
Robertson, A. N. (CCF)	1,796
Scraba, Wm. [illegible] (C)	3,818 E. 34/5
Smith, Rhodes, (LP)	4,909 E.
Stapleton, Geo., (CCF)	2,329
Stinson, Lloyd (CCF)	7,773 E.
Stubbs, Lewis (Ind)	8,309 E.
Sully, Roy, (PC)	593
Swailes, Don., (CCF)	2,862 E.
Taylor, T. H. (SC)	635
Thorvaldson, G. S., (PC)	3,941 E.
Walsh, Mrs. M., (LP)	1,867
Zuken, Joseph, (LPP)	2,939

Zuken

10,771

Note: Letter "E" appearing after number of votes indicates Member elected.

VOTES BY PARTIES

Summary:

Votes cast for Coalition Government.	
Liberal Progressive	74,054
Progressive Conservative	38,964
Social Credit, Independent, etc.	8,857
Total	121,875
Votes cast in opposition to Government.	
C.C.F.	73,853
Other Parties in opposition	23,302
Total	97,155

PREVIOUS GENERAL ELECTIONS

1870	Dec.	27	1910	June	11
1874	Dec.	23	1914	July	10
1878	Dec.	18	1915	Sept.	16
1879	Dec.	16	1920	June	29
1883	Jan.	23	1922	July	18
1886	Dec.	9	1927	June	28
1888	July	11	1932	June	16
1892	July	23	1936	July	27
1896	Jan.	15	1941	Apr.	22
1899	Dec.	7	1945	Oct.	15
1903	July	20			
1907	Mar.	7			

INTRA-PARTY DISUNITY--

INADEQUATE SERVICES--

AND THE DECLINE OF COALITION

SEPTEMBER 29 TO NOVEMBER 10, 1949

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Coalition.		
Liberal-Progressive	Douglas L. Campbell	45
Progressive Conservative	Errick Willis	17
Independents	-----	7
Anti-Coalition.		
CCF	Edwin A. Hansford	26
Labor Progressive Party	William A. Kardash	2
Independent Progressive Conservatives	-----	6
Independent Liberals	-----	3
Independent Liberal-Progressives	-----	1
Independent Labor	-----	1
Independents	-----	4

43 single member plurality districts. St. Boniface two-member district and Winnipeg three four-member districts use Hare P.R.
Total: 57.

Introducing the Issues.

Extensive post-war development resulting in great diversification and mechanization in agriculture and industry took place between the years 1945 and 1949 in Manitoba. Stuart Garson had led his government to an agreement with Ottawa whereby he would desist from collecting any income or corporation taxes for a five year period for a lump sum annual payment of $13,500,000 from the Dominion treasury. Believing his work to be completed in Manitoba, Mr. Garson resigned as Premier and took his place as Minister of Justice and Attorney-General in Louis St. Laurent's Liberal federal government in November, 1948. He was replaced as Premier by Douglas L. Campbell, former Minister of Agriculture and Immigration, and member for Lakeside constituency since 1922.

Immediately following a Liberal-Progressive convention which carried a resolution in favor of remaining in coalition rather narrowly over opposing young and federal liberals, 418-261, Mr. Campbell called an election.[1] He gave as reasons for his decision his desire to have the electorate approve his government's large financial commitments for road-building, rural electrification and power development. He also cited as reasons for the campaign, changes in government personnel and challenges to his new leadership.[2] Mr. Campbell's Deputy Premier, Minister of Public Works and still leader of the Conservative Party, Errick Willis, reported that the election was called to endorse Mr. Campbell, solicit a mandate for the kind of Dominion-provincial conferences taking place, and, with four sessions of the house completed, to ask for approval of the hydro development schemes.[3]

The unpredictable months of October and November 1949 were to witness the discussion of a myriad of contentious issues throughout the province.

The kinds of tax agreements entered into by Manitoba would constitute a major province-wide election issue although not nearly as heated a matter as the kind of services, or lack of same, the tax revenue supplied the taxpayer.

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[1] Editorial, Saturday Night, October 11, 1949, p. 84.

[2] WFP, November 2, 1949, p. 6.

[3] WFP, October 13, 1949, p. 28.

Both Manitoba and neighboring Saskatchewan were developing province-wide health schemes with differing emphases and antagonistic underlying philosophies. Comparisons between the two, along with alarming shortages of hospital staff, made this perhaps one of the most distinguishing issues of the campaign.

In a more perennial vein the pros and cons of the coalition returned, although in 1949 new intra-party dissatisfaction saw the rise of the Manitoba Democratic Movement, a miniature coalition designed to end the larger one.

The growth of the cold war and its "Communist scare" spirit was a matter to divide the supporters of labor and left wing movements, and in July of 1949 Berry Richards was expelled from the CCF. He epitomized that party's disunity in the 1949 campaign.

Hydro development had moved ahead but the demands of the highly successful farm electrification program still out-stripped its output. The North still hungered for increased government attention and investment, particularly in the fishing industry, for road building, and for proper use and maintenance of the Hudson's Bay Railroad.

Debate on Manitoba's teacher shortage and the standard time versus daylight saving time controversy raged across the province. And in the dying days of the campaign the lifting of the federal rent controls would move the issue of housing needs into center stage.

Major Clusters: (1) The Government's Record.

Early in the campaign it was apparent that the general administrative record of the Garson-Campbell Government would once again be a major issue. The stringent budget practices continued unabated under the new Premier, who boasted the retirement of $37,000,000 of debt in nine years of coalition government.[4] Provincial-Treasurer J. C. Dryden compared Manitoba's revenue position to other provinces by noting that his government had achieved the lowest per capita debt in Canada, the lowest tax rate of any province save Prince Edward Island and the lowest gasoline taxes in Canada. Cancellation of direct relief debts owed by the municipalities to the province, along with the province's withdrawal from railway taxes in favor of the municipalities, were noted as measures greatly strengthening municipal governments.[5]

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[4] WFP, Oct. 11, 1949, p. 6.

Coalition advertisements carried the comparative figures which portrayed Dryden's arguments and stressed the administrative capacity of a coalition of parties as they overcame distance and a scattered population to supply the many government services. One such advertisement concluded by noting the coalition's purpose.

> With one thought in mind--the provision of the best services and the best administration possible consistent with economy, the men of your government are working together harmoniously in the best interests of Manitoba citizens. Together, they represent a highly-trained, experienced group of administrators. A vote for your coalition candidate will ensure the continuation of this administration.[6]

Edwin A. Hansford, CCF party leader, indulged in some comparisons also, as he answered Premier Campbell's claims. In the first place Hansford noted that the $13,500,000 received by the province for vacating taxes compared unfavorably to the $50,000,000 being collected by Ottawa out of the province and its municipalities.[7] Manitoba's $37,000,000 debt reduction was small in comparison to Saskatchewan's $69,000,000 reduction in five years, the CCF leader also noted.[8]

The vigorous Independent-Liberal Edmond Prefontaine also claimed that Premier Campbell failed to tell the whole story of provincial debt. He described Mr. Campbell's remarks to his Carillon constituents:

> He is making the statement that the debt has been reduced by $37,000,000 in nine years, and leaves it at that. From his statements one would believe that this is the situation today.

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[5] WFP, October 15, 1949, p. 9.

[6] The Souris Plaindealer (Souris, Manitoba), Nov. 2, 1949, p. 3.

[7] The Northern Mail (The Pas, Man.), Nov. 2, 1949, p. 1.

[8] WFP, October 14, 1949, p. 11.

> The full story is that the debt is now increasing by leaps and bounds. It increased by $8,000,000 last year and might increase by $25,000,000 this year because this is the part of this year's bribery election budget that is, in part at least, being financed through borrowings.[9]

The Free Press accounted for Saskatchewan's allegedly superior position in handling debt by claiming that $44,368,000 of that province's $68,500,000 debt had been due to federal cancellation, and much of the balance had been reduced by repayments from a variety of other government agencies like the wheat pool, co-operatives, and telephone department. The Free Press claimed that if a comparison were made of reductions by funds from revenue from 1939 to 1948, Manitoba's $19 million plus would look very good beside Saskatchewan's mere $452,000.[10]

The Winnipeg daily carried a lengthy series of articles by Saskatchewan Liberal leader Walter Tucker which were designed to convince readers that money in CCF Saskatchewan was wasted on a "vastly increased civil service." Saskatchewan wasted funds, Tucker claimed, on "numerous costly and uneconomic socialistic business enterprises," where net funded debt was three times as large as that of Manitoba.[11]

Once again, since the CCF served as Manitoba's chief opposition party, the questions of administrative efficiency led to the "free enterprise versus socialist" debate. The last of this long series of articles by the Saskatchewan Liberal leader concluded with an energetic denunciation of Saskatchewan's socialist experiment.

> In these articles there has been set out the record of a party which made glowing promises and maintained that these promises were not to be regarded in the same light as promises made by other parties.
>
> Obviously it is a record of failure to perform, of the creation of conditions leading to lack of development in the province, of great expansion of expenditure of public money in perhaps the most vulnerable economy of all Canada.

---

[9] WFP, Oct. 22, 1949, p. 13.

[10] Editorial: "Debt Comparisons," WFP, Oct. 24, 1949, p. 17.

[11] The editorial: "Manitoba and Saskatchewan Debt Comparisons," discusses Tucker's articles. WFP, Oct. 26, 1949, p. 19.

Saskatchewan has paid and is continuing to pay a high price for entrusting the direction of its affairs to Socialists.[12]

Hence we have a cluster of issues related to the general administrative record of the Coalition Government. Was coalition an improvement over allegedly less efficient multi-party attempts at governing? How did the coalition's record stand up against its neighboring socialist province? In the light of those comparisons what could be said for free enterprise as against socialist-inspired administrations?

Gordon Fines, Winnipeg CCF candidate, was one of many who added a fourth matter in this circle of issues: was the coalition able to boast of balanced budgets because of higher local taxes?[13] Citing recently published Bank of Montreal figures, Fines noted that Manitoba's municipal debt was twice as much as Saskatchewan's.[14] George C. McLean, Mayor of St. Boniface and president of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, called the need for municipal revenue "the most important issue" facing the electorate. As he called for more unemployment relief he challenged provincial candidates to take a position on a proposed fifty per cent increase in monies from the province, and asked whether candidates would support immediate implementation of a bill to encourage subsidized housing. McLean also called for a larger municipal share of liquor profits and gasoline taxes.[15]

Municipal Affairs Minister, Sauveur Marcoux defended his government by explaining the benefits to Manitoba from the Dominion-provincial taxation agreements, and noting that while such benefits might be down somewhat in 1949 they had been applied to the poorer municipalities and with a minimum of provincial interference.[16] However, there seems little doubt that both rural and suburban municipalities were extremely hard pressed financially. An Assiniboia Reeve, (adjoining Winnipeg proper) accurately described the situation for most municipalities. The Manitoba Government, he said:

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[12] WFP, Oct. 27, 1949, p. 35.

[13] WFP, Oct. 15, 1949, p. 20.

[14] The figures were Manitoba: $51,000,000; Saskatchewan: $23,000,000. WFP, Nov. 1, 1949, p. 25.

[15] WFP, Oct. 20, 1949, p. 12.

[16] WFP, Oct. 28, 1949, p. 12.

> ...exacts more from and gives less to the municipalities than any other government in Western Canada.
>
> Much has been said about the low provincial per capita debt and per capita tax of this province but little has been said about the growing municipal debt, the increasing number of municipalities which in late years have ceased to operate on a cash basis...It is difficult to build up a healthy financial position if you are collecting the money and someone else is paying the bills.
>
> It was idle to say the provincial per capita tax was low...because persons who own or rent land paid heavy municipal taxes for those things which are primarily a provincial responsibility and which have been thrust upon the municipalities.[17]

In Winnipeg proper feelings were not unlike those expressed in Assiniboia. At a Town Hall meeting held to discuss civic elections the meeting quickly turned to provincial matters. "Slashing attacks" were made on the provincial government because of its control of Winnipeg Hydro. The attacks were seen as yet another evidence of the desire for municipal control of revenues. The Free Press reported the commencement of the meeting as follows:

> Ronald Moran, CCF candidate [civic] opened the session with a stinging rebuke of the provincial government which he said took "enormous profits from the city in liquor, amusement, para-mutual and auto gasoline taxes".
>
> "In return", he declared, "it gives small grants which ought to make Mr. Campbell (Premier Douglas L. Campbell) [sic] blush."[18]

The same meeting also saw concern expressed over taxes as they related to Winnipeg's education budget. It was argued that seventy per cent of the city's tax revenues were taken by the province while only six per cent of Winnipeg's education expenses were covered by the coalition government. This low figure compared unfavorably to some municipalities which received as high as ninety per cent of their education budget from the provincial government.[19]

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[17] WFP, Nov. 7, 1949, p. 12.

[18] WFP, Oct. 22, 1949, p. 1.

[19] WFP, Oct. 22, 1949, p. 7.

One final issue can be added to the cluster discussed above: the argument, perhaps best put forward by CCF leader Hansford, that the Coalition Government's balanced budgets were achieved at the expense of decreased social services. Hansford claimed that the Provincial Treasurer deliberately underestimated his budgets year by year and overestimated expenditures so that "when asked for an increase in pensions, or mother's allowances, the Treasurer then complains that the budget is too tight."[20] Mr. Hansford and his CCF Party seemed lacking in imagination and vitality in 1949 according to some sources,[21] but on the question of balanced budgets at the cost of lost services Hansford was reportedly eloquent.

> This is the reason for the government's financial position. That huge surplus was piled up at the expense of the old-age pensioner, the farmer's daughter lacking school facilities ...and the widowed mother with three children. If the Premier wants to make his record in provincial financing a major issue in this campaign, we accept the challenge.[22]

Major Clusters: (2) Health Issues.

Perhaps the most significant area of the challenge to the record of provincial services was that of health. The nub of the issue was again a comparison of the relative success of Manitoba's Blue Cross voluntary scheme as against Saskatchewan's compulsory health plan. The Manitoba scheme had its earliest beginnings in the spring of 1945, establishing itself in rural areas via a shared cost to province, municipality and individual subscriber. The enviable establishment of local health units and diagnostic clinics had early on encountered serious staff shortages. Such shortages in turn produced a shortage of new clinics and associated X-rays and lab tests, or so argued a series of articles contained in the Free Press.[23]

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[20] WFP, Oct. 25, 1949, p. 11.

[21] Frank Walker, "Manitoba: Love That Coalition," Saturday Night, Oct. 25, 1949, p. 13, describes Hansford as "sincere, tolerant and likeable" but lacking "political glamour and political strategy."

[22] WFP, Oct. 25, 1949, p. 11.

[23] WFP, Oct. 9, 10 and 11, 1949.

The Manitoba Government had set up a provincial health advisory committee under the chairmanship of Judge J. M. George. Both George and Health and Welfare Minister Ivan Schultz, speaking at the Manitoba Hospital Association convention, favored a cessation of hospital construction until it could be shown that any new hospital could be staffed without taking staff from existing institutions. Judge George was critical of the government for not taking the stand earlier than it did in view of the province's acute nursing shortage.[24] The Health Minister, in turn, claimed that many small medical units were being built in rural areas in an attempt to keep doctors in the country. Local groups were pressing for hospital and clinic construction in order to be able to take advantage of large Dominion and provincial grants available for such work--but at the cost of exacerbating the professional shortages.[25]

Judge George was also somewhat critical of the government for having only too recently offered scholarships for potential doctors. On all such matters the Winnipeg Free Press defended the government's actions, noting that the shortage of hospital professionals was Canada-wide, that the Dominion government shared responsibility, and that increased construction in Winnipeg was partly responsible for rural shortages.[26]

6

The CCF position was one of vigorous denunciation of what Hansford called an "out-of-date" and "patchwork" health scheme. He deplored the government's willingness to establish hospital facilities (now delayed by staff shortages) before offering a prepared health scheme.[27] Winnipeg CCF'er Lloyd Stinson associated the government's failures to provide adequate health services with the general unhappy situation of old-age pensioners. He argued that several provinces paid the same pension as Manitoba but offered free medical care in addition. Stinson claimed such facts were never made available by the Free Press and Tribune. "Manitoba's position" was one, he said, "of which the Coalition Government should be heartily ashamed."

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[24] WFP, Oct. 12, 1949, p.1.

[25] Ibid. p. 23.

[26] WFP, Oct. 13, 1949, p. 23. Winnipeg apparently had 453 beds to 248 rural beds under construction.

[27] WFP, Oct. 28, 1949, p. 34.

"Year after year," said Stinson, "we of the opposition side have put forward proposals for supplementary allowances and free medical care, but the coalition has refused to budge."[28]

In Assiniboia constituency, home of the Selkirk Mental Hospital, the CCF candidate described that hospital as "overcrowded, short-staffed and not fire proof." "While some people say that the CCF's policy is too costly, failure to look after these people properly will in the long run be more costly," he said.[29] The CCF program would offer free treatment to the mentally ill and old-age and blind pensioners. It would handle the staff shortage by offering higher wages and better working conditions. It would launch a vigorous construction program. The CCF, according to Hansford, was also prepared to collect a small annual fee from subscribers since the program could not be offered free without federal aid.[30]

The nursing shortage was of course a widely felt issue. In more isolated communities like The Pas, for example, there had been no public health nurse for a considerable time and the resignation of the Northern Health Unit's medical director when added to that of the unit's nurse made this question a vital election issue.[31] The Superintendent of the Portage La Prairie Hospital argued that separate nurses residences could attract prospective nurses. She attacked the practice of housing nurses in residences within hospitals contending that nurses require "a home life quite apart from their occupation." The lack of social recreation for student nurses and their long working hours were also cited as reasons for the shortage.[32]

The editor of a south-western Manitoba paper prodded the government on the nursing shortage, claiming that Minister of Health Schultz and Judge George had both failed to consider the reduced number of training schools and the consequent loss of applicants as a cause of the nursing shortage. The editor also claimed that demands for a grade twelve education for nurses put a strain on girls who could not afford to go away to obtain that education.[33]

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[28] WFP, Oct. 14, 1949, p. 10.

[29] WFP, Oct. 15, 1949, p. 20.

[30] WFP, Oct. 15, p. 20, and Oct. 23, 1945, p. 34.

[31] The Northern Mail, Oct. 5, 1949, p. 1.

[32] WFP, Oct. 12, 1949, p. 29.

In fact, Schultz had told the Hospital Association convention that the provincial situation was exacerbated by a federal aid scheme which did not include a nursing training program.[34]

At that same Hospital Association meeting another aspect of the health plan issue arose--that of the nature of the advisory commission on the plan. Dr. H. S. Evans, president of the Manitoba Medical Association, charged that the provincial "Department of Health intended to pursue its policies regardless of the opinions of the commission."[35] The Free Press dismissed such a criticism by noting that no regulation devised under Manitoba's health act could be enforced without approval of the advisory commission.[36] However, the Manitoba Hospital Association was specific in its concern as it passed a resolution calling for representation on the advisory commission.

> This proposal was made following charges that the health department was permitting changes in the type of hospital construction once the original project was approved by the advisory commission. By having a voice on the commission, the association hopes to extend its advisory jurisdiction into the actual administration of hospital construction.[37]

The Manitoba Medical Association made similar criticisms of the health plan, claiming that control of diagnostic clinics in the hands of the "health services" extension director fostered poor working relationships and a lack of local direction. The diagnostic unit plan was described by the Association as "detrimental to the over-all health care of the people of Manitoba." The plan, centrally directed, worked against local advice. The staff were government-appointed civil servants who worked different hours than medical office hours. Patients were sent away, service was limited by a legislative budget, there was no local discretion in hiring and firing, and, the Manitoba Medical Association concluded, the program was financially unsound and totally unable to offer increased service.[38]

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[33] The Souris Plaindealer, Oct. 19, 1949, p. 2.

[34] WFP, Oct. 12, 1949, p. 1.

[35] WFP, Oct. 12, 1949, p. 23.

[36] Ibid.

[37] WFP, Oct. 13, 1949, p. 41.

Major Clusters: (3) The Role of Coalition Government.

The coalition nature of the administration was by now a perennial issue which also demanded some official apologia. What the attack on the coalition may have lacked in total verbosity in 1949, it made up for in the germs of structural changes and intra-party disunity. We have already observed that the vote against continuing in coalition had been heavy in the pre-election Liberal convention. On October 4th, the Progressive Conservative executive agreed to remain in the coalition, in keeping with an earlier decision made in June, 1948. The fact that the Conservative decision had been made by the party's executive was very quickly made a public issue by those Conservatives whose participation in the Manitoba Democratic Movement was seen as "sewing the seeds of the breakup of coalition."[39]

The long-standing criticisms against coalition seemed somehow to be repeated by growing numbers. Letters to the Free Press compared Manitoba's system of elections to that of the Soviet Union, condemned the growing number of acclamations caused by bi-partisan nominations, and noted the growing lack of courage on the part of coalition members to participate in election campaigns.[40] One opponent deplored the subservient position of coalition members to its leadership. He spoke of the party whip coming "down around the neck[s] of all the...back-benchers of the coalition."[41] Toronto's Saturday Night said of old defences of the coalition like the strengthened hand in Dominion-provincial relations that they were "now no more than a convenient explanation of an essentially comfortable arrangement. Neither party is prepared to disturb it...."[42] But it could also be observed that the small group of recalcitrant Conservatives might yet "prove embarrassing beyond its size" to Mr. Willis.

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[38] WFP, Oct. 18, p. 7, and Oct. 31, 1945, p. 10.

[39] WFP, Oct. 18, 1949, p. 11.

[40] Letters to the editor on the subject of coalition government. WFP, Oct. 22, p. 17, and Nov. 5, 1949, p. 25.

The Manitoba Democratic Movement was a temporary alliance of six MLA's opposed to coalition. G. V. Hastings, a Progressive Conservative organizer become provincial secretary for the MDM, described it as a "banding together of men of both Liberal and Conservative convictions who believe that a truly representative and responsible government must return to Manitoba and who are prepared, in order to achieve this end, to act together in the legislative assembly until the coalition is ended, without in any way affecting their fundamental political beliefs."[44]

Edmond Prefontaine was the most noteworthy member of the MDM. From his Carillon constituency Prefontaine attacked the coalition as a totally uncohesive mix. Cabinet ministers, he said, were divided in their votes on issues, and often refused to speak to each other, but hung on tenaciously to their positions at a time when the development of Manitoba demanded "the most capable and qualified men possible" in the provincial legislature. "One of the main results of the coalition system is to maintain a status quo in membership in the assembly," said the renowned Franco-Manitoban, "and to discourage young candidates from seeking election."[45]

"In order to consolidate coalition," Prefontaine argued, Premier Campbell responded to Progressive Conservative Party demands for a turn at the premiership by offering the Conservatives an additional cabinet position. Premier Campbell had then "created another ministry for the

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[41] Letter by Berry Richards and editorial comment. The Northern Mail, Nov. 9, 1949, p. 4.

[42] Walker, "Manitoba: Love that Coalition," p. 13.

[43] Editorial, Saturday Night, Nov. 22, 1949, p. 64.

[44] WFP, Oct. 14, 1949, p. 11.

[45] WFP, Oct. 7, 1949, p. 1.

Liberals at the expense of the taxpayers. They can get away with murder," he said, "because there is no effective opposition to keep them on their toes."[46]

Deputy Premier Willis, under considerable attack from various quarters of his own party, responded to Prefontaine-like criticisms by claiming that Manitoba had more opposition than each of the three Maritime provinces, Quebec, and Alberta. Contrary to the MDM contention that coalition prevented young and capable personnel from entering the government, Mr. Willis argued:

> Most people would quickly admit that all the brains do not rest in the heads of one party alone, and therefore it seems logical that by using the process of coalition government we should select the best men in provincial affairs belonging to the Progressive Conservative and Liberal parties to administer the affairs of the province through the legislative assembly and the provincial cabinet.[47]

Deputy Premier Willis still believed that eighty to ninety per cent of the Manitoba electorate supported the idea of coalition.[48]

Not all Liberal and Conservative critics of the coalition linked themselves to the MDM. Dufferin Roblin, Independent Progressive Conservative and Stephen Juba, Independent Liberal, two names yet to be written large in Manitoba history, spoke of the need for an alternative government other than the CCF, and of the importance of younger members with new ideas in the provincial house.[49] Others like H. B. Morrison in Manitou-Morden and G. R. Muir in Dufferin believed that even the name *Progressive* Conservative was a betrayal of party principles and refused to be so called.[50]

With such movements afoot CCF'er Lloyd Stinson summed up something of the climate and of the attitude of many towards the Conservatives who participated in the Manitoba Democratic Movement.

> ...this new organization really should be called "the Manitoba Undemocratic Movement" as its leaders represent the most reactionary,

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[46] *WFP*, Oct. 18, 1949, p. 11.

[47] *WFP*, Oct. 13, 1949, p. 28.

[48] *WFP*, Oct. 14, 1949, p. 10.

[49] *WFP*, Oct. 15, p. 3, and Nov. 9, 1949, p. 4.

[50] *WFP*, Oct. 21, 1949, p. 10.

> the most ultra-conservative and anti-labor forces in this province. To elect such men to office would be to put the clock back 35 years to the days of the old Roblin government and those who remember that regime certainly don't want to see a repetition of it.[51]

Stinson made the above statement in Iberville constituency just north of Winnipeg where one of the most vocal members of the MDM, and one Stinson had in mind, had promised another election to return to a straight party fight, should MDM members be elected in sufficient numbers. Premier Campbell immediately jumped on such a contention noting that not many MDM supporters, which he too defined as "the out and out Tory element of the Conservative Party," could expect to win election by promising the electorate another one right on the heels of their victory.[52] It had been Premier Campbell's "aim," quite to the contrary, "to avoid wearying the electors with a series of partisan political speeches." The Premier had promised that his coalition campaigners would "refrain from personal attacks upon those holding views differing from ours."[53]

Premier Campbell also re-opened the long-standing issue as to the non-partisan nature of coalition administration, and whether provincial politics should not be operated, as Errick Willis had often observed, like a "king-size municipality." Speaking at St. Pierre on debt reduction and rural electrification, Premier Campbell asked his audience whether they saw in such matters "the necessity for party politics?" "Isn't it just a case of meeting together just as you do on your school boards and your municipal councils and your chambers of commerce, to sit down and figure out the best policy?"[54]

The Premier described provincial elections as "nothing to get excited about," "just a plain proposition of picking out the persons in whom we have the most confidence to carry out our public business." The election campaign was viewed as an occasion for the government to "give an account of its stewardship" but there was no need for candidates to engage in "recriminations and excessive partisanship."[55]

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[51] WFP, Oct. 17, 1949, p. 2.

[52] WFP, Oct. 18, 1949, p. 10.

[53] WFP, Oct. 11, 1949, p. 6.

[54] WFP, Oct. 18, 1949, p. 10.

Errick Willis expanded on the comparability of municipal and coalition politics:

> It is a well-known fact that the matters dealt with by provincial legislatures are almost identical with those of a municipal council, namely, health, schools and roads and it is a well-accepted fact throughout Canada that municipal affairs should be on a strictly non-partisan basis.
>
> ...it therefore seems logical that by using the process of coalition government we should select the best men in provincial affairs from all parties.[56]

Lloyd Stinson answered Messrs. Campbell and Willis by outlining the differences, as he saw them, between provincial and local governments. His vigorous and well-considered reply is worth citing at some length.

> I challenge this conception of government. I have been a member of the Winnipeg city council and also a member of the legislature. There is a vast difference in the way in which things are done. On the municipal council every member is equal to every other member. There are no cabinet ministers. Decisions are made by members of council, first in committee and then in formal meeting of council.
>
> In the legislature, which is set up as a parliament, there is a government and the opposition. There are cabinet ministers charged with full responsibility for all executive policy and administrative actions connected with the government of the province.
>
> The opposition is there to scrutinize everything that is done by the administration.

Stinson stressed the importance of the assembly to act as a parliament or forum of division on public issues, "but Mr. Campbell," he concluded, "would scuttle this essentially democratic system of government to maintain his non-descript coalition in office."[57]

Major Clusters: (4) Anti-Communism and Disunity on the Left.

The existence of the NDM, as well as completely independent

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[55] WFP, Oct. 18, 1949, p. 10.

[56] From a radio address over Winnipeg's CKY, Oct. 11, 1949, as cited in M. S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 65.

[57] WFP, Oct. 21, 1949, p. 10.

Conservative and Liberal candidates, was clear evidence of party disunity within each of the two coalition partners. Party disunity of a different variety existed in the CCF and other left-wing or minority groups.

In mid-October the Labor Progressive Party office was attacked by a group of demonstrators, and a near-riot broke out at the Ukrainian Labor Temple when arguments arose between recent immigrants from the Ukraine critical of the Soviet Union and older immigrants who had come to listen to a sympathetic presentation on life in the USSR.[58] The Free Press blamed the entire affair on the LPP's sitting member William Kardash and his supporters. In language which would come to characterize this cold war era the Free Press said of the disturbance:

> There are other things to do in Winnipeg on a Sunday afternoon in addition to torturing oneself with the unctuous hypocrisy of small time commies...There is far too much divided loyalty among some groups in Winnipeg. It is perfectly proper to be interested in events in the country where one was born but that interest should be secondary to things Canadian.
>
> One does not expect this of communists but one does of those who are not. Whatever one's origins...if one intends to live in Canada then one should strive to be Canadian and do one's fighting for this country and not for some other land.
>
> One's thinking should be Canadian, one's loyalty to this country, one's attitudes those of a Canadian, and not of some other land across the seas.[59]

William Kardash replied by letter and party advertisements to the Free Press "invective," insisting that "organized fascist DP violence," was responsible for the Labor Temple difficulties. The LPP leader blamed newly-arrived immigrants who had fought alongside Hitler for disruption of an otherwise peaceful meeting.[60] His supporters criticized the city police for failing to provide any police protection. Along with other members of his party and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Kardash called for an inquiry into the disturbance by the Winnipeg police commission.

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[58] These events are described in WFP, Oct. 14-17, 1949, and Time Magazine, Oct. 31, 1949, p. 26.

[59] WFP, Oct. 18, 1949, p. 17.

[60] WFP, Oct. 20, 1949, p. 8.

The Free Press complained that any talk of freedom of speech coming from William Kardash was "nauseating" and "indecent," since his kind had choked and throttled it over a large part of the world."[61] The newspaper pleaded with electors to defeat all Communists like Kardash who the paper argued, sought only to obtain office in order to "undermine" democratic institutions.[62] Kardash, who, incidently, had lost his right leg while serving in the People's Republican Army in Spain in 1937 and 1938, accused the Free Press of "red-baiting," claiming the editors knew no difference between Communists and fascists.[63]

The expulsions of Berry Richards, Independent CCF'er from The Pas, and Wilbert Doneleyko (Independent CCF--St. Clements), were only two such evidences that the CCF party had its own difficulties facing a hostile anti-communist environment with members who either spoke admiringly of the Soviet Union, advocated coalition with the Labor Progressive Party, or spoke critically of the Atlantic Pact and various western countries. A CCF candidate in a Saskatchewan by-election who made just such criticisms was occasion for the Free Press to review the lengthy list of similar members of the party. "How many more" there were, the newspaper did not know. "But the chances are plenty, something the Manitoba voter should think about when he is asked for his vote by Mr. Hansford and his colleagues." "Playing hide-go-seek is good fun but tiresome politics and who is to know the Coldwell CCF'er from his brother except when the luck of the game exposes one in the bushes?", the newspaper asked editorially.[64]

The disunity of the CCF was perhaps most in evidence in Richards' own riding of The Pas. In spite of an apparent agreement not to contest the incumbent's seat the party did nominate a candidate at a time when the CCF was twenty-seven nominees short in other constituencies, not including Winnipeg. Richards ran as a Northern Independent candidate fighting off charges by Donovan Swailes that it was "the moral responsibility of every CCF member in The Pas to get out and work for Murray Ferg," the official CCF candidate.[65] Richards roundly criticized the CCF for failing to get on with the defeat of the coalition and instead expending great energy in The Pas, one area in which the constituents had shown they could "manage their own affairs, and defeat the coalition in their own constituency in their own way."[66]

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[61] WFP, Oct. 22, 1949, p. 20.

[62] WFP, Oct. 29, 1949, p. 2.

[63] WFP, Nov. 3, 1949, p. 23.

[64] WFP, Oct. 22, 1949, p. 20. Editorial: "And Now Another."

CCF's failure to nominate sufficient candidates meant that by nomination day, October 27th, there were fifteen acclamations of coalition candidates. Since in the constituencies of Hamiota, Killarney, and Lansdowne, there were two coalition supporters of differing parties contesting the election, at least eighteen seats were assured for the government two weeks before the voting began.[67]

These facts led CCF leader Edwin Hansford to concede that the election was lost.[68] Donovan Swailes later tried to redeem the situation by claiming that a minority government was still not ruled out, but a minor issue of considerable import had been launched. The CCF had only 25 officially approved candidates throughout the province. Even in Winnipeg ridings, which were now three four-member seats but still conducted by the Hare system of proportional representation, five seats were assured for either coalitionists or independents.

Major Clusters: (5) Hydro Power and Rural Electrification.

The Coalition Government was able to point to a highly successful rural electrification program which Premier Campbell and his Utilities

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[65] Letter to the Editor from Donovan Swailes. The Northern Mail, Oct. 19, 1949, p. 8.

[66] Letter to the Editor from Richards. Ibid. p. 4.

[67] There may have been as many as 20 assured seats. One Winnipeg South seat was assured to some coalition candidate since there were only three anti-coalitionists of any variety contesting the four seats. Some confusion may have arisen because R. A. Quickfall of Rockwood who had been listed as an Independent Liberal (anti-coalition) later told Canadian Press he was in fact a supporter of the coalition. The Globe and Mail (Toronto), Nov. 8, 1949, p. 2.

[68] It was a Canadian Press reporter who had asked Edwin Hansford about conceding the election. Hansford's infamous reply "We haven't any alternative but to agree that they will be returned" prompted headline stories across the country, for example: "CCF Leader 'Concedes' 2 Weeks Before Vote: 18 Seat Giveaway in Manitoba." The Globe and Mail, Oct. 28, 1949, p. 1.

Minister, William Morton, reported already fed 17,000 farm homes, and included plans to serve an additional 5,000 more homes each year. The program also serviced 350 towns and villages.[69] Some government supporters claimed the project was ahead of schedule and developed at very low cost. Morton excused any tardiness on the low density of population in rural Manitoba. The Free Press took some satisfaction in comparing Manitoba's record with Saskatchewan's where only two thousand farms had been serviced and the program just begun in the current year. Whereas in Manitoba there was no charge for running the line to the farmer's buildings, Saskatchewan farmers were paying $485 for such a hook-up. Only 1.5 per cent of Saskatchewan's farms were serviced compared to 30 per cent of Manitoba's, the Free Press calculated.[70]

Rural electrification as a campaign issue was that kind of evident concern which boosted government stock in an obvious manner. Something of its value can be understood when one considers the following description of the change wrought by electrification in the south-western Manitoba countryside during the months of the campaign.

> One need only drive any direction from Souris at night to realise the tremendous increase in the use of hydro. It is a remarkable sight to see farm yards all over the district illuminated--the countryside taking almost the appearance of a widely scattered village.[71]

The same editorial from which the above description comes goes on to outline the tremendous growth in demand for power, and worries that the twenty million dollars voted for increasing the capacity of power plants will merely meet the "initial costs" of what must become "a huge and vitally necessary development program."[72] Provincial Treasurer Dryden promised a province-wide evaluation of "power development properties in Manitoba" which would include all utilities, and not just the Winnipeg Electric Company being jealously guarded by Winnipeg politicans. Dryden was proposing a joint city of Winnipeg and provincial government water power committee to make use of information gleaned in a report made by government consultant Dr. Thomas Hogg. "The committee would be interested in obtaining a picture of the financial structure of all power-generating and distributing facilities in Manitoba," the Provincial Treasurer promised.[73]

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[69] WFP, Oct. 11, p. 6; Nov. 1 and 8, 1949, p. 15.

[70] Editorial, WFP, Nov. 8, 1949, p. 15.

[71] The Souris Plaindealer, Oct. 26, 1949, p. 2.

[72] Ibid.

Control of the Winnipeg Electric Company and City Hydro was still in a state of uncertainty during the 1949 campaign, although provincial government intentions were to take over complete control of both companies. Civic politicans were almost unanimously opposed to such a move, and the CCF was severely split, with its provincial members favoring provincial control, and city council CCF'ers bitterly opposed.[74]

Some of the many concerns associated with Manitoba's power needs and the takeover of the Winnipeg companies were voiced by J. W. Sanger, General-Manager of City Hydro, who warned that the city company would not be given up voluntarily and that delay in negotiations could lead to power failures. Sanger hoped that the provincial decision would guarantee protection of Winnipeg's transit system in such a way that it would not become a financial burden on the city.[75]

Ostensibly, one of the reasons for the election call had been to solicit approval for wider hydro development in the province, and more specifically, a mandate to continue such work as was taking place at Pine Falls on the Winnipeg River close to the most south-easterly point on Lake Winnipeg.

As a general criticism of the Coalition Government's program of natural resource development, Edwin Hansford had charged that a few leading monopolistic corporations had received almost all the monies spent by the government for such development. "These companies are making millions in profits from their exploitation of Manitoba's resources while the people of the province are getting only a few crumbs in the way of royalties," he said.[76]

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[73] WFP, Oct. 4, 1949, p. 1.

[74] Ibid.

[75] WFP, Oct. 19, 1949, p. 3.

In the specific case of the Pine Falls development, Edwin Hansford had criticized the nature of the original contract as it appeared to include the cost of development plus a specified fee in order to speed up development and avoid a power shortage within the ensuing two years. Premier Campbell was compelled to explain the nature of the contract to show that it was based on a fixed fee so that the contractors could not gain a later percentage commission, and that borrowing on the project was carried on at low interest rates.[77]

Mr. Hansford then charged that the project was importing laborers from Montreal to work at reduced wages thus taking work from Manitoban workers. Premier Campbell replied, calling the charges "unfounded" since almost eighty per cent of the workers came from Manitoba points and were in receipt of wages at the "going rates or higher."[78]

Northern Issues.

The Minister of Mines and Natural Resources, J. S. McDiarmid, continued to spell out his department's expanding program of increased mining and forestry production and employment, and boasted of the "largest and most comprehensive fur rehabilitation scheme in Canada" and the second largest inland fishing industry in the country.[79] One hundred new British industries had been established in the province, with 95 per cent of them located in Winnipeg, Mr. McDiarmid told his urban constituents.[80]

But J. S. McDiarmid, for all the success his department could point to, gave appearances of being the all too slick businessman. At a personal level, he was attacked in Winnipeg as a front man for big business, sporting $200 campaign signs while lacking all sympathy for the problems of the worker, or so charged Winnipeg's Lloyd Stinson.[81] In The Pas, Berry Richards charged that Mr. McDiarmid knew "nothing about mines" and was "not interested in the North."[82]

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[76] WFP, October 25, 1949, p. 11.

[77] WFP, November 3, 1949, pp. 19 and 26.

[78] WFP, Nov. 7, p. 9; Nov. 7, p. 12; and Nov. 8, 1949, p. 10.

[79] WFP, November 1, 1949, p. 25.

[80] WFP, November 3, 1949, p. 13.

Speaking on a northern radio station, CFAR The Pas, J. S. McDiarmid defended the government's approach to northern development, particularly of encouraging private rather than public development of northern resources. He said his department believed that the resources "must, wherever and whenever possible, be worked, operated and directed by the same people who have sought them out, invested their money and their knowledge in them, and brought them into that state of production which has given us the degree of prosperity we enjoy today."

J. S. McDiarmid went on to present his classic "free enterprise" position which seemed aimed at CCF critics. If you had a mine and others came to work for you, he explained:

> There may be a difference in your respective incomes, but we define the principle that every worker may decide to work for you, or not, as he pleases. And we also define the right of the worker to go out into the North and find a mine of his own. Indeed, we encourage this. Because only when men have the right to exploit their energies and enterprise to the full, can northern Manitoba continue to be the rich, free, democratic land so full of opportunity for all. 83

Towards the end of the campaign fish buyers complained bitterly over a Dominion-provincial plan to have a compulsory "pre-inspection" of all fish in Winnipeg before shipping to out-of-province markets. Meetings with Mr. McDiarmid's department had failed to achieve a final agreement, and buyers, who had equipment and fishermen waiting on the lakes idle all summer, claimed that unless the two governments made a decision on the rules under which they were to operate "we will have to tell the fishermen it is too late to do anything now."[84] One fish buyer described their plight if pre-inspection of fish in Winnipeg were to lead to the rejection of a load of fish:

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81 WFP, November 3, 1949, p. 13.

82 The Northern Mail, November 2, 1949, p. 1.

83 The Northern Mail, November 2, 1949, p. 5.

84 Letter of Thomas Lamb, The Northern Mail, Nov. 9, 1949, p. 8.

> If a carload is bumped in Winnipeg, we lose the purchase price from the fisherman, box and nails, tractor freight to railhead and railroad freight to Winnipeg. [85]

What the fish producers wanted was to have the inspectors stationed on the northern lakes where they could check for infestation, freshness and proper packing before the long trek to Winnipeg. Thomas Lamb, a knowledgeable fish buyer, concluded: "There are so many new laws, rules and regulations going into effect over fish that it is impossible for me to keep up with them." [86] There were still complaints as well over the extremely low prices offered to the fisherman for fish, and over regulations which seemed designed to protect the larger corporations at the expense of smaller fishermen.

Another continuing concern in northern communities was the "deteriorating" state of the Hudson's Bay Railroad. A field representative of the Hudson's Bay Route Association described the need for increased service in summer, more switching facilities at the port of Churchill and a greater number of stations along the route to make it viable and growing. [87] Northern Independent candidate Berry Richards attacked the government for insufficient spending on maintenance, and outlined the difficulties faced by railway employees, in particular a severe housing shortage and a lack of schools for their children. [88] Mr. Richards claimed that the Manitoba Government had done less than any other province to support the Bay Route Association because of the "short-sighted and stupid" idea espoused by grain traders and the Grain Exchange that "development of this route would lift business from Winnipeg." "With the proper development of the route," Mr. Richards explained, "Western Canada can expand and industrialize with benefits far greater to Winnipeg than they have ever gained through grain trades through their city." [89]

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[85] The Northern Mail, November 9, 1949, p. 8.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., September 28, 1949, p. 1.

[88] Ibid., October 12 and 19, 1949, p. 1.

[89] Ibid., November 2, 1949, p. 1.

Roads.

In both northern and southern districts complaints of poor roads were growing and delegations were sent to Errick Willis.[90] The Public Works Minister defended his road-building program by promising an additional 1600 miles of road including anticipated federal help to make highway No. 1, part of a trans-Canada highway.[91] Mr. Willis dismissed criticisms of his department's program by saying Manitoba was "building so many good roads that traffic had to be detoured to poor ones and consequently the public complained."[92] He also defended his program by comparing it to other provinces and states. Whereas Manitoba was spending 27 per cent of its budget on highways, Saskatchewan with more cars was spending 14 per cent, Mr. Willis argued, and concluded pointedly: "If you are going to spend the amount which Saskatchewan spends on costly socialist experiments you cannot have much left over for highways."[93]

Growing concern in the Winnipeg area also moved candidates to call for a provincial take-over of trunk roads passing through the city or at least putting up the cost of such roads and their maintenance.[94]

Education Issues.

Education issues continued to be centered around teacher shortages and a general lack of school facilities, these debates in a province which prided itself on its sound financing and balanced budgets.

CCF leader Hansford claimed that seven out of eight rural Manitoba children attended school rooms which lacked artificial light, that three-fourths of them drank untested water and half sat in crooked desks which contributed to physical defects.[95] There were Indian children in the province who had never attended school and, he said, "there is no indication they ever will." The St. Boniface CCF leader said fifteen per cent of the province's children were still being educated by "permit" teachers "which means a generation is not getting basic training in the school to fit them to face the problems of life." "This province has preferred to have a good financial position rather than give service to the people," Mr. Hansford told a CCF meeting in The Pas. [96]

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[90] The Souris Plaindealer, September 21, 1949, p. 1.

[91] WFP, November 4, 1949, p. 16.

[92] Ibid.

[93] WFP, November 5, 1949, p. 21.

[94] Ibid., p. 26.

[95] WFP, October 25, 1949, p. 11.

Education Minister C. Rhodes Smith defended his department by noting the lengthy list of new schools constructed in the province. [97]

In Winnipeg the concern of candidates was the low provincial aid forthcoming to the city. Provincial education grants were described as the lowest in Canada; Winnipeg receiving 6.8 per cent of its budget from provincial coffers compared to Vancouver's 36 per cent, Hamilton's 38 per cent and Toronto's 44 per cent. [98]

And meanwhile, Edmond Prefontaine was almost alone as he continued his criticisms of the larger school division plan in the predominantly French constituency of Carillon.

Minor and Local Issues.

Minor and local issues included the question of a uniform time, standard or daylight saving, in a province in which different localities might operate on a different time basis. [99] The need for a school for deaf children continued to be voiced by parent groups in Winnipeg. Some talk on free trade, lower freight rates and road safety touched the campaign and became issues as well.

In Winnipeg a transit fare hike by the Public Utilities Board was energetically protested by the Labor Progressive Party. LPP candidates, William Kardash and John McNeil led a petition of 22,000 against the increase in car fare which demanded that "the government in the legislature...change the Public Utilities Board from a creature of the corporations to a body responsible to the people." Proposals went out for the outright purchase of the transit system by the city. The petitioners also favored "court action to stay the Board order increasing fares" and proposed "action to curb the dictatorial powers of the Utilities Board" by making it "responsible to the elected representatives." [100]

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[96] The Northern Mail, November 2, 1949, p. 1.

[97] The Northern Mail, November 9, 1949, p. 3.

[98] WFP, November 1, 1949, p. 25.

[99] The Souris Plaindealer, November 9, 1949, p. 2; and WFP, October 1, p. 18 and October 27, 1949, p. 1.

The government's labor record also came under serious attack by Winnipeggers. Manitoba's minimum wages were described as the lowest in Canada, and claims by Minister of Labor, Charles Greenlay that he and the government had the support of labor were flatly denied by CCF's Donovan Swailes: "He has voted against every single proposal put forward in the house with respect to a forty-hour week, vacations with pay, higher minimum wages, higher payments for widows of workers and so on."[101]

In the dying days of the campaign "one of the dullest on record," according to one report, [102] the federal government injected a controversial new issue as it announced its intention to remove war-time rent controls. Rent increases of up to twenty-five per cent would be permissible effective February 1, 1950. Immediate reactions varied. Liberal coalitionist Ron Turner called for a special session of the legislature to impose provincial controls to head off the proposed increases. [103] Duff Roblin urged that municipalities be given a larger share of revenue from Dominion-provincial agreements on low rental housing, and advocated provincial rent control and housing assistance. [104]

Cabinet ministers C. Rhodes Smith and John S. McDiarmid promised an immediate examination of rent controls "to determine the soundest and most effective course for this province to follow." They were "loath to enter the area" they said, because it was better to have one government deal with the question rather than eleven. Mr. Smith contended that there was lots of time before the February 1st change at any rate.[105]

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[100] LPP advertisement, WFP, November 5, 1949, p. 7.

[101] WFP, November 3, 1949, p. 14.

[102] Editorial, Saturday Night, November 22, 1949, p. 64.

[103] WFP, November 7, 1949, p. 12.

[104] Ibid., and November 9, 1949, p. 6.

The CCF sponsored a mass protest rally, where Edwin Hansford called for a special session of the legislature following the election and made proposals which would use "the full weight of the Manitoba government to urge the federal government to cancel the permitted increases. Mr. Hansford proposed the establishment of provincial controls if the federal government refused. In any event, the province should establish machinery by which it could enter the rent-control field in an emergency, increasing all pensions and allowances by the percentage increase in rents, and establishing a provincial department of housing. Such a department, Mr. Hansford believed, would encourage low rental subsidized housing in conjunction with federal and municipal governments.

The CCF leader severely criticized the Coalition Government's proposal for a rent survey as "an undesirable measure at a crucial moment." It was evidence of the "conglomeration of political opinions" which worked against preparation for such an emergency. He noted that the coalition Liberals had voted down rent control measures previously in the house, and their "wishy-washy" stand offered no more than a survey because of the election campaign.[106]

The Results.

The results found the coalition returned with little change in standings except that several trends continued to impress themselves upon divided parties. The coalition had now strengthened the Liberal-Progressives at the expense of the Progressive Conservatives. The Conservative Party registered an all-time low in popular vote, and number of candidates competing in the campaign. Never had a lower percentage of the population voted for the party of John Norquay, Hugh John Macdonald, and Rodmond Palen Roblin. The Liberals, on the other hand, received the second highest number of votes ever offered their party. All seven of the CCF's seven seats were confined to the metropolitan area of Winnipeg-St. Boniface and district. In every single-member constituency except Kildonan-Transcona, near Winnipeg, the CCF candidate finished in last place no matter what the number of candidates.

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[105] WFP, November 8, 1949, p. 1.

[106] WFP, November 9, 1949, p. 14.

The Winnipeg re-destribution made no change in LPP support. William Kardash was still elected by north Winnipeggers in his new four-man constituency of Winnipeg North.

If it had not been clear before the results, and many had complained, it was crystal clear now to urbanites that the new re-distribution had done nothing to disturb Manitoba's continued rural dominance of provincial politics.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1949.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% POP.VOTE WPG-ST.BON	% SEATS WON
Coalition.					
Liberal-Progressives	31	79,543	40.4	40.7	54.4
Progressive Conservatives	10	25,434	12.9	6.0	17.5
Independents	3	8,875	4.5	2.7	5.3
Totals.	44	113,852	57.8	49.4	77.2
Anti-Coalition.					
CCF	7	51,102	25.9	33.7	12.3
Independent Prog. Conservative	4	14,735	7.5	7.6	7.0
LPP	1	5,243	2.6	6.0	1.8
Other Independents	1	12,101	6.1	4.0	1.8
Totals.	13	83,181	42.1	51.3	22.9

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1949.

Major, Province-wide, Clusters.

1. The Government's Record.
    - (a) Budget practices and provincial debt.
    - (b) Municipal debt.
    - (c) Lacking and/or decreased services.
    - (d) Taxes and tax agreements.
    - (e) Free enterprise versus Socialism. (Political).
        - (i) Comparisons with Saskatchewan.
    - (f) Does coalition make a difference? (Political).
2. Health Services. (largely Social).
    - (a) Competing philosophies. (Political).
    - (b) Shortages of professionals.
    - (c) Funds and grants--hospital construction.
    - (d) Urban-rural disparities--centralization.
    - (e) Control of diagnostic clinics.
    - (f) Nature of health advisory committee.
    - (g) Medical care for old-age pensioners. (Left, Sectional).
    - (h) Conditions in Selkirk Mental Hospital. (Local).
3. Coalition Government. (Political).
    - (a) Role of Manitoba Democratic Movement.
    - (b) Conservative intra-party split.
    - (c) Lack of opposition.
    - (d) Lack of participation.
    - (e) Municipal-like function.
4. Anti-Communism. (Political, Right).
    - (a) CCF--LPP split.
    - (b) Labor temple riots and aftermath. (Local, Temporary).
    - (c) Undermining democracy.
    - (d) Expulsions from CCF.
5. Hydro-Electric and Rural Electrification. (General).
    - (a) Capacity of hydro plants.
        - (i) Pine Falls contract and imported labor.

Major, Provine-wide, Clusters--Hydro Electric--cont'd.

(b) Winnipeg Electric and City Hydro takeovers.

6. Education.
   - (a) Teacher shortage and "permit" teachers.
   - (b) Lack of school facilities. (Local).
   - (c) Larger school divisions--affect on minorities. (Isolated, Sectional).
   - (d) Tax load--especially Winnipeg. (Local).

Minor, Separate and/or Local.

Fishing Regulations and Controls. (Local, Sectional).

Housing Costs and Shortages--especially North.

Removal of Rent-Controls. (Temporary).

Maintenance of HBR. (Local, Perennial).

Standard versus Daylight Saving Time. (Perennial).

Provincial Help with Trunk Roads. (Perennial).

Unemployment Relief. (Liberal Left, Perennial).

Transit Fare Increases. (Local, Sectional).

School for Deaf Children. (Social, Perennial).

CCF Concedes Election. (Temporary, Political).

C/n = Coalition
O = Opposition

LP = Liberal Progressive
PC = Progressive Conservative
Ind = Independent
LPP = Labor Progressive Party

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1949

Nominations, Oct. 27, 1949; Voting, Nov. 10, 1949.

ARTHUR
L. R. Pitt LP (C/N) 1,758
W. G. Towne IND-LP (C/N) 952
D. J. McKinnon CCF 552

ASSINIBOIA
R. F. Wightman LP (C/N) 4,075
E. R. Draffin CCF 2,861

BIRTLE
Hon. F. C. Bell LP (C/N) Accl.

BRANDON CITY
J. C. Donaldson PC (C/N) 3,743
G. R. Rowe LP (C/N) 1,933
W. R. Webb CCF 1,478

CARILLON
E. Préfontaine IND-L (O) 2,363
H. B. Johnson LP (C/N) 1,963

CYPRESS
J. L. Christie LP (C/N) 2,227
P. J. Deroche IND (O) 1,483

DAUPHIN
E. M. McGirr PC (C/N) 2,855
G. I. Jackman CCF 1,108

DELORAINE
J. O. Argue PC (C/N) Accl.

DUFFERIN
W. C. McDonald LP (C/N) 1,897
G. R. Muir IND-PC (O) 1,386

EMERSON
J. R. Solomon LP (C/N) Accl.

ETHELBERT
M. N. Hryhorczuk LP (C/N) 2,171
F. Zaplitny CCF 1,409

FAIRFORD
J. F. Anderson LP (C/N) Accl.

FISHER
N. V. Bachynsky LP (C/N) 1,437
Mike Torbiak IND-L (O) 672
Peter Zamb CCF 329

GILBERT PLAINS
Ray Mitchell LP (C/N) 1,398
Jacob Schulz CCF 1,268

GLADSTONE
Hon. Wm. Morton LP (C/N) Accl.

GIMLI
Dr. S. O. Thompson LP (C/N) Accl.

HAMIOTA
C. L. Shuttleworth LP (C/N) 1,478
E. P. Venables PC (C/N) 1,237

IBERVILLE
J. McDowell IND-PC (O) 1,540
Raoul Allard LP (C/N) 1,234
H. G. Robertson CCF 701

KILDONAN-TRANSCONA
George E. Olive CCF 4,576
M. J. G. McMullen LP (C/N) 3,893

KILLARNEY
A. W. Harrison PC (C/N) 1,870
A. B. Fee LP (C/N) 1,542

LANSDOWNE
Thomas H. Seens PC (C/N) 1,656
M. R. Sutherland LP (C/N) 1,616

LAKESIDE
Hon. D. L. Campbell LP (C/N) Accl.

LA VERANDRYE
Hon. S. Marcoux LP (C/N) 1,901
E. J. R. Arpin IND (O) 1,528

E = Elected in multimember constituency by P.R.

MANITOU-MORDEN
H. B. Morrison Cons (O) 2,074
H. A. Cochlan PC (C/N) 1,045

MINNEDOSA
H. S. Rungay LP (C/N) Accl.

MORRIS
Harry Shewman IND (C/N) 1,349
J. C. Dryden LP (C/N) 1,196
Thomas Wishart CCF 333

MOUNTAIN
Hon. Ivan Schultz LP (C/N) Accl.

NORFOLK-BEAUTIFUL PLAINS
Samuel E. Burch LP (C/N) 2,208
Harold A. Nelson PC (C/N) 1,575
G. H. McIntosh CCF 610

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE
Hon. C. E. Greenlay PC (C/N) Accl.

ROBLIN
R. W. Robertson IND (C/N) 1,189
F. A. Newton PC (C/N) 749
M. W. Cryderman CCF 639

RHINELAND
Hon. W. C. Miller PC (C/N) Accl.

ROCKWOOD
Robert W. Bend PC (C/N) 2,044
R. A. Quickfall IND-L (O) 859

is Liberal [illegible] p.2

RUPERT'S LAND
D. R. Hamilton LP (C/N) Accl.

RUSSELL
R. S. Clement IND (C/N) 2,207
M. J. Tokar CCF 1,[illegible]

ST. ANDREWS
Hon. J. A. McLenaghen PC (C/N) 3,458
William E. Gordon CCF 1,652

ST. BONIFACE
J. Van Belleghem LP (C/N) 3,936 E
E. A. Hansford CCF 3,905 E
Paul Marion IND-PC (O) 2,730
G. P. Shearer LP (C/N) 2,647
E. R. Gagnon CCF 1,483

ST. CLEMENTS
M. J. Stryk LP (C/N) 2,758
Wilbert Doneleyko IND-CCF (O) 1,171

SPRINGFIELD
William Lucko LP (C/N) 2,082
G. E. Newton IND-LP (O) 860
Fred Small CCF 807

SWAN RIVER
Geo. P. Renouf Cons (O) 3,352
P. J. McKay LP (C/N) 1,046

THE PAS
F. L. Jobin LP (C/N) 4,311
B. R. Richards Northern Ind (O) 1,522
G. M. Ferg CCF 616

ST. GEORGE
C. Halldorson LP (C/N) Accl.

STE. ROSE
M. Dane MacCarthy LP (C/N) Accl.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN
Hon. E. F. Willis PC (C/N) Accl.

VIRDEN
R. H. Mooney LP (C/N) Accl.

WINNIPEG CENTRE
Hon. C. R. Smith LP (C/N) 5,140 E
Donovan Swailes CCF 5,025 E
Gordon R. Fines CCF [illegible] E 2149
Paul Bardal LP (C/N) [illegible] E 1887
Henry B. Scott PC (C/N) [illegible] 2738
John McNeil LPP (O) 1,211
Mrs. I. Thompson CCF 1,117 – cont'd over

WINNIPEG NORTH
Morris A. Gray CCF 6,718 E
William A. Kardash LPP (O) 4,032 E
Frank L. Chester LP (C/N) 3,649 E
John M. Hawryluk CCF 1,938 E
J. M. Kozoris LP (C/N) 1,804
William Scraba IND-LP (C/N) 1,673
Abe L. Simkin LP (C/N) 1,607
Stan Carrick PC (C/N) 1,126
Herman Shaak CCF 787
Jerdry Wach IND (C/N) 646
A. J. Yallits IND-LP Soc (O) 99
D. Callis LP (C/N) 521

PARLIAMENTARY GUIDE

WINNIPEG CENTRE

Stephen Juba	IND-LIB (O)	1,015
J. H. Walker	LP (C/N)	671

WINNIPEG SOUTH

Hon. J. S. McDiarmid	LP(CN)	6,466 E
Lloyd C. Stinson	CCF	6,346 E
Ronald D. Turner	LP (C/N)	5,528 E
Dufferin Roblin	IND-PC (O)	3,443 E
C. F. Greene	IND (O)	2,349
J. Gurson Harvey	LP (C/N)	1,739
Alex. Stringer	PC (C/N)	1,738

PREVIOUS GENERAL ELECTIONS

1870	Dec. 27
1874	Dec. 23
1878	Dec. 18
1879	Dec. 16
1883	Jan. 23
1886	Dec. 9
1888	July 11
1892	July 23
1896	Jan. 15
1899	Dec. 7
1903	July 20
1907	Mar. 7
1910	June 11
1914	July 10
1915	Sept. 16
1920	June 29
1922	July 18
1927	June 28
1932	June 16
1936	July 27
1941	Apr. 22
1945	Oct. 15
1949	Nov. 10

2

HEALTH PLANS

AND THE

RETURN OF OPPOSITION PARTIES

APRIL 23 TO JUNE 8, 1953

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberal-Progressive	Douglas L. Campbell	53
Progressive Conservative	Errick Willis	38
CCF	Lloyd Stinson	25
Social Credit	-----	43
Labor Progressive Party	William Kardash	1
Independents	-----	15

43 single member districts; one two-member district (St. Boniface); Three four-member districts (Winnipeg). The multiple member districts used the Hare system.

The Political Milieu.

The bard of Manitoba history W. L. Morton has described Douglas L. Campbell's "rise to premiership" and his government's victories in 1949 and 1953 as:

> ...clear indications that the electorate of Manitoba, as represented by the dominant rural constituencies, still approved the political changes of 1922. The more the long-continuing administration begun in 1922 changed, the more it was the same thing, an agrarian and rural government, non-partisan, non-political, and independent of, if not unco-operative with, the national

> Liberal party. For as long as there were national parties, non-partisanship could not be complete. The coalition of 1940 had been a near realization of the political ideal of 1922. But the Social Credit movement had faded out, the CCF had withdrawn in 1945, [sic] and the Conservatives, leader and party, had followed in 1950, except for two cabinet ministers who chose to remain. [1]

The unprecedented floods in 1949-50 of the Assiniboine and Red rivers and Premier Campbell's seeming disinclination to treat the matter as a provincial emergency have been cited as the most compelling reasons for Errick Willis's decision to pull out of the coalition in August, 1950. [2]

The climate within which the 1953 campaign took place had been cleared of the long-standing feud over ownership of hydro-development in the province. The province had purchased the Winnipeg Electric Company and, save for the supply of some mining operations in the north, all power was now publicly owned. The Pine Falls project was complete and work had commenced on McArthur Falls, the last undeveloped site on the Winnipeg River. [3]

The results of the 1949 election had fed a climate of city-country rivalry since, as Morton notes, they had "left the foundations of rural domination of the Legislature untouched." It was, Morton claims, a renewal of "old urban-rural jealousy" at "a time of high prosperity in both city and country, and when social and economic differences between urban and rural life were steadily diminishing..." The rivalry was evidenced "in petty bickering over municipal plebiscites on such trivial things as daylight saving and the colouring of oleomargarine." "These were indications," Morton concludes, "that the distribution of political power in Manitoba was in need of being made broader and more flexible." [4]

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[1] Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 463. The CCF had in fact withdrawn by January, 1943.

[2] WFP, April 24, 1953, p. 7, and Jackson, Centennial History, p. 243.

[3] L. F. Earl, "A Shining Year for Manitoba," The Monetary Times, July, 1953, pp. 44 and 46.

[4] Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 464.

Two other factors went into the creation of the kind of climate in which the spring 1953 campaign took place. The first factor was the continuing prudent character of the Campbell administration. That parsiminiousness may have been so pervasive as to color almost all political thinking and, therefore, attitudes towards issues. It was just such a pervasiveness that prompted M. S. Donnelly to express surprise that even opposition parties were unable to make an issue out of Manitoba's poor road-building record, for example, on any other premises than the government's own "pay-as-you-go" basis.[5] Furthermore, W. L. Morton claims that this "attitude" of the Manitoba administration was most in evidence in the debt retirement record of the government "at a rate and scale which severely reduced the funds available for public services." Professor Morton adds, and this is perhpas the most significant note: "There was, indeed, a touch of extravagance in this haste to retire a debt dwindling in the steady inflation; the Garson and the Campbell administrations were debt-depressive."[6]

The other major factor, and one which certainly sparked an otherwise lacklustre campaign, was the surprise minority victory of Social Credit in British Columbia in June 1952.

Denials to the contrary, there seems little doubt that Premier Campbell called the Manitoba election in anticipation of a further British Columbia election. Observers of the time claimed that Mr. Campbell desired both to steer off a majority victory for Social Credit in British Columbia and avoid the influence such a victory might have in a delayed Manitoba election.[7] Premier Campbell and the Free Press explained away any fear of Social Credit (house vacancies and controversy over the end of coalition were given as the reasons for the election call)[8] but Mr. Campbell did seem to desire not to take any chances, and by scheduling a campaign back to back with British Columbia's he would at least divide the energies of Socred organizers.[9]

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[5] M. S. Donnelly, "Parliamentary Government in Manitoba," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXIII (Feb., 1957), 20-32.

[6] Morton, Manitoba, A History, p. 462.

[7] Progressive Conservative leader, Errick Willis so charged WFP, May 5, 1953, p. 9, and this was also the conclusion of The Monetary Times, June, 1953, pp. 20-21.

[8] Editorial: "Provincial Election," WFP, April 25, 1953, p. 23.

The Social Credit Party was rejuvenated and hungered, admittedly in the long term, for federal office. A good showing in Manitoba would be a stepping-stone to that national goal. Hence, the masterminds of the British Columbia and a string of Alberta victories, Peer Paynter and Orvis Kennedy, respectively, joined a year and a half old fledgling Manitoba organization several months before the campaign began in earnest.

A federal MP defined Social Credit's place in the 1953 Manitoba campaign as significantly different from that of British Columbia in 1952.

> The Campbell Government in Manitoba is not unpopular so far as I can see. It seems to be doing a pretty fair job. We don't hear any of the attacks on Campbell that we heard against the Coalition Government in British Columbia, where there was a real political vacuum.
>
> That means that if we do win in Manitoba, or even make any substantial gain, it will indicate a general desire for change among the people. It will mean anything might happen in the federal.[10] [i.e., anticipated federal election].

Add to the above factors the closing months of the Korean war and the cold war climate associated with the threatening international situation, and one has some grasp of the general political milieu within which the 1953 campaign took place.

In such a context the major province-wide issues played themselves out: the government's spending record, revenue aid to municipalities, Manitoba's Blue Cross health plan, and the presence of Social Crediters and their solutions for the economic ills of the province.

The Management Cluster: (1) The Spending Record.

The thrust of opposition attacks centered on the notion of a thirty-one year old government which stood on a record of "pinch-penny" practices carried on at the expense of social services. Errick Willis recited the "time for a change" theme--time for a change from a government which accumulated surpluses while denying requests from schools, municipalities, pensioners and farmers' organizations. He then became specific:

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[9] The Monetary Times, June, 1953, p. 21.

[10] Blair Fraser, "Social Credit Feels Its Oats," Maclean's Magazine, April 15, 1953, p. 5.

> Last year, when the government decided to buy the power plants of the Winnipeg electric company, the provincial treasurer managed to find some $17,000,000 in what he called a "surplus account." It was an account that had not previously been given any publicity. It was there because each year taxpayers had been required to pay out more than was actually needed.[11]

Social Credit organizer Kennedy had a different understanding of the same question as he charged that the power utility takeover would cost an additional $24,000,000 in 1953 (a reference to McArthur Falls). Since the government was also making, according to Kennedy, "a big thing of giving the municipalities $9,000,000" when they had to "borrow $23,000,000 to do it," the new debt for the province in 1953 would total $47,000,000. "And at the present high rate of interest," Kennedy explained, "if you pay that off in twenty years you will have to pay double that amount."[12]

Both Premier Campbell and his Provincial Treasurer Ron Turner denied that the Liberal-Progressive Government was "niggardly" and cited increases in expenditure from $19,400,000 in 1946 to $54,500,000 in 1952 as proof that the government had not "ignored demands for increased services." The Winnipeg Electric Company had been purchased with surplus which represented only 1.6 to 7.1 per cent of annual revenues and such surpluses were not secret, Turner claimed, in replying to Mr. Willis.[13]

On numerous occasions throughout the campaign both Premier Campbell and Mr. Turner busied themselves with citing the long list of government expenditures in order to overcome the image of an overly penurious administration: since thewar, $83,000,000 on highways, $54,000,000 on electrification, $42,000,000 on telephones and $42,000,000 on the construction of generating plants.[14] And once again interprovincial comparisons were made to show Manitoba in a good light: the lowest level of provincial tax, the lowest motor vehicle license fees, and, perhaps not surprisingly, the lowest per capita expenditure of any provincial government.[15]

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[11] WFP, May 5. 1953, p. 9.

[12] WFP, May 4, 1953, p. 10.

[13] WFP, May 6, 1953, p. 10.

Premier Campbell answered the growing criticism of his surplus budgeting and extensive program of debt reduction by claiming that by far the largest share of Manitoba's debt was for investment in self-sustaining utilities. The Premier outlined the degree of debt reduction of dead weight debt since 1945, and promised a stepped-up program which would make the province debt-free by 1963. Such speed in the payment of loans had already saved the province $1,500,000 in interest charges annually, he claimed.[16] Many of the larger social services being talked about by his opponents, like a hospital insurance scheme and enlarged welfare benefits, Premier Campbell dismissed as "unrealistic"; they would be "embarrassing to carry in tough times." His basic approach to surpluses and debt-reduction was explained early in the campaign.

> The government policy of "putting its house in order in buoyant times" by reducing its debt and continuing other fiscal policies, would allow the government under less favorable conditions, to carry on with those services it had undertaken without increasing taxes.[17]

In Campbell's view opposition politicans were simply "trying to bribe the public with their own money."[18]

The Free Press contributed to the government's defense as it joined the Provincial Treasurer in condemning Orvis Kennedy's seeming lack of knowledge of Manitoba affairs. The province had granted $14,000,000 to the municipalities not $9,000,000 as Kennedy had cited, and the debt for Manitoba's three utilities was not dead weight debt since the Manitoba Hydro-Electric Board, the Manitoba Power Commission, and the Manitoba

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[14] WFP, May 11, 1953, p. 11.

[15] WFP, April 27, 1953, p. 6.

[16] WFP, May 12, 1953, p. 9.

[17] WFP, April 25, 1953, p. 1.

[18] WFP, May 6, 1953, p. 28.

Telephone Commission, were all self-sustaining operations which paid their own interest charges out of their own revenues.[19] The newspaper also explained the "pay-as-you-go" basis of the government's spending.

> This year, apart from substantially increasing its grants to the municipalities, the province has embarked on a full pay-as-you-go program with respect to its dead-weight projects--and is doing so without increasing taxes. This, in the province which has the lowest per capita tax of any in the Dominion. The $17.3 million road program, of which the province's share is about $14.3 millions, is one of the capital programs that is being met wholly out of current revenues, without adding one tittle to the provincial debt.
>
> Does Mr. Kennedy not agree that he would be giving the Social Credit party better value for his salary as an organizer if he went back to Alberta where he probably has a much clearer understanding of public business?

Orvis Kennedy had raised two further dimensions to the spending record of the Manitoba Government when he attempted to give Alberta credit for clauses in the recent federal-provincial tax agreements which favored Manitoba. Such a contention Provincial Treasurer Turner called "absolutely untrue," and challenged Kennedy "to prove his statement."[21] The other matter was a comparison by Kennedy of Manitoba's debt payment record to that of Alberta. When Kennedy cited Alberta's debt reduction from $51,000,000 in 1935 to $17,000,000 in 1943, he resurrected an issue of seventeen years earlier--defaulted payments on bonds. The Manitoba Provincial Treasurer saw default as no practice to follow. His outburst in reply to Kennedy records that view.

> ... It is the height of impertinence on the part of Mr. Kennedy to come into this province holding up as an example how Manitoba should conduct its financial affairs, the example of Alberta's reduction of debt charges from 51 per cent of annual revenues to 14 per cent of annual revenues during this period. It would have been very easy for Manitoba or any other province to have equalled, or surpassed this record if we had elected to pursue this same course of default. According to my information the Province of Alberta wholly defaulted

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[19] Editorial: "Orvis Kennedy," WFP, May 11, 1953, p. 19.

[20] Ibid.

[21] WFP, May 8, 1953, p. 23.

on payment of principle on $33.3 millions worth of bonded indebtedness from 1935 to 1945 and defaulted on payment of one-half the interest charges during the same period. Although Alberta in 1945 made some redress to creditors it ill behooves Mr. Kennedy to hold up as an example of good conduct on the part of government this precedent of reducing debt charges by dishonoring financial, legal and moral obligations.[22]

Kennedy defended the Alberta Government by explaining:

> We (the Alberta Government) [sic] defaulted on the date, not on the principal. If Mr. Turner had investigated further he would have found that we (Albertans) [sic] paid 100 cents on every dollar of bonded indebtedness. Interest payments were cut because wages generally at that time had been cut. It was felt that the "wages of men should follow (in line with) [sic] the wages of money."[23]

On a later occasion British Columbia Socred organizer Peer Paynter added:

> They think that to pay your bonds on the due date is more important than the livelihood of the people of the province. They don't tell you that Social Crediters think people are the most important thing in the world.
>
> If you can't apply your beliefs to your politics, then you should change your politics.[24]

The Management Cluster: (2) The Record Vis-a-Vis Municipalities.

Related to these heated disagreements on the government's general handling of revenues was the attention or inattention to municipalities. The Campbell Government apparently adopted the recommendations of a special committee on provincial-municipal relations in such a manner that, Provincial Treasurer Ron Turner charged, the opposition was "overwhelmed." As a result of implementing the recommendations the "broadside attack" which had been going on for several years had dissipated, he claimed. Direct aid to municipalities had increased over the years and a new agreement would see the province cover a much larger share of relief costs.[25]

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[22] WFP, May 8, 1953, p. 23.

[23] WFP, May 12, 1953, p. 9.

[24] WFP, June 4, 1953, p. 27.

[25] WFP, May 1, 1953, p. 33.

Candidates in all opposition parties disagreed. The concern remained largely unchanged--provincial surpluses seemed to be formed at the expense of the municipalities. "The Liberals never mention...that our municipal taxes are much higher than in some provinces or that there has been a marked increase in borrowings by municipalities and school districts," said CCF provincial chairman Gordon Fines. He compared Manitoba's per capita municipal debt of sixty dollars to Saskatchewan's twenty-seven dollars noting as he did that Saskatchewan had had the highest per capita municipal debt in Canada a few years earlier.[26]

Premier Ernest Manning of Alberta, one of many Social Credit visitors in May-June, 1953, defended his own government's municipal record by claiming his administration had given $34,000,000 in loans to municipalities compared to Manitoba's $14,000,000.[27]

Even the government's attempts to implement the special committee's report were subject to criticism. "Now they are going to the country to try to buy themselves back into public favor," said Brandon Conservative, R. O. Lissaman, adding that the most recent increase in municipal aid was "little more than one year's surplus."[28]

The Progressive Conservatives had proposed a loan plan to municipalities over extended periods and at the same rates at which the province borrowed the money.[29] Conservative leader Willis echoed his Brandon representative as he spoke of the government's removal of the municipal commissioner's levy. Mr. Willis believed that withdrawal of the levy had been sought for thirty years and then removed on the eve of an election. "The change of heart was swift, and late, and touched with panic," Mr. Willis charged.[30]

Provincial Treasurer Ron Turner answered charges that the government made surpluses while the municipalities starved by noting that a 38 per cent drop in the province's dead weight debt 1937-1951 corresponded with a drop in municipal net debt. [31]

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[26] WFP, May 14, 1953, p. 15.

[27] WFP, May 23, 1953, p. 6.

[28] WFP, May 2, 1953, p. 7.

[29] WFP, May 9, 1953, p. 9.

[30] WFP, May 26, 1953, p. 10.

A further aspect of this particular issue was the question of municipal organization. Both Duff Roblin and Errick Willis castigated the government for its inaction in re-organizing the unreconciled overlapping boundaries of two thousand school districts, one hundred rural municipalities, villages, towns, hospital districts, drainage maintenance districts, agriculture districts, judicial and land titles districts, and so on. [32] Certainly all initiative on the part of the government in encouraging the realization of larger school districts had been foregone so that a potentially bitter issue for Catholic and ethnic minorities had been avoided, but the government's lack of leadership in municipal reorganization was precisely what upset Mr. Willis. "Vital interested leadership is very different from passive permission. We believe the province could show smaller municipalities how enlarging their boundaries could mean greater efficiency, and in many cases, less taxation." [33]

The Management Cluster: (3) Education.

It seems correct to say that throughout the entire life of the coalition and Liberal-Progressive Government attempts were made to appeal to Catholic and ethnic minority school interests in an "underground" or "unofficial" manner so that the spirit rather than the stringent letter of the Public School Act was carried out. [34] In the 1953 campaign there were complaints about the government's failure to implement the 1945 recommendations for larger school districts, and there were also isolated instances of the "underground practices" breaking into the open. One case in particular, that of the Norwood school board making use of parish buildings, was called an infringement of the Manitoba Public School Act and bitterly attacked by the Grand Orange Lodge of Manitoba. The legislative committee of the lodge was opposed to monies being "deflected" to such "separate schools in disguise." The committee charged that the schools were segregational because some of the teachers were "nuns." The two Norwood schools "ostensibly leased as Public School buildings" were "doing indirectly what they are forbidden to do directly," said the committee's public statement.

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[31] WFP, May 5, 1953, p. 7.

[32] WFP, April 20, 1953, p. 10.

[33] WFP, May 26, 1953, p. 10.

[34] Quite simply most Manitoba governments had been content to have firm legislation on the books and then via a liberal administering of such legislation allow various forms of language and religious instruction and the use of "sectarian" textbooks and facilities. Such an approach, as long as it remained "quiet," left the government friend to all sections. Perhaps one of the clearest presentations of the existence of such practices is Turenne, "The Minority and the Ballot Box."

The issue was clearly put in the conclusion of an advertisement:

> It is possible that the Roman Catholic Hierarchy's intention is to perpetuate this system of clandestine education throughout the Province of Manitoba, and, as a consequence, obtain the Government Grants which the Act provides should only be given to properly conducted "Public Schools" and not to those schools which are merely "Public" in name, but "Sectarian" in fact? [35]

In this particular case Education Minister W. C. Miller denied the segregation charges and cited his original directive to the Norwood board, that students could be assigned in accordance with the act on any basis except religious denomination.[36]

It is important to repeat that this particular issue was dormant or largely undeveloped in 1953; it was not a major issue evident to all. But it does serve as an example of the way in which certain issues can be avoided, as well as an example of a particular variety of election issue that political scientists might wish to call "latent" or "dormant," and historians "undeveloped," "potential," or even "smoldering."

Of a more "evident" nature in educational issues in the 1953 campaign were discussions of the use of school trust funds and teaching and classroom shortages. The Progressive Conservative program proposed increased grants, salaries, and a building program, most of which would be paid for out of combining the use of the school lands trust fund with general revenue funds and relieving realty tax burdens. The *Free Press* attempted to show how use of the trust funds would eventually leave the province worse off than it was,[37] but Errick Willis argued that the newspaper misunderstood him. He desired to combine the school trust fund with common reserves, as he too recognized that it was "not sufficient to meet current needs."[38]

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[35] *WFP*, May 30, 1953, p. 2.

[36] *WFP*, June 2, 1953, p. 33.

The low level of spending on education was now directly linked by candidates as the cause of teacher shortages. The lack of funding to fill needed shortages was strongly condemned. At Iberville Mr. Willis complained:

> In education we are known nationally as a backward province. And it was not so long ago that the Manitoba government stood second lowest among all provinces in educational grants. The two greatest problems, more school rooms and more teachers have been completely overlooked.[39]

Education Minister Miller outlined increases in grants to education by his government and posited what was a common approach to criticism of Errick Willis, that he had supported the government's education policy in 1949 when it was five million dollars less than it was in 1953.

W. C. Miller, a Conservative turned Liberal-Progressive, explained that no increase in normal school facilities would solve the teaching shortage as argued by some Winnipeg candidates, as facilities were not being used to capacity, and Winnipeg's problem seemed related to the small percentage of teachers opting for elementary school teaching.[40]

The Management Cluster: (4) Highways.

The government's ability to dismiss charges made by Errick Willis, because of his previous position in the government, was most in evidence in discussions of Manitoba highways. It was, perhaps unfortunately, Conservative policy that an amount equal to all gasoline taxes and license fees should be plowed directly into road-building. The Provincial Treasurer and the Free Press were quick to point out that the amounts spent by the government on road-building were greater than the total taxes on gasoline and license fees in every year since 1946. Hence, to follow the Progressive Conservative platform would mean a decrease in spending on roads.[41] As Public Works Minister, Mr. Willis had left unspent a two million dollars surplus in his department, according to Provincial Treasurer Turner, an amount which represented 21 per cent of the total government underspending from 1945 to 1950. Mr. Turner also cited statements made by Errick Willis as recently as the end of February 1950 praising Manitoba's roads as "superior in every respect" to those of all the other western provinces.[42]

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[37] Editorial: "Conservative Platform," WFP, May 6, 1953, p. 23.

[38] WFP, May 23, 1953, p. 13.

[39] WFP, May 6, 1953, p. 11.

[40] WFP, May 9, 1953, p. 9.

There seems little doubt that Manitoba's roads had been subject to much controversy, and many city-based politicians like Liberal Mayor Ray Fennell of Fort Garry called for provincial assistance for the development and maintenance of truck routes which, he said, had "been a heavy drain on the finances" of areas like St. Boniface, St. Vital and Fort Garry.[43] One of the thirty-eight points on the lengthy Progressive Conservative platform called for the province to take over "complete financial responsibility for truck highways."[44]

Errick Willis attempted to keep up the attack by justifying his own position. Recent highway surpluses were "two and three times as large as the surpluses left by myself," he said, and while recent government spending on highways exceeded the proposed sum of taxes and fees for such use, that was because the government had "its eye on the coming elections of June 8."[45]

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[41] Editorial: "Mr. Willis's Highways," WFP, May 5, p. 7, and May 29, 1953, p. 25.

[42] WFP, May 22, 1953, p.8.

[43] WFP, May 25, 1953, p. 6.

[44] WFP, May 5, 1953, p. 1.

[45] WFP, June 1, p. 21, and May 9, 1953, p. 9.

Are There Any Major Issues?

Half-way through the campaign the Free Press carried a discussion of the campaign which described what it called "colorless platforms." The government, it was said, was just standing pat and refuting criticisms while opposition parties merely belittled the government for not doing more. There were no major issues, the article concluded.[46] A Toronto editorial explained the lack of major issues by relating that observation to the province's conservatism.

> Manitoba where a so called Progressive administration has been in power for 31 years is actually the most Conservative regime in Canada. Note how dull the issues, how few the headlines, how rare the news, how quiet the campaign. The provincial campaign is dreary because the Opposition cannot find any issues. Premier Douglas Campbell is such a cautious man he does not even open up any issues.[47]

Winnipeg CCF'er A. M. Israels commented with tongue in cheek on one of the "colorless platforms" of the campaign--the thirty-eight point document of the Progressive Conservatives. "Quite an array," he said, "Woodrow Wilson would pacify the world with fourteen and Moses got along with ten." Israels also had some words that might explain any lack of color in the campaign: "Willis was too recently in Mr. Campbell's arms to now be at his throat."[48]

One senior Winnipegger did observe a number of issues in the campaign and his letter to the Free Press vividly reviews them:

> Mr. Campbell might well have told us with what magic his Government, so helpless and indifferent during the depression years, came to be so generous and financially sound today. Why sir; they have the money available now to buy themselves back into office and pay for Winnipeg Electric without borrowing a cent. Perhaps they hoarded this money for this purpose while they bankrupted the municipalities and school boards and starved the civil service and rural school teachers in the hungry thirties.

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[46] WFP, May 9, 1953, p. 3.

[47] The Monetary Times, June 1953, p. 21.

[48] WFP, June 6, 1953, p. 7.

> Mr. Campbell might have told us why a rural vote is better than two urban votes. He took no credit for the redistribution of 1949. Rep by pop is not a dead issue yet. He said nothing on his own heroic conduct during the flood of 1950. He did not make clear why Manitoba is better off because margarine must be colored only by housewives. Perhaps the women need the exercise?[49]

There were, however, two major issues in the 1953 campaign, which may have escaped the editors of The Monetary Times, the Winnipegger's letter, and perhaps others. One, the debate on Manitoba's health plan, was a largely colorless and complex matter, much of it confined to the pages of the Free Press. The other was much more lively, the Social Credit "invasion."

Major Issues: (1) Health Plans.

The crux of the health plan issue was the debate over the Manitoba Blue Cross program and how it compared with neighboring Saskatchewan's compulsory hospitalization plan. There were various parts to the debate: the comparative costs; the extent of coverage in terms both of numbers and and types of illnesses; the length of stay in hospitals and the period in which long-term illnesses were to be handled; and the apparent abuses of existing state plan systems.

There were three or four major participants in the debate: the Free Press with its editorials against a compulsory scheme; a letter writer who always signed himself "Wamas"; the new leader of the CCF party, Lloyd Stinson, and the province's former Health and Welfare Minister, Ivan Schultz.

Very early in the campaign the Free Press responded editorially to T. J. Bentley, Saskatchewan's Minister of Health who cited Dominion Bureau of Statistics figures to prove his province's health costs per capita were less than Manitoba's. Bentley also argued that comparisons of patient-days of care indicated twice as much care in Saskatchewan; that the state plan covered 94 per cent of Saskatchewan's population compared to about 40 per cent covered by Manitoba's voluntary plan; and that the difference in administrative costs were lower for both beneficiary and as a percentage of total government spending in Saskatchewan.[50]

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[49] Letter to the editor signed "Oldtimer," Winnipeg. WFP, May 27, 1953, p. 11.

These statistics, particularly the figures for per capita health costs, were continually debated throughout the entire campaign among the Free Press, "Wamas," and Stinson. The controversy was over whether their meaning was changed by the fact that special services were included in the Manitoba figure being used for comparison, and not in the Saskatchewan figure. The consequences of such an argument could prove Manitoba to be operating at a slightly lower per capita cost, contrary to Bentley's original contention. Even photocopies of the official figures and the most elaborate arguments failed to prove unquestionably convincing. Such are the seemingly piddling ingredients of a great social and political issue.

The general position of the Free Press is best expressed in the editor's own words.

> Here in Manitoba, the question of state versus voluntary hospitalization is a simple one. Do we wish to have $7,000,000 of our money taken out of our pockets by taxation to pay for a state hospitalization policy which will not increase the efficiency of our hospitals in the slightest degree nor add anything to the care we now receive. Or do we wish to keep our $7,000,000 in our own pockets to be saved or spent as we please.[51]

The question was a "simple one" for the Free Press because the newspaper was convinced that costs were appreciably less for Manitoba's own scheme. A more detailed explanation of the general position was written as part of a response to the first "Wamas" letter.

> Over half of our local population is covered by the Blue Cross and insurance policies. These policies cost less than one half what the wasteful Saskatchewan policy costs the people of that province. Indeed the coverage here in greater Winnipeg is much greater than 50 per cent because it is here that the bulk of the Blue Cross and insurance company policy holders reside. Outside of Winnipeg, as the vote in the legislature showed, the people are simply not interested in state hospitalization. They are satisfied with their present hospital services.
>
> To adopt compulsory state paid hospitalization would cost the people of Manitoba an extra $7,000,000 on top of our $54,000,000 budget. We

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[50] Letter to the Editor. WFP, April 24, 1953, p. 31.

> would have to raise the gasoline tax several cents per gallon and impose a retail tax on all sales--just as Saskatchewan had to do. And this very real burden which would reduce everyone's standard of living would be placed upon our people quite needlessly. The gain would be nil.[52]

The "Wamas" letter of May 4, 1953 seemed prepared to admit that the Saskatchewan system might appear to be more expensive than Manitoba's but such coverage was "complete...for an indefinite period," whereas Manitoba's plan offered no protection for lengthy illnesses like polio, cancer, sclerosis, or heart trouble.[53]

The Free Press cited some exceptions to the "Wamas" contention but the major thrust of the counter-argument, oft-repeated by the editors, was that 96.8 per cent of all cases were cleared up within thirty-one days--the maximum percentage coverage period of the Blue Cross plan. Since only nine out of eight thousand cases would require coverage beyond a ninety-day period when Blue Cross offered no percentage coverage, the newspaper asked "Is it sensible to pile taxes on everyone for this reason? Surely the old axiom applies, that hard cases make bad laws."[54]

A later "Wamas" letter argued that per capita cost comparisons were misleading because "the province with the fewest hospital-bed facilities is bound to come out on top. Manitoba, with its poor hospital bed facilities is bound to have the lowest costs." "Wamas" also cited recent Free Press stories which spoke of "jammed" hospital facilities which "lagged pathetically behind the needs of the city." The editor provided a note to this particular letter: "The fact that more beds are required is no evidence of inefficiency in our hospital operations and certainly no reason to embark on the foolish and wasteful course adopted in Saskatchewan."[55]

A third letter replied to the Free Press contention that very few persons were effected by long term coverage over ninety days. "...if the

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[51] Editorial: "Mr. Bentley Enters the Lists," WFP, April 24, 1953, p. 25.

[52] Editorial: "Wamas Letter," WFP, May 4, 1953, p. 17.

[53] WFP, May 4, 1953, p. 6.

[54] Editorial: "Wamas Letter," WFP, May 4, 1953, p. 17.

[55] Letter signed "Wamas" and editorial note following. WFP, May 12, 1953, p. 18.

problem is as small as you say it is the few long term hospital cases should then make little difference to the (Blue Cross) [sic] budget."[56]

To this third letter the Free Press argued that the Blue Cross did not cover all cases indefinitely because its purpose was to "encourage patients to leave as quickly as their health permits."[57] "Wamas" again replied by observing that insurance was for protection and that the Blue Cross scheme just did not have that for lengthy illness.[58] This last letter also re-opened the question of the numbers of Manitobans covered by the voluntary scheme.

CCF leader Lloyd Stinson recited the weaknesses of the Blue Cross plan: "it only covers 42 per cent of the population" and "it offers no protection against lengthy illness."[59] Lloyd Stinson, Donovan Swailes and Gordon Fines, leading CCF spokesmen, expressed concern for the 58 per cent of the population not covered by the scheme. In twelve or thirteen years the government had only enlisted "the easier half" of the population, said Swailes.[60] The CCF spokesmen took exception to statements made by Attorney-General (former Health Minister) Ivan Schultz that a compulsory system would encourage people wanting things "free to excess" and that doctors would be forced to work without discretion and hospital workers to act irresponsibly. Arguments like the above, plus the general contention by the Free Press that the British health system was quite simply "expensive" and subject to gross abuse, prompted Stinson to speak of the province as "dominated by the theories of the Sifton press." "Mr. Schultz and his colleagues take a very low view of human nature," Stinson asserted. The U.K. experience, Stinson maintained, was tainted not by abuse but by "an appalling backlog of medical needs that had to be taken care of."[61]

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[56] WFP, May 13, 1953, p. 13.

[57] Editorial: "More Wamas: Hospital Insurance," WFP, May 13, 1953, p. 23.

[58] Letter to the Editor. WFP, May 14, 1953, p. 44.

[59] WFP, April 27, 1953, p. 31.

[60] WFP, May 12, 1953, p. 11.

[61] WFP, April 27, 1953, p. 31.

Throughout the course of the campaign advertisements, statements, platforms and letters were directed to the public for consideration. The Conservatives called for free medical care for all pensioners;[62] doctors expressed their fear of "state medicine",[63] and a Manitoba Hospital Services Association advertisement named the leading businessmen in large companies as it argued that "labor and management approve Blue Cross."[64] Progressive Conservative candidates Stephen Juba and J. Stepnuk advocated sweepstakes to pay for hospitals and others opposed the suggestion.[65] And the Blue Cross carried large advertisements to encourage subscribers in rural areas.[66]

Finally, as the campaign drew to a close, one medical practitioner warned that with all the talk of cost statistics the "basic issues are apt to be obscured or forgotten." Those issues were related to specific ends which, he cited, were to provide hospital care for all whose illness requires it and to provide it irrespective of the income capacity of the needy individual. "Has the Blue Cross fulfilled or is it likely to fulfill these aims?," he asked. The same doctor also charged that the Blue Cross scheme excluded the over-aged, those whose medical history was such that it seemed likely they might "require hospital care in the foreseeable future," and those who could not afford the premiums. He claimed to have files on patients refused coverage.[67]

To this last serious set of complaints the Free Press reiterated its position that the doctor "should understand that under every system there are hard cases," "[B]ut the old and well tried English maxim holds--hard cases make bad laws. It would be folly to enact a general law as a means of dealing with cases of the kind he mentions." There was something of a picture of "riding off into the sunset," as the Free Press remained undaunted to the end: "What 'MD' is talking about is a further gasoline tax of three of four cents per gallon and a retail sales tax on all purchases. In every way our people are just as healthy and as well cared for...."[68]

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[62] WFP, May 5, 1953, p. 8.

[63] WFP, April 30, 1953, p. 35.

[64] WFP, May 11, 1953, p. 2.

[65] WFP, June 1, 1953, pp. 4 and 9.

[66] WFP, May 27, 1953, p. 25.

[67] Letter signed "MD," Winnipeg, WFP, June 6, 1953, p. 21.

Major Issues: (2) The Social Credit "Invasion."

The Social Credit "invasion" opened a series of issues about which the most vituperative language was employed. The Free Press carried lengthy articles and editorials and dug up cartoons and comments from its 1936 files to warn Manitobans of the "dangers" of the party. There were several quite separate issues involved. The very presence of what Premier Campbell called the "invading party" prompted questions about Socred MLA's and MP's salaries and desertion of their own provinces. "If our friends from the west would provide electrification for their farmers instead of preaching to us down here, the farmers of Alberta would be a lot better off," the Premier said in a reference to the superior rural electrification record in his own province.[69]

Social Credit ideology called for "Christian principles of freedom," whereby governments were responsible for bringing results in the management of affairs and in the service of the individual and his freedom. "That which is physically possible and desirable can and must be made financially possible," said visiting organizer Peer Paynter.[70]

The international monetary system must, it was argued, be organized so as to cease "tying the hands of the provincial government." Rhineland Social Crediter V. Peters explained that the governments under the present system "must do, not what the people desire, but what they are told to do." Social Credit, Peters said, was the "economic answer to Communism." There were but three choices open in the existing economic system: depression and unemployment, war and artificial prosperity, or Social Credit.[71]

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[68] Editorial note to previous letter, WFP, June 6, 1953, p. 21.

[69] WFP, May 26, 1953, p. 9.

[70] WFP, April 24, 1953, p. 25.

[71] WFP, May 1, 1953, p. 3.

Such arguments meant that Socreds were extremely critical of Dominion-provincial agreements which, from the party's view, merely furthered the alienation of provincial governments from their people. Hence, there were some bitter words exchanged throughout the campaign as to who was responsible for the most and least favorable clauses in recent Dominion-provincial decisions. But the Social Credit "ideology" also encouraged an extremely critical stance in international affairs of the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and of the alleged lack of sovereignty involved in sending Canadian troops to Korea.

The Free Press called such a stance "prehistoric" as it warned the Manitoba electorate that Social Crediters were a "people...opposed to internationalism and collective security...who would make future wars inevitable, whose proposals would make peace utterly unobtainable."[72]

Orvis Kennedy explained that his party was opposed to agreements which involved the surrender of Canadian sovereignty. He spoke of the veto power in the United Nations which could declare war and involve Canadian troops wherever the Veto nations decided. Dumbarton Oaks and the establishment of the United Nations had taken away Canada's right to control its own money since "through unilateral trade agreements Canada gave up the right to decide with whom it would trade," Kennedy said. And, again, in reference to Korea, Kennedy asked a Minnedosa audience: "Was parliament asked about sending men to Korea? Will it be asked about sending men to China, if that is the next war?"[73]

The accumulation of Social Credit's impatience with national and international economic and political institutions, when added to the Alberta experience of disallowance of Social Credit legislation which would appear to revolutionize economic life and limit the press, caused virulent outbursts from the Free Press.

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[72] Editorial: "Prehistoric," WFP, April 30, 1953, p. 9.

[73] Ibid.

> Notwithstanding the pious perorations and the numerous references to Christianity of the organizers, Social Credit means the police state. Social Credit does not believe in freedom, in the independence of the individual, in international co-operation. It believes in a completely controlled and regulated state in which every individual would be compelled by economic penalites to work where and at what job he is assigned by the state. It believes in the complete control by the state of every business. It believes in state control of all prices, of all production. It is the implacable foe of a free press. It believes that men and women should know only what the Social Credit Government chooses to tell them.[74]

These editorial comments were designed to warn Manitobans that wise judges had already cast their verdict on Social Credit by the disallowance of provincial legislation from 1935 to 1938. Social Credit had not changed in the view of the Free Press, but merely directed its attentions to the national scene. Witness these two editorial comments:

> Because it lacked power to apply its crack-pot monetary theories, and to enforce its isolationist, illiberal and extremely dangerous policies, many people may dismiss Social Credit as a kind of newfangled Conservative party. But this is not so. Social Credit is now striving to capture the national Government. That is why the party organizers have entered Manitoba in this election. The party leaders at no time have disavowed the Douglas theories...the Social Credit party has openly and directly attacked our free institutions....
>
> There is no room for this kind of movement here in Manitoba.[75]
>
> ...the purpose of present activity is to establish a base in this province for the forthcoming federal election.... The electors in making up their mind about this party need not rely on the utterances of politicans. The highest court in Canada has delivered judgement.
>
> In 1936, the Free Press after careful study of Social Credit theory, declarations and statutes, said this:
>
> "The rights of the individual in Alberta under Social Credit would be limited to a degree unknown except under dictatorships. The resemblances between Social Credit and Fascism are very close."
>
> The Free Press repeats this considered judgement of 1936 as a warning to individuals who may be attracted be this theory but who do not realize what it really means.[76]

Speaking in Beausejour, Paynter said of the Free Press: "They must realize our power otherwise they would not criticize our policy."

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[74] Editorial: "No Room." WFP, May 5, 1953, p. 17.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Editorial: "Removing the Mask," WFP, May 16, 1953, p. 21.

The British Columbia organizer claimed that the same criticisms had been made in his own province before the Socred victory there, and that papers in British Columbia now called for Social Credit support provincially and Liberal federally.[77]

Alberta's Attorney-General Lucien Maynard spoke in French to a St. Boniface audience in hopes of rejuvenating the long-standing Franco-Manitoban support for "Creditisme." The Alberta minister confirmed the contention that Social Credit had its eyes on federal power as well as in Manitoba. He gave as reasons:

> If we want to avoid the depression here we must send to Ottawa men who will put into effect Social Credit financial policies and create the purchasing power lost in reductions in defence spending.
>
> You need a Social Credit government here in Manitoba just as much to put pressure on Ottawa. Give yourselves this government and let us get a government in Ottawa which will put into operation the principle of issuing credit across Canada.[78]

Other Social Credit "invaders" had included Rev. E.G. Hansell, Alberta Socred MP, Martin Kelln of Saskatchewan, a national organizer, Bob Jorgensen, Alberta MLA and Solon Low, national leader. The party nominated forty-three candidates, five more than the Progressive Conservatives. The CCF had a mere twenty-five candidates, only eleven of which were in rural constituencies.[79] The extent of Social Credit activity prompted Peer Paynter to exclaim "The people of this province are demanding that we have a Social Credit government. We are going to win."[80]

. . . .

It is at the same time one of the pities and one of the delights of discovery in a study of this kind that so little of the excitment of the Manitoba campaigns was known in other parts of Canada and discussed in their newspapers and newsmagazines.

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[77] WFP, May 8, 1953, p. 13.

[78] WFP, May 14, 1953, p. 32.

[79] CPG (1957), pp. 528-530, and WFP, May 26, 1953, p. 9.

[80] WFP, May 11, 1953, p. 13.

William Kardash and Anti-Communism.

One further dimension to the kind of ideological warfare witnessed in the two major issues discussed above was the pervasiveness of the cold war milieu in 1953. William Kardash, the lone Labor Progressive candidate in the 1953 campaign was caught up in the anti-communism of this cold-war period. The LPP was still very much a part of the campaign as it complained about Premier Campbell's failures to implement any of the twenty amendments to the Labor Relations Act in the past four years.[81] But the Free Press was determined that Manitoba voters should rid the legislature of its last remaining Communist and the paper called on North Winnipeggers to ask whose side Kardash would be on in the event of war between the British Commonwealth and the Soviet Union.[82]

Kardash, in a letter to the Free Press, explained his stance in the campaign, while criticizing the Liberal paper for stooping to "war-scare" tactics when Gordon Churchill, Sidney Smith, and other national politicians were calling for understanding of the Soviet Union. A segment of his letter and the editorial note in reply captures this minor but nevertheless significant question in this era of Joseph McCarthy's vicious investigations into "unAmerican activities."

> You support the introduction of the witch-hunt into all public affairs and institutions. Your conception of free institutions bears the stamp of a new swastika, McCarthy's edition.
>
> You insult the intelligence of the electors of Winnipeg North when you think that by using the witch-hunting methods of McCarthy you will stampede them into fear, cow them into submission to the Liberal war program. I am confident they will endorse the program of peace, turning the huge war expenditures for the needs of our people in our province--the program I advocate in this election.

The editorial note followed immediately:

> This is the usual kind of Communist abuse and double talk. The question put to Mr. Kardash by the Free Press remains unanswered. We

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[81] WFP, May 30, 1953, p. 10.

[82] Editorial: "Mr. Kardash," WFP, May 29, 1953, p. 22.

[83] WFP, June 4, 1953, p. 10.

put it to him again:

> In the event of war between Canada and Soviet Russia--which side will you be on?[83]

Similar anti-communist fears were expressed during the campaign over fair employment practice legislation, strongly welcomed and defended by some, but tagged an "extension of statism and bureaucracy" into the conduct of private enterprise and business," by others.[84]

Other Minor Issues.

It is still not all that difficult to gain a perspective on the 1953 campaign that would support the Monetary Times contention that Douglas Campbell was too cautious a man to raise issues. The central thrust of opposition attacks outside of the CCF debate on health plans was to criticize the essential conservatism of the government. There was very little substantive debate on issues beyond that. The hydro-electric issues had been largely resolved and had not been at issue in the legislature for the first time in eight years.[85] In the north, however, there were still complaints that northern development was being held up by a lack of cheap power. A CCF resolution in The Pas complained that the Campbell Government "declined to develop new power sites until a market is available, nor has it done anything about exploiting existing power facilities to full advantage."[86] Provincial CCF secretary Donavan Swailes claimed that private enterprise had failed in the power situation in Manitoba, ruined the northern fur business and left government to come to the rescue.[87]

The Social Credit candidate for The Pas, W. M. Calvert condemned the tardiness of the Campbell Government in taking over hydro development. Calvert claimed the government could have purchased all the power plants on the Winnipeg River in 1949 at $19 per share but "they fooled around for three years, then bought them in 1952 for $42 a share."[88]

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[84] See letters to the editor, WFP, April 16, p. 11; May 7, p. 18; and May 14, 1953, p. 44.

[85] The Monetary Times, June, 1953, p. 44.

[86] WFP, May 1, 1953, p. 33.

[87] Ibid.

Once again the issue was not what the government had done but its indecisive and overly-cautious demeanour.

The government cited its new industrial department and program for research into rust-resistant wheat to fight back isolated criticisms that industry and agricultural research had been neglected.

There was little to criticize in the rural electrification program, save perhaps Mr. Campbell's persistence in using that program as a gauge of Manitoba's superior development compared with Alberta and Saskatchewan. At the time of the campaign 34,500 farms were serviced with an additional five thousand to be added by the end of 1953 which would make Manitoba "the most completely electrified province in Canada."[89]

Although isolated, there were spirited attacks on the government's welfare program. CCF'er Morris Gray, for example, claimed the government ignored pensioners. The existing payment of $40 per month represented a provincial increase of $20 over 25 years of operation since the responsibility was handed over by the Dominion. "Today this is all the present administration and its defendants can offer them," said Gray, "this starvation pittance." "And may it be noted that the government can plead no poverty of its own in these days of continued soaring liquor profits and other revenues."[90]

A. H. Mackling (CCF-Assiniboia) cited a number of areas of weakness, including pensions and continued reluctance to work on the side of labor.

> One need only look at the daily press for statements revealing the utter failure of the former Manitoba government to realize the decadence of the Campbell hierarchy with regard to housing, hospitalization and education.
>
> Their "Gerrymander" of 1949 ruthlessly exploiting such constituencies as Assiniboia and the shocking hard-heartedness of the "coalition carryover" towards old age pensioners, among others, reveal the true scope of its injustice and inhumanity.

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[88] WFP, June 6, 1953, p. 10.

[89] The Monetary Times, June 1953, p. 46.

[90] WFP, May 30, 1953, p. 10.

> Another "revelation of reaction and anti-labor" was Hon. C. E. Greenlay's advocating that workers should work long hours for less. This was the substance of an address by Mr. Greenlay, provincial labor minister, to a resolution by Donovan Swailes, MLA, for a 40-hour week.[91]

Such criticisms were met by Liberal-Progressive candidates like David Graham of Winnipeg with a report of government spending which showed increases in welfare payments, assistance to municipalities and an "assured liability for sixty per cent of accepted municipal welfare costs over the standard municipal level."[92]

. . . .

The criticisms above make reference to several other issues not yet examined. There was first of all a revival of contention over liquor legislation in the province. Several candidates ran on platforms which would encourage or discourage "mixed" beer parlours. Local option votes were still being conducted throughout the province on this question and so kept it in the forefront. The amount of government revenue from sale of liquor, liquor licenses and fines for breaking liquor laws was of such concern as to prompt South Winnipeggers to organize a Prosperity for Posterity Party to oppose any expansion of liquor sales. They and others also proposed the initiation of temperance education in public schools.[93] The Progressive Conservatives advocated an independent commission which would investigate and report on the state of liquor laws in the province.[94]

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[91] WFP, May 27, 1953, p. 8. Mr. Mackling seems to be referring to the fact that heavily populated suburban areas like Assiniboia were ever more grossly under-represented in the legislature and instead of being made into new and smaller constituencies were simply held together in a way which furthered partisan purposes. Footnote 96 to follow, explains the phenomenon in Transcona. The Liberal-Progressive Party, or what remained of coalition, he also condemned for its use of funds for matters like debt reduction when citizens like old-age pensioners were wanting for a lack of monies expended for their welfare.

[92] WFP, May 22, 1953, p. 3.

[93] WFP, April 30, p. 9. Also May 28, p. 15; June 3, p. 6; and June 4, 1953, p. 27.

[94] WFP, May 11,, p. 5, and June 3, 1953, p. 11.

Redistribution and the Results.

The Conservatives also proposed an independent commission in another area of bitter controversy, redistribution. Lewis St. G. Stubbs returned to active politics specifically to contest the long-standing "denial" of Winnipeg's "rightful representation in the legislature." Mr. Stubbs claimed the Winnipeg area required at least eighteen seats to be properly represented.[95]

Transcona Mayor and CCF candidate A. R. Paulley was particularly irate. His home constituency, he claimed, had a population of 16,500 compared to Portage La Prairies' 4,485, yet both were represented by one member. The Manitoba Conference of the United Chruch of Canada, Chambers of Commerce, and labor councils had all spoken of the unfairness of the distribution of seats. Paulley joined such groups in advocating the Australian system of dividing the total population by the number of seats and allowing a leeway of no more than five per cent. Paulley was convinced the Liberals feared a loss of seats.[96] Time was to prove that the Liberals did in fact have much to fear by a redistribution designed by an independent commission.

But on June 8 and 9 it was clear that that day had not yet arrived. Premier Campbell's own Liberal-Progressives had easily recaptured the reigns of government achieving the highest popular vote and percentage of popular vote since 1915. The Progressive Conservative Party had undoubtedly started the long road back with a doubling of their popular vote. The Social Credit Party polled its highest ever Manitoba performance with almost 36,000 votes and over 13 per cent of the total ballots cast.

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[95] *WFP*, May 11, 1953, p. 9. M. S. Donnelly notes that in June 1952, there were 228,280 registered urban voters represented by 17 seats and 224,083 rural voters represented by 40. *Government of Manitoba*, p. 79.

[96] *WFP*, May 22, 1953, p. 18. M. S. Donnelly claims there were about twenty thousand persons in Kildonan-Transcona and describes the constituency in such a way as to allow us to understand something of the frustration felt on this issue. "The constituency of Kildonan-Transcona consisted of the entire municipalities of East and West Kildonan and the town of Transcona despite the fact that no geographic or economic bonds exist among any of the three parts. East and West Kildonan are separated by the Red River and there are no connecting bridges. No road or highway leads directly from East Kildonan to Transcona. Economically there is no connection between Transcona and the two Kildonans and the latter are more competitive with than complementary to each other, in that each desires more industry. In short the constituency as it was could not be represented." However, Russ Paulley was elected to do just that! Donnelly, *The Government of Manitoba*, p. 79.

CCF support continued to narrow itself to Winnipeg and Kildonan-Transcona--a mere five seats and a further drop in popular vote from 34.1 in 1945, 26.1 in 1949, and in 1953, 16.6 per cent. The polarities in urban and rural support and between north and south sections of Winnipeg for each of the parties continued to enlarge. (See Winnipeg popular vote comparisons).

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1953.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Liberal-Progressive	35	109,614	41.0	61.4
Progressive Conservative	12	54,278	21.0	21.0
CCF	5	44,332	16.6	8.8
Social Credit	1	35,750	13.3	1.8
Labor Progressive	1	3,812	1.4	1.8
Independents.	3	17,850	6.7	5.3

WINNIPEG POPULAR VOTE COMPARISONS.

PARTY	PROVINCE -WIDE	WPG.-ST. BON. KILD.-TRANS.	WPG. SOUTH ONLY	WPG. NORTH ONLY
Liberal-Progressive	41.0	31.7	33.7	21.6
Progressive Conservative	21.0	18.7	41.5	8.3
CCF	16.6	29.1	20.8	39.9
Social Credit	13.3	5.9	4.0	4.2
Labor Progressive	1.4	3.7	--	17.6
Independents	6.7	10.9	--	8.4

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1953.

Province-wide, Clusters.

1. Government Spending Record. (Right).
    - (a) Debt reduction, surplus budgeting, and provincial debt.
    - (b) Monies for utilities.
2. Municipal debt - and Grants to Municipalities.
    - (a) Municipal Organization.
3. Education.
    - (a) Teaching and classroom shortages.
    - (b) Grants and use of school trust funds.
    - (c) Larger school districts.
    - (d) "Separate schools in disguise". (Underlying).
        - (i) Norwood board use of parish buildings. (Specific, Evident).
4. Highways.
    - (a) Use of gasoline taxes and auto licenses.
    - (b) Provincial assistance for truck routes.
5. Health Plans. (Social, Prompted).
    - (a) Blue Cross versus compulsory hospitalization.
        - (i) Comparative costs
        - (ii) Extent of coverage.
6. Social Credit "Invasion". (Political).
    - (a) Socreds and Canada's international role. (Federal).
    - (b) Socreds, power and Fascism. (partly Federal).
    - (c) Socreds and Dominion-provincial conference.
    - (d) Socreds, disallowance and bond default. (Dead).
    - (e) Alberta record and invasion of organizers.

Minor and/or Local.

Daylight Saving Time Plebiscites.

Coloring of Margarine.

Anti-Communism and William Kardash. (Diffuse, Right).

Power Needs of the North. (Local).

Gerrymandering and redistribution. (Local, Political).

Mixed Beer Parlours and Local Option Votes. (Local).

Fair Employment Practice legislation and Labor Code. (Sectional, Left).

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1953

Nominations, May 25, 1953; Voting, June 8, 1953.

ARTHUR

J. A. Ross, P.C.	1,820
J. R. Pitt, L.P.	1,440

ASSINIBOIA

R. F. Wightman, L.P.	3,359
A. H. Macklin, C.C.F.	3,078
G. E. Fournier, P.C.	1,528
F. M. Bloomfield, S.C.	677

BIRTLE

F. C. Bell, L.P.	2,140
F. M. Manwaring, P.C.	957

BRANDON CITY

R. O. Lissaman, P.C.	3,514
J. A. Creighton, L.P.	3,063
W. A. Wyborn, S.C.	1,054

CARILLON

E. Préfontaine, L.P.	3,278
K. T. Kroeker, S.C.	1,065

CYPRESS

F. M. Ferg, L.P.	1,795
R. G. Hurton, P.C.	1,198
M. Philippe, S.C.	950

DAUPHIN

W. L. Bullmore, S.C.	1,688
J. Potoski, L.P.	1,494
E. N. McGirr, P.C.	1,235
F. Fulbrook, C.C.F.	785

DELORAINE-GLENWOOD

J. O. Argue, P.C.	1,862
R. E. Moffat, L.P.	1,504

DUFFERIN

W. McDonald, L.P.	1,833
G. Loeppky, S.C.	1,328
E. Collins, P.C.	911

EMERSON

J. R. Solomon, I.L.P.	2,329
F. Caspar, L.P.	2,155
J. J. Friesen, S.C.	239

ETHELBERT

M. N. Hryhorczuk, L.P.	1,948
N. Basaraba, C.C.F.	1,368
E. L. Solomon, P.C.	278
H. Dyck, S.C.	223

FAIRFORD

J. F. Anderson, L.P.	1,072
F. G. Cook, S.C.	659
D. McFadyen, P.C.	208
J. A. McDonald, C.C.F.	349

FISHER

N. V. Bachynsky, L.P.	1,554
L. W. Mychalchuk, Ind.	798
Mrs. G. Lyon, C.C.F.	311
D. Heindricks, S.C.	144

GILBERT PLAINS

R. Mitchell, L.P.	1,068
R. J. Wilson, C.C.F.	989
E. P. Brown, S.C.	835
R. Elliott, P.C.	380

GIMLI

S. O. Thompson, L.P.	2,252
E. H. Fitch, S.C.	887
J. Firman, Ind.	194

GLADSTONE

W. Morton, L.P.	(Accl.)

HAMIOTA

C. L. Shuttleworth, L.P.	1,589
E. P. Venables, P.C.	1,227
F. Charles, S.C.	825

IBERVILLE

J. McDowell, P.C.	1,442
C. H. Jarvis, L.P.	1,247
J. C. Hilgenga, C.C.F.	665
C. F. Rempel, S.C.	374

KILDONAN-TRANSCANA

A. R. Paulley, C.C.F.	5,770
J. L. Bodie, L.P.	4,394
L. G. Carson, S.C.	1,117
S. Melnyk, Ind.	820

KILLARNEY

A. W. Harrison, P.C.	1,786
C. W. Landerkin, L.P.	1,230
G. G. Paterson, S.C.	668

LAKESIDE

D. L. Campbell, L.P.	2,290
J. W. L. Tully, S.C.	798
C. H. Spence, P.C.	662
H. C. Allan, C.C.F.	342

LANSDOWNE

M. R. Sutherland, L.P.	2,014
T. H. Seens, P.C.	1,563
R. W. Doherty, S.C.	900

LaVERANDRYE

E. Brodeur, L.P.	2,203
D. Dufresne, S.C.	1,576

MANITOU-MORDEN

H. B. Morrison, P.C.	1,606
C. D. McLean, L.P.	1,054
A. O'Donnell, S.C.	768

MINNEDOSA

G. A. Hutton, S.C.	1,433
H. S. Bungay, L.P.	1,401
J. A. Burgess, P.C.	1,047

MORRIS

H. P. Shewman, Ind.	1,528
A. S. Beaubien, L.P.	1,191
W. J. Tinkler, S.C.	844

MOUNTAIN

I. Schultz, L.P.	1,851
D. E. Lafreniere, S.C.	894
J. A. Mabon, Ind.	398

NORFOLK BEAUTIFUL PLAINS

S. E. Burch, L.P.	2,133
C. J. McKinnon, S.C.	1,394
H. A. Nelson, P.C.	1,365

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

C. E. Greenlay, L.P.	1,653
W. C. Warren, P.C.	1,329
B. H. Rempel, S.C.	784

RHINELAND

W. C. Miller, L.P.	1,608
V. Peters, S.C.	964
L. A. Recksiedler, P.C.	565

ROBLIN

R. D. Robertson, L.P.	1,474
J. Perchaluk, C.C.F.	868
E. A. McIntyre, S.C.	366
F. E. Cowan, P.C.	227

ROCKWOOD

R. W. Bend, I.L.P.	1,352
H. G. Langrell, P.C.	656
C. E. Toutant, S.C.	393

RUPERTS LAND

F. R. Brown, L.P.	1,136
H. Roulette, L.P.	902
C. L. Abbott, Ind.	166

RUSSELL

R. S. Clement, I.L.P.	1,704
M. J. Solan, C.C.F.	1,190
K. Porter, P.C.	723
C. R. Beswetherick, S.C.	511

ST. ANDREWS

T. P. Hillhouse, L.P.	2,838
K. H. Robson, P.C.	1,386
E. R. Draffin, C.C.F.	838

ST. BONIFACE
(2 Members)

R. Teillet, L.P.	4,530 E
L. R. Fennell, L.P.	3,500 E
J. G. VanBelleghem, I.L.P.	3,189
O. Turner, C.C.F.	2,707
R. Hughes, P.C.	2,101
A. Lemoine, S.C.	1,428
K. McKinnon, C.C.F.	1,292
L. Leger, P.C.	737

ST. CLEMENTS

S. Cope, L.P.	2,970
E. E. Smee, C.C.F.	1,495
G. A. Earle, S.C.	959
W. H. Whyte, P.C.	378

ST. GEORGE

C. Halldorson, L.P.	1,685
H. F. Hartfield, S.C.	321

STE. ROSE

G. L. Molgat, L.P.	1,369
J. A. Fletcher, I.L.P.	1,093
A. Pineau, S.C.	891

SPRINGFIELD

W. Lucko, L.P.	1,937
W. Storsley, S.C.	1,365
A. H. Watt, P.C.	643

SWAN RIVER

G. P. Renouf, P.C.	2,383
D. L. Downs, S.C.	1,503
S. Einarson, C.C.F.	757
G. E. Scali, Ind.	184

THE PAS

F. L. Jobin, L.P.	4,075
W. M. Calvert, S.C.	1,068
W. A. Thompson, C.C.F.	1,326

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

E. F. Willis, P.C.	1,777
C. Gorrie, L.P.	983
V. A. Ferguson, S.C.	507

VIRDEN

J. W. M. Thompson, P.C.	2,182
G. A. Mooney, L.P.	1,621

WINNIPEG CENTRE
(4 Members)

D. Swailes, C.C.F.	3,910
S. Juba, Ind.	3,819
J. St. John, L.P.	3,276
N. B. Scott, P.C.	2,085
L. St. G. Stubbs, Ind.	1,741
H. Murphy, L.P.	1,546
G. R. Fines, C.C.F.	1,080
D. Graham, L.P.	831
P. W. Brown, S.C.	763
G. Borgford, C.C.F.	541
J. Stepnuk, P.C.	478
E. A. Johnson, S.C.	354
F. J. Mulgrew, S.C.	280
E. L. Colson, Ind.	63

WINNIPEG NORTH
(4 Members)

M. A. Gray, C.C.F.	4,642
W. A. Kardash, L.P.P.	3,812
J. Hawryluk, C.C.F.	2,057
A. Turk, L.P.	~~1,880~~ 1622
B. Corrick, P.C.	1,795
E. Brotman, I.L.P.	1,672
J. M. Kozoris, L.P.	~~1,024~~ 1069
J. J. Kolsh, L.P.	1,173
L. Aylen, C.C.F.	1,122
N. Halas, S.C.	917
J. Zusyk, Ind.	130

WINNIPEG SOUTH
(4 Members)

R. D. Turner, L.P.	3,007
D. Roblin, P.C.	6,045
L. Stinson, C.C.F.	4,934
G. Evans, P.C.	4,221
M. McCreary, P.C.	1,820
G. P. McLeod, L.P.	1,806
A. M. Israels, C.C.F.	1,117
D. Benjamin, S.C.	612
J. F. Webster, S.C.	560

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

PREVIOUS GENERAL ELECTIONS

1870	Dec. 27	1910	June 11
1874	Dec. 23	1914	July 10
1878	Dec. 18	1915	Sept. 18
1879	Dec. 16	1920	June 29
1883	Jan. 23	1922	July 18
1886	Dec. 9	1927	June 28
1888	July 11	1932	June 16
1892	July 23	1936	July 27
1896	Jan. 15	1941	Apr. 22
1899	Dec. 7	1945	Oct. 15
1903	July 20	1949	Nov. 10
1907	Mar. 7	1953	June 8

"THE CAMPBELLS ARE GOING,

HOORAY, HOORAY!"[1]

APRIL 30 TO JUNE 16, 1958

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Liberal-Progressive	Douglas L. Campbell	56
Progressive Conservative	Dufferin Roblin	56
CCF	Lloyd Stinson	43
Social Credit	- - - - -	12
Labor Progressive	William Kardash	1
Independents	- - - - -	11

57 single member districts, plurality system

Major Issues: (1) Premier Campbell's "Track Record."

Manitoba had become a vastly expanding post-war society by 1958. Increases in population seemed to foster the need for more jobs, a formal universal education system, and increased health services. An enlarged development of natural resources and diversification of agriculture and industry seemed necessary to support the increased population and consequent social needs. Such social needs and the desparate attempts to meet them lay behind the kinds of questions at issue in the 1958 campaign. Between the years 1953 and 1958 Douglas L. Campbell's Liberal-Progressive Government had reluctantly, but assuredly, increased expenditures on roads; established a John Bracken-chaired inquiry into the sale and distribution of liquor in the province; commenced an inquiry into the state of education in the province under former Deputy Minister of Education R. O. McFarlane; and, under supervision of an independent commission, redistributed Manitoba's fifty-seven legislative seats. In most instances the government had apparently acted in response to considerable public pressure. Independent MLA, and Mayor of Winnipeg, Stephen Juba had been a major force in calling for the liberalization of liquor laws. The Winnipeg Tribune had been a particularly impatient advocate of better highways. And the education and redistribution questions were voiced in chorus throughout the province.[2]

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[1] An election prediction of a Progressive Conservative MP, WFP, May 2, 1958, p. 6.

In June of 1954 Dufferin Roblin defeated Errick Willis for the leadership of the Progressive Conservative Party. The new leader claimed he was determined to bring about a return of issues and party principles to future Manitoba campaigns.[3] By 1957 an election was expected but not called. Redistribution had been achieved on the basis of a 7 rural to 4 urban seat ratio, 26 seats were rural, 21 were urban (one Brandon and 20 greater Winnipeg, St. Boniface and surrounding districts). All proportional representation and transferable ballots were to be a thing of the past. The issues had taken shape and could be readily described. But the anticipated election did not come about. John Diefenbaker and his federal Conservatives formed a minority government in Ottawa in June 1957 and then won the largest majority in the history of Canadian federal elections on March 31, 1958. Duff Roblin waited in the hopes of turning the same trick with a similarly entrenched Liberal government in Manitoba. As Manitobans voted on local liquor plebiscites, and viewed new tax-rental agreements with Ottawa, a limited oil production in the south-west of the province, and promises of the second largest nickle mine in the world at a new townsite, Thompson, Manitoba, Mr. Campbell finally called the election. It was to be held just two days before the five-year life of the legislature was due to expire.

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2 These events are discussed in Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 476-479, and Jackson, Centennial History, pp. 244-246.

3 Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 483.

For at least a full year before the election the wide-spread criticism of the Campbell Government had been aided by the Winnipeg Free Press particularly on questions like flood control, aid to municipalities, and liquor and beer revenues. Earlier charges of inaction and indecision and of a cabinet lacking vigor in debate or imagination in policy, whose major skill was in parrying opposition criticisms--all took their place among the issues in May and June of 1958.[4]

Duff Roblin addressed his "Fellow Manitobans" as the campaign began: "I believe a clear majority of our people in the country and city alike earnestly desire a new Provincial Government. We are tired of a lack-lustre and do-nothing administration, thirty-six years old, clearly failing to keep up with Canadian progress. We urgently need to make up for lost time."[5] The Campbell Government allegedly had to be "nagged and pushed" to show any sign of initiative. "We are not making the most of our opportunities to develop and build this province," Mr. Roblin said, and that was "what this election is all about."[6]

The central issue of the campaign around which other matters would revolve was, therefore, the longevity of a cautious administration and its record of equally cautious programs. In announcing the election in early May Premier Campbell attempted to dismiss such opposition charges as "trifles." "This is an administration of imaginative, aggressive, challenging policies," he said, and cited rural electrification, and his government's handling of both hydro development and the liquor question as evidence.[7] Unlike opposition parties, which were described as pretending that they could supply services without taxation, his government sensed the realities of spending, and handled monies carefully, but without "penny-pinching," Premier Campbell maintained.[8]

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[4] The formation of issues is described in two useful 1957 articles: H. S. Crowe, "Election Prospects in Manitoba," Canadian Forum, November, 1957, pp. 176-77, and J. H. Stewart Reid, "Town vs Country in Manitoba Politics, Saturday Night, May 25, 1957, pp. 12-13, 42-43.

[5] Conservative advertisement, WFP, May 3, 1958, p. 7.

[6] WFP, May 9, 1958, p. 4.

[7] WFP, May 2, 1958, p. 1.

[8] Ibid.

With the call of an election the Winnipeg Free Press attempted to return to its position of supporting the government with the claim that a strengthened opposition had improved the government.

> The faults which in recent years have seemed to lessen the government's popularity were the product of the over-low temperature at which our provincial politics operated for too long. Since the Opposition improved and the temperature rose, the Government has in fact improved too. New policies on aid to municipalities, on schools and scholarships, on roads and the University have lately corrected most of the mistakes for which the Government had been criticized.[9]

It was generally agreed, however, that the Free Press "resumption of support came too late" to undo the damage.[10] The Liberal paper's earlier positions were used as weapons against the government and even the admission that the opposition had been responsible for moving the government into action was, as one might suppose, an integral part of Mr. Roblin's argument against the Campbell Government. He described it as "an administration of pressure with every move a fighting retreat." The government, he said, had acted only under "compulsion of public opinion," always offering "too little and too late."[11]

Conservative advertisements claimed that Manitoba could not "afford a continuance of costly blunders" which a Premier lightly dismissed as "trifles."[12] A scholarship program for post-secondary education announced by Education Minister W. C. Miller, just as the campaign began in earnest, was just one example for Duff Roblin of delay and decision under pressure. His party had been unable to convince the government to embark on such a program, he said, "'last year--or any year' until the rebellion and revolt of public opinion forced them to act this election year."[13]

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[9] Editorial: "Record in Perspective," WFP, May 2, 1958, p. 1.

[10] Editorial, Saturday Night, June 5, 1958, p. 9.

[11] WFP, May 17, 1958, p. 5.

[12] WFP, May 10, 1958, p. 53.

[13] WFP, May 9, 1958, p. 4.

The same note was sounded as Progressive Conservative candidates described the government's failing to supply necessary funds for oil leases, old-age pension supplements, farm credits, and "do-it-now" campaigns to limit unemployment.[14] This reluctance to spend on important development and social services was linked with a $600,000 bond guarantee for the building of a new race-track as a contrast which indicated misplaced priorities. "Today they are only fighting a rear-guard action against the growing pressure of public opinion," the Conservative Party concluded.[15]

Premier Campbell and government supporters defended the government record by drawing attention to Manitoba's taxes and charges in comparison to other provinces. Mr. Campbell maintained that the province had the lowest per capita taxation, the lowest power rate and the lowest telephone charges of any Canadian province.[16] Liberal campaign material also praised the administration for fostering the lowest electricity rate in Canada and a lower gasoline tax than neighboring provinces.[17] The Liberal-Progressives handled opposition criticisms of cautious spending or a refusal to spend on needed services by reminding the electorate that the government had avoided tax increases and the implementation of a sales tax. Premier Campbell denied the "tight-fisted" charges by citing a ten-year increase from $37,800,000 to $105,000,000 in governmnet expenditures under his supervision.[18] The Greenlay budget for 1958-59 had called for significantly larger (by 22½ per cent) outlays for municipal assistance in education, roads and welfare.[19] Premier Campbell seemed prepared to respond to the continuous criticism of overly careful spending by admitting that he was actually spending more and borrowing more to expand services.[20] The Premier would remind the electorate, however, that the government's debts were pre-dominantly self-sustaining, since most provincial debts had been incurred for power development, the telephone system, and similar revenue producers. Provincial Treasurer Greenlay noted also that provincial debt charges had been reduced by the Liberal-Progressives from thirty-two per cent of the entire budget in 1934 to less than two per cent in the current year.[21]

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[14] WFP, May 2, p. 1; May 20, p. 8; and May 30, 1958, p. 8.

[15] WFP, May 20, p. 8.

[16] WFP, May 14, 1958, p. 11.

[17] Ibid., p. 41.

[18] WFP, May 6, 1958, p. 3.

[19] The Monetary Times, April, 1958, p. 89.

[20] WFP, May 6, p. 3 and May 28, 1958, p. 12.

Government candidates, like Public Utilities Minister, C. L. Shuttleworth, attacked provincial Conservatives for their comments on government spending, charging that they were "promising something for everyone with both hands in the tax-payers' pockets."[22] The government's approach had been to avoid both excessive spending programs and excessive taxation. The Liberals, Shuttleworth and others argued, had spent wisely, paid their way, paid off debts in good times, and saved for the "tougher times" which now found them in a "pretty sound position."[23] Premier Campbell described this approach and his own part in it to a Free Press interviewer:

> Perhaps my policy of caution has paid off now we are in tougher times. I believe in planning a long way ahead and to ensure our future without undue burden on the taxpayer. I just don't believe in rushing into programs we just can't afford.

He continued in the same vein by defending himself against the attacks regarding low expenditures for social services.

> I'm the best friend a social services program ever had--but, I insist that we must be able to underwrite any program financially before we proceed with it. I am a practical individual--that is my fate: steady, sound, practical knowledge rather than visionary dreams. We have the Ron Turners, Shuttleworths, Jobins and other younger members of our government to supply the visions--I control them. I am not a "brain" man.[24]

As Premier Douglas L. Campbell was being nominated for the ninth time in the same rural municipal hall at Portage La Prairie (a provincial record) his thirty-six years in the assembly made age an issue as well. He was old, he admitted, "but not tired."[25] His reference in the interview above to "younger members" was reiterated by other government candidates. Edmond Prefontaine noted that the average age of the Liberals was lower than Conservative members of the house.[26] "A good many of us are just raring to go" said another cabinet minister on the hustings[27] and much verbiage was spent on countering the Conservative charge that the government itself was thirty-six years old. The Free Press denied this contention (the government in the editor's view was eight years old) and attempted to describe this reference to age as a recent Tory ploy as they linked themselves with the new Conservatives of John Diefenbaker.

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[21] WFP, May 16, 1958, p. 15.

[22] WFP, May 14, 1958, p. 11.

[23] WFP, May 14, 1958, p. 11.

[24] WFP, May 17, 1958, p. 26.

> It would be very nice for the Tories if they could bring to bear against the provincial Government the same feeling of "time for a change," that, after twenty-two years of continuous Liberal government, undoubtedly was a powerful factor in the 1957 federal election. But if this is to be the main part of their campaign, the Provincial Conservatives must think that the people of Manitoba are know nothings, to whom clever men can tell untruths with impunity.[28]

In describing what it called an "incredibly dull campaign" the Globe and Mail blamed the lack of issues on the time wasted on this question of the age of the government.

> ...the reason the Manitoba campaign has been dead is because the politicians have been dealing with superficial, inconsequential issues. For example, one of the most drawn out debates so far has been on the age of the present Liberal-Progressive government...
>
> ...As long as opposition parties want to waste their own and the electorate's time with stuff like this, the Campbell government will no doubt be perfectly willing to go along. The last thing it should want is issues any more substantial, any more significant.[29]

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[25] WFP, May 12, 1958, p. 14.

[26] WFP, May 21, 1958, p. 4.

[27] C. L. Shuttleworth, Minister of Public Utilities and Minister of Agriculture and Immigration. WFP, May 19, 1958, p. 1.

[28] Editorial: "Eight Year Government," WFP, May 12, 1958, p. 19.

[29] Editorial: "Campaigning in Manitoba," The Globe and Mail, June 5, 1958, p. 6.

But the wrangle continued: Thirty-six years! Eight years! Nine years! and Liberal David Graham explained that with a Progressive government from 1922 to 1931 and a coalition government from 1940 to 1950 the correct figure was seventeen years of Liberal-Progressive government.[30]

Major Issues: (2) Economic Development.

We began this discussion of the 1958 campaign by indicating some of the great social needs which might be associated with Manitoba's expansion. The election issues, we noted, could be understood in the context of population growth and economic diversification. The major issues seemed to gather around the demands for expanded public education programs, enlarged health services, better roads, and expanded programs of industrial, agricultural, and resource development. To forward such ends, Duff Roblin promised that an industrial development bank and increased educational grants would be considered at the earliest possible call of a session of the assembly.[31]

Politicians of every political stripe seemed to recognize the need for further investment in economic development. There was also universal recognition and concern for the interdependency of power development, roads, and communication links like television, as the means of the wider general development of the province, particularly of the north. The Progressive Conservatives, especially Mr. Roblin and the financial expert Gurney Evans articulated these superstructural needs for development, like transportation and power. Mr. Roblin also expressed concern for a province-wide policy of development. The past program of government-controlled power development in the southern part of the province meant, for the Progressive Conservative leader, that one policy existed in the south, and another in the north, where the same degree of publicly controlled power did not exist.[32] Lloyd Stinson and other CCF spokesmen called for increased development by taxing corporations at a higher level and demanding higher mineral royalties. Both Mr. Stinson, and Saskatchewan Premier T. C. Douglas, who once again visited the province to aid CCF campaigning, compared Saskatchewan's eleven per cent of revenues collected by mineral royalties to Manitoba's two per cent.[33]

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[30] WFP, May 7, 1958, p. 3.

[31] WFP, June 12, 1958, p. 1.

[32] WFP, May 28, 1958, p. 12.

Government spokesmen defended themselves by acknowledging the same needs. Premier Campbell, speaking in The Pas, apologized to a northern audience on one occasion that recent successful steam plants in Brandon and Selkirk had scuttled plans for a northern development of hydro power.[34] Minister of Industry and Commerce F. L. Jobin boasted that the province would soon sport a one billion dollars gross in industrial production and a $45,000,000 tourist business.[35] He promised government investment in a television relay system to the north and attacked Mr. Stinson's comments on mineral royalties by claiming that Saskatchewan was using those same royalties for grants to encourage further development by other corporations.[36] He claimed Manitoba had more mining activity than any other province with "an excellent economic climate" and "the best mining laws...there are."[37]

The Campbell Government's record in economic development is mentioned at this point in our discussion because it seems a major element in the broader issue already discussed, the government's record and whether or not the administration consisted of good managers or a tired unimaginative lot. The following Conservative advertisement sums up that party's view of the question and links these two issues: development and administrative record together. The newspaper advertisement begins by calling on Manitoba to "shake off its 'poorer province complex'," and then continues:

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[33] WFP, May 17, p. 6 and June 3, 1958, p. 2.

[34] WFP, May 27, 1958, p. 10 and The Monetary Times, June, 1958, p. 49.

[35] The Monetary Times, June 1958, p. 46.

[36] WFP, May 23, p. 6 and May 27, 1958, p. 10.

[37] WFP, May 27, 1958, p. 10.

> Backed by a vast storehouse of natural resources and a strong virile people ready to share in its development, Manitoba needs the courage, imagination, leadership and initiative of a new vigorous Government. With your help and support on June 16th Manitoba can acquire that type of Government. Regardless of former political affiliations now is the time to support Duff Roblin and his Progressive Conservative team. 38

The advertisement is interesting as well for its perennial appeal beyond party. What does seem significant about the issue of the extent of economic development in the province is that the matter was often left rather dormant, so that it might be called a latent or underlying issue. One might have expected much more to be made of it than was. It may have taken the distance of an eastern editor to see this. The following comment not only sums up many of the evident issues of the campaign as they relate to the general economy, but also develops very well the speculative nature and significance of the development question.

> ...while other Provinces have pursued vigorous, enlightened policies of development, the Manitoba Government has ventured nothing and gained nothing. The current nickle development in the Northern part of the province is the first new mining venture of any size since Flin Flon opened in 1930. There has, of course, been oil development in the South-west, but this has been on a relatively minor scale.
>
> Probably no statistics show the picture more dramatically than those of population growth. Since 1922, when the present regime took office, Manitoba's population has climbed 35 per cent; that of Canada as a whole over 80 per cent.
>
> When the Government, particularly in the immediate post-war years, should have been preoccupied with stimulating growth and development, it was retrenching, paralysed by fear of a depression on the scale of the 1930s. It sacrificed roads, education standards and other services to caution. In short, when it could have been Province-building on the pattern of Ontario, Quebec, Alberta or British Columbia, to give a few examples, it did virtually nothing.
>
> While there is an issue like this--touching so closely the lives of every Manitoban--the Province should not have a dull election campaign. Indeed, no Province should have one, since development is the basic issue in all of them. 39

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38 WFP, May 10, 1958, p. 53.

39 Editorial: "Campaigning in Manitoba," The Globe and Mail, June 5, 1958, p. 6.

Major Issues: (3) Roads.

The issue of the government's road-building program was now center stage in terms of importance and as an illustration of the general question, already discussed above, whether the Campbell administration had managed spending and development of services in anything like an appropriate and far-sighted manner. "As long as you can see those little red flags along the side, its a Manitoba road," Duff Roblin complained.[40] All opposition candidates were agreed that the government's development of roads was a "patchwork program" devoid of planning. "Indeed," said a Conservative statement, "the real trouble with the Campbell Government's road program was that it never was one."[41] Conservative Gurney Evans reported that the province had less paved highway per thousand miles of total roadway than any other province in Canada.[42]

Other factors related to these charges included concern for a loss of road engineers in the province, and the "foot-dragging" said to have been engaged in by the government in its bridge program, particularly the much talked about Disraeli bridge as part of a perimeter road around Winnipeg. Conservative statements made repeated reference to the Kellogg-Stevenson Report of 1955 which had warned the government of the engineer shortage. The Progressive Conservative Party relished quoting the Free Press in its favor. Citing a finding of the roads report that $100,000 had been lost on the provincial bridge program because of a lack of engineers; a full-page Conservative advertisement stated: "...as the traditionally Liberal Winnipeg Free Press said: 'The main criticism of the bridge division (in which $100,000 was lost in 1954) thus parallels the criticisms of the highway branch as a whole'." The advertisement went on to note that the engineers shortage still existed and then cited more criticism from the Free Press: "Weaknesses were discovered everywhere in the area of investigations--the findings can be a source neither of pride to the Government nor of comfort to the public."[43]

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[40] WFP, May 27, 1958, p. 10.

[41] WFP, May 24, 1958, p. 26.

[42] WFP, May 27, 1958, p. 11.

The Disraeli bridge was now being paid for largely out of provincial funds but the issue here was that the government had refused since 1955 to come to Winnipeg's aid until bridge costs had already greatly increased. "The price of steel and other materials has gone up so much that the citizens of Winnipeg will gain no benefit from increased provincial grants, while the cost of the bridge to the provincial government will be greater," said William Kardash, the Labor Progressive Party MLA.[44] The cost of this "procrastination" was $1,300,000, the Conservatives charged, plus "unrelated costs in traffic slow-downs, traffic jams, and the loss of time by motorists." Manitobans would "not begrudge Winnipeg this bridge--but rightly resent the loss of money which might have been used to build other needed bridges elsewhere in the Province."[45] Other candidates argued that the government also had a responsibility to build the freeway associated with the bridge since it would serve the entire province, and not just Winnipeg.[46]

The government had replied by greatly increasing its road expenditures and now a series of announcements interspersed the campaign, regarding the perimeter road, a fifteen million dollars northern road program including a road to the new nickle town of Thompson, and proposed new roads for milk trucks.[47]

On such seemingly belated spending CCF leader Stinson cast a suspicious eye. His comments on the government's apparent change of heart and on the engineers shortage offer an excellent summary of the dimensions of the roads issue in 1958.

> For years this government has consistently refused to spend enough money on road construction to maintain our highways at a decent standard. They have had nothing in the way of a long-term program for highway

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[43] WFP, May 10, 1958, p. 53.

[44] WFP, May 30, 1958, p. 5.

[45] WFP, May 10, 1958, p. 53.

[46] WFP, May 19, 1958, p. 3.

[47] WFP, April 25, p. 3; May 12, p. 12; May 28, p. 12; and June 11, 1958, p. 1.

> development. They have underpaid our engineers to such an extent that many of the best have left the province.
>
> Now they come along with a vast increase in spending for this year and expect the public to believe that our road-building program has been solved. Well, it has not been. In fact, this sudden increase just before an election looks more like a desperate attempt to buy votes with public money than any genuine effort to develop a highway program.
>
> You are expected to believe that some great new advance is being made in this important field, but, in actual fact, there is no guarantee that any basic improvement is going to be made in our road program at all.[48]

The government counterattack involved quoting the increased figures of recent spending, all of which was in excess of monies collected from vehicle license fees and gasoline taxes which had been the Tory-proposed source of road-building funds. To all charges that road-building presently engaged in should have been carried on years ago the Liberal-Progressives replied that Errick Willis was the Highway Minister responsible up to 1950. Premier Campbell claimed that both Mr. Willis and Mr. Roblin had complained of too much spending on roads only several years earlier.[49] The Premier admitted that the committee report had criticized the province's program but claimed accomplishments since those earlier "mistakes."[50] The government leader asked why Mr. Roblin as a member of the highways committee had not raised his questions in the house or why he "hadn't... called a single department of highways official before the committee of which he was a member."[51]

Minister of Public Works Donald D. Robertson, whose road-building announcements were injected into the campaign, denied that the province was not moving ahead in its road construction program. He spoke regularly in the closing weeks of the campaign of a $42,000,000 new program of fifty-five contracts with an additional thirteen contracts already started. He cited increased mileages of surfaced road and noted that 85 per cent of Manitoba's building program had been related to an upgrading of highways for heavier trucking and high speed auto traffic.[52] Of the engineers' shortage he asserted that the opposition had "not demonstrated a single case where the shortage of engineers has resulted in a loss to the public."[53]

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[48] WFP, May 27, 1958, p. 10.

[49] WFP, May 29, 1958, p. 48.

[50] WFP, May 22, 1958, p. 28.

[51] Ibid.

In early June Messrs. Roblin and Robertson confronted each other on a common platform in Ste. Agathe. However, by this time the issue had reduced itself largely to a quarrel over the number of engineers employed in the province and the number of contracts and their worth actually started.[54]

The "roads issue" exited with the whimper of Ed Wachal (Progressive Conservative--Brokenhead) demanding reparations for the loss of a $75 gas tank unhinged on a pot-holed Manitoba road while he campaigned. He presented his bill and the battered tank to his Liberal-Progressive opponent at the latter's meeting at Tyndale, Manitoba.[55]

Major Issues: (4) Education.

If W. L. Morton is correct the education issues of the 1958 campaign might best be understood in the context of widespread public concern over the "shocking bad examination results" of rural high schools several years before.[56] Premier Campbell had established a Royal Commission on Education in 1957 under the chairmanship of Dr. R. O. McFarlane, his Deputy-Minister of Education, and the Premier was prepared to act on recommendations once they were ready. The long-standing criticisms as they occurred again during the campaign had to do with the poor standards of Manitoba education, the teacher shortage, the lack of sufficient funding, the alleged failure of the Liberal-Progressive Government to implement larger school divisions, and the competency of Education Minister W. C. Miller as he changed cabinet posts during the campaign.

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[52] WFP, May 27, 11 and May 28, 1958, p. 4.

[53] WFP, May 27, 1958, p. 11.

[54] WFP, June 2, 1958, p. 5.

[55] Considerable ink was spilled on this farcical aspect of the roads question. WFP, June 6, p. 12 and June 9, 1958, p. 1.

[56] Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 481.

Critics of the government's handling of educational matters were multitudinous. Winnipeg school trustee George Frith, who became an Independent candidate simply to voice his education concerns, on several occasions hired halls and theatres to condemn a system which taught grade ten physics from a grade seven American text.[57] The system apparently lacked diversification or any attempt to separate students into ability groups.[58] CCF leader Lloyd Stinson blamed the low standard of education on Premier Campbell's attempts to hold down teachers' salaries and a covering up of the low payments and consequent teacher shortage by hiring underqualified teachers. Stinson claimed the system was six hundred teachers short and that fifteen per cent of education graduates were leaving the province because of low pay. Furthermore, the government had been warned in advance that such an exodus would likely occur. The reduced standards were designed, Stinson said, "to create the illusion that there is a steady supply of teachers." Two years earlier almost the entire faculty of education had left the University of Manitoba because of inadequate pay and facilities and still "the faculty is...housed in an old army hut on this university campus," the CCF leader complained.[59]

Duff Roblin and others frequently made use of the per capita education grant statistics which made it apparent that Manitoba spent less on education than any province save Prince Edward Island. "As a result" of such low grants, Stinson said, "teacher standards are far below the national standards, school construction is falling far behind the rising needs and university fees are going up when they should be drastically cut to fulfill the principle of a good education for all who can benefit from it."[60] W. R. Gordon, assistant secretary of the Manitoba Teachers' Society, claimed the province had the lowest salary schedule for teachers west of Quebec.[61] The city of Winnipeg would require two million dollars to bring it into line with education in other provinces, CCF'er Gordon Fines argued.[62]

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[57] WFP, April 19, 1958, p. 4.

[58] WFP, May 7, 1958, p. 23.

[59] WFP, May 13, 1958, p. 6.

[60] WFP, June 7, 1958, p. 6.

[61] WFP, May 9, 1958, p. 7.

[62] WFP, May 20, 1958, p. 11.

And the recently announced increases in grants and scholarships were equally criticized by Messrs. Fines, Roblin, and others. "After years of shilly-shallying and shelved promises the Campbell administration finally raised the grants for education, thereby raising Manitoba up to ninth place in the size of provincial per capita grants," Gordon Fines declared sarcastically.[63]

The Progressive Conservatives under Duff Roblin would initiate a school foundation plan by which a standard school mill rate would be set for the whole province, a "reasonable costs" figure would be set for each municipality, and any difference between the "'reasonable cost figure' and collected taxes" would be made up by the province. Mr. Roblin argued that the provincial government should cover fifty per cent of all municipal education costs instead of the then present thirty-three per cent. The sharing of gas taxes and licence fees with municipalities might allow increases in teachers' pay. Thus the education problem "boils down to money," Mr. Roblin argued. "Twelve years ago a committee of the legislature said at least half of education costs should be borne by the province. The present government can wriggle and squirm all they want and blame Ottawa and the municipalities but under our constitution, it is the responsibility of the province." The Progressive Conservative leader noted that federal aid had increased from $14,000,000 to $35,000,000 in ten years.[64]

The government was also criticized for having failed to enforce or promote the reorganization of school districts into larger units. Education Minister Miller had set up a commission which had as part of its responsibilities the encouragement of larger school districts. Mrs. W. A. Wood, a member of the commission "hit out at school boards which vote down larger school areas without valid reasons as far as education is concerned."[65] Progressive Conservative George Hutton (Rockwood-Iberville) noted the fear residing in most areas that reorganization might result in even higher taxes.[66]

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[63] WFP, May 20, 1958, p. 11.

[64] WFP, May 9, 1958, p. 4.

[65] WFP, May 24, 1958, p. 9.

[66] WFP, May 23, 1958, p. 6.

Education Minister Miller, while favoring the larger districts, insisted that his department was not going to force them on the existing boards and districts.[67]

The Winnipeg Free Press defended the government with the claim that unlike Mr. Roblin, whose position was totally unclear, the government had at least let it be known that it did in fact support larger school divisions. The newspaper's defense provides an excellent review of this aspect of the education issue.

> The most severe criticism of the Government has been criticism of Mr. Miller for making good-will noises about larger school areas and yet doing very little to bring them about. Mr. Roblin gets on the bandwagon to the extent of making rude noises about the Government's educational policies and administration, but where does he stand himself? Would he do what its constructive critics have urged the government to do? That is to establish larger school areas, with considerable financial inducements, unless a major vote of the whole area is against it. If the Conservatives claim agreement with the Free Press, that is what they are in favor of. But Mr. Roblin has never said so. He has been content just to criticize.
>
> On most of the points on which its educational policies were criticized, the Government has lately made very large improvements, and more can be expected through the Royal Commission on education. The one point on which there has as yet been no real progress is larger school areas. And on that the Government does at least say some of the right things, without doing enough about them. Mr. Roblin has not even expressed himself that far. He has said nothing positive on the issue at all. Yet there is nothing more vital to the progress of the province. The Government's position, while far from heroic, is by a wide margin better than Mr. Roblin's blankness.[68]

Further opposition criticisms were reserved for the personnel on the education commission and for the Education Minister. CCF leader Stinson questioned how independent and unprejudiced the education commission could be when all its members had "some personal involvement in Manitoba's schools and their administration."[69] Mrs. Nena Woodward (CCF--Fort Garry) outspokenly blamed Messrs. Campbell and Miller for adding confusion to the education crisis since, as she said, they "sought to untangle the education mess by hiring the man who got us into it in the first place," the former

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[67] WFP, June 11, 1958, p. 2.

[68] WFP, May 23, 1958, p. 9.

[69] WFP, June 10, 1958, p. 6.

Deputy-Minister McFarlane.[70]

The Liberal-Progressives defended their record in the education field by pointing to rising education grants. Twenty-eight cents out of every provincial tax dollar went to education, Liberal newspaper advertisements claimed. Grants were rising every year and would reach $23,000,000 in 1959.[72] Premier Campbell promised a program in which "no one will be denied educational opportunities for financial reasons."[73] The scholarship program promised $385,325 for 2565 students and classroom grants would all be increased.[74]

In response to Mr. Roblin's promise to pay fifty per cent of the municipal costs of education Attorney-General M. N. Hryhorczuk claimed that in most places the provincial government was already contributing more than that amount.[75]

Major Issues: (5) Hospital Insurance.

June 1958 marked not only an important provincial election for Manitobans but a time of registration for a government-sponsored hospital insurance plan to commence on June 30th. Discussion of the plan was subdued since no political party appeared willing to oppose the plan during an election campaign. The reluctance to appear opposed had apparently "stampeded" the plan through the legislative assembly and an "unofficial truce" made the plan something of a latent issue during the May-June campaign.[76]

However, there were some concerns which did surface. The medical profession advocated $1.50 to $2.00 per day in deterrent fees, fearing that unless such fees were levied on the $2.05 per month public ward premium Manitoba's hospitals would be innundated with hypochondriacs. The Winnipeg Tribune argued vehemently for government-imposed deterrent fees as part of the total plan. But hospital authorities joined Robert Bend, the minister in charge of the scheme, in opposing deterrent fees. Bend argued that only the good judgement of doctors could deter a frivolous use of hospital facilities.[77] The minister also explained that by introducing the plan before July 1 the province would be taking advantage of a fifty-fifty sharing arrangement with the federal government to include mental health and tuberculosis coverage.[78] Premier Campbell explained the advantages over the old private system. "Now people of any age can get the insurance," he said, "and coverage extends indefinitely." a sales tax had been considered, he said, but rejected as discriminatory.[79] To CCF charges that the plan was just an "election thing" W. C. Miller observed that had the province entered such a scheme two years earlier it would have had to pay the full cost of the plan.[80]

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[70] WFP, May 13, 1958, p. 8.
[71] WFP, June 5, 1958, p. 3.
[72] WFP, May 14, 1958, p. 41.
[73] Time Magazine, May 12, 1958, p. 13.
[74] Ibid., and WFP, May 14, 1958, p. 41.
[75] WFP, May 30, 1958, p. 8.
[76] The Globe and Mail, June 14, 1958, p. 7.

The many scattered criticisms of the plan included the Manitoba Social Credit League's concern for its compulsory nature.[81] Former Dauphin Mayor Conservative Stewart McLean claimed that the new plan put the burden on municipal taxpayers since the cost of care for indigent persons was left to municipalities.[82]

Lloyd Stinson said his CCF party would push for the inclusion of free diagnosis and treatment of cancer as part of the plan. He advocated the abolition of premiums in favor of a $5.00 single and $10.00 family registration fee.[83] Stinson also expressed disappointment when the June cabinet shuffle failed to announce a Minister of Health independent of other presponsibilities.[84]

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[77] The Globe and Mail, June 14, 1958, p. 7.

[78] WFP, June 9, 1958, p. 13.

[79] WFP, May 16, 1958, p. 15.

[80] WFP, June 11, 1958, p. 2.

[81] WFP, May 14, 1958, p. 11.

[82] Ibid., p. 42.

[83] WFP, May 23, 1958, p. 1.

Other opposition spokesmen expressed concern over the government's plan to use former Blue Cross paid premiums as an advance on payments on the plan, making the last six months of a policy-holder's premium pre-paid. Said one opponent of the plan, "What it means is that you get your hospitalization paid for nothing for the first six months after you're dead."[85]

Major Issues: (6) Liquor Laws and Prices.

The recommendations of the Bracken Liquor Enquiry Commission had received popular acceptance since the nub of its findings were that the government was paying too much for the beer it purchased from local brewers and then sold through government operated stores.[86] Groups like the WCTU and the Manitoba Temperance Alliance were outspoken in their disappointment as to the implementation of the report, the major objective for which they defined as being "to discourage consumption and undesirable social consequences of alcohol." Manitobans are being exposed to a glamorized and pressurized approach to drinking which...has broken faith with the Bracken report," said the Alliance as it called upon the government to implement a code of ethics for operators of licensed hotels and restaurants, and urged experimental use of breathalyzers.[87]

The history of the report's findings was summarized from the critical perspective of the Progressive Conservative Party as the "beer-price scandal":

> All the beer produced in Manitoba is sold to the Government at a negotiated price. The difference between this price to the breweries and what it receives when it sells the beer, goes to the public treasury.
>
> The Liquor Enquiry Commission appointed in 1955...found the Campbell Government was permitting the breweries to make an excessive profit... overpaying the breweries and transferring into the coffers of the breweries more than a million dollars a year that should have been going into the public treasury.

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[84] WFP, June 6, 1958, p. 13.

[85] The Globe and Mail, June 14, 1958, p. 7.

[86] J. H. S. Reid, "Town vs Country," Saturday Night, May 25, 1957, p. 42

[87] WFP, May 2, 1958, p. 14.

> The Campbell Government failed completely in its effort to disprove the charge. Indeed it documented its failure by later cutting the price it paid the breweries by close to the million dollars a year suggested. This constituted a complete admission of the entire validity of the charges of the Progressive Conservative party.
>
> This OLD Government which claims to be so prudent and economical lost over a million dollars a year, year after year, through a bad deal with the breweries. So pointed was the indictment that the traditionally Liberal Winnipeg Free Press was prompted on March 8, 1956, to say: "The Liberals of Manitoba have no choice but to recognize that the Provincial Government has let us down, and badly; to pretend otherwise would only do further harm to the Liberal cause."[88]

Provincial Secretary Edmond Prefontaine answered the Conservative charges by claiming that the commission had said only that the government would have received a million dollars more in beer sales if it had charged the same price as the Ontario Government. But such an arrangement was "not economically possible in Manitoba," Prefontaine declared.[89] Ontario had such mass production and such a larger area of distribution as to make comparisons inappropriate, it was argued. Industry and Commerce Minister Jobin claimed that compared to Alberta and Saskatchewan the Manitoba price was not out of line.[90]

Progressive Conservative leader Roblin and his party's advertisements responded immediately to Jobin's comments by reminding him and the electorate that it was not the retail price of beer in Ontario or Manitoba, which was under question, but rather, the government price paid to the breweries and the loss of revenue such prices represented for the people of the province. Again, the Free Press was cited in support of the Conservative position: "The Government has mismanaged its side of the beer business and as a result the breweries have got, as Mr. Bracken said, unnecessarily high profits," Mr. Roblin read from the Liberal paper's April 19, 1956 edition.[91] A further comment in a Conservative advertisement cited the Free Press as saying "...the taxpayers of Manitoba are still at the moment paying the breweries...more than the commission thought they should be paid--and the commission's ideas of pricing are not those of a tough buyer."[92]

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[88] Conservative advertisement, WFP, May 10, 1958, p. 53.

[89] WFP, May 23, 1958, p. 6.

[90] WFP, May 27, 1958, p. 10.

[91] WFP, May 28, 1958, p. 4.

Attorney-General Hryhorczuk attempted to defend his government's position by observing that Manitoba was the only province to reduce the price paid to breweries in the last two or three years whereas Ontario had increased by twenty-five per cent the price to its consumers.[93]

Major Issues: (7) Natural Gas Distribution.

Like education and liquor, natural gas distribution in Manitoba was also under investigation, in this case, by the Natural Gas Distribution Commission of Greater Winnipeg. A report was expected around July 1, and the problem had its roots in the discrepancy between the Winnipeg and Central Gas Company's plan to sell gas to the capital city for $1.03 per 1,000 cubic feet, and two other companies which promised service for as little as 73 cents per 1,000 cubic feet. The CCF and LPP parties and the Winnipeg and District Labor Council and the Manitoba Federation of Labor all called for a complete provincial takeover of gas distribution.[94]

One of the potential competitors was already selling gas through its Brandon franchise at only 68 cents per 1,000 cubic feet. Hence, the public utilities board's acceptance of the Winnipeg and Central Gas Company's rate schedule (actually some reduction had been made from the original submission) had been the subject of heated debate almost since the availability of natural gas to Winnipeg on September 30, 1957.[95]

Donovan Swailes (CCF--Assiniboia) claimed the distribution of natural gas had been turned over to "a bunch of commercial bucchaneers." Swailes protested the absence of parliamentary debate at the inception of

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[92] WFP, May 29, 1958, p. 8.

[93] WFP, May 30, 1958, p. 8.

[94] WFP, April 26, pp. 3, 4, and 42; and May 8, 1958, p. 18. A chronology of events related to this issue is discussed in The Monetary Times, January, 1958, p. 60 and June, 1958, p. 47.

[95] The Monetary Times, January, 1958, p. 60.

Winnipeg gas distribution and claimed that the higher price being profferred by Winnipeg and Central Gas was an attempt to recover the company's own losses incurred by having to wait for a final decision over distribution rights. Swailes and his party leader, Stinson, criticized the anticipated Winnipeg prices which in some cases could be twice as much as Saskatchewan prices. Stinson condemned plans which made no provision for supplying gas outside of Winnipeg simply because there was no profit in it. The CCF, he said, would provide natural gas to all communities over one thousand population within a reasonable reach of the pipeline--places like Selkirk, Beausejour and Neepawa.[96] Another CCF candidate, Al Mackling (St. James), asserted that party policies may well have been effected by the sizeable contributions of gas companies to their campaign coffers.[97]

Major Issues: (8) Agriculture.

Two complex agricultural issues remained largely unchanged at least since 1953 concerning crop insurance and farm loans or security. Lloyd Stinson complained that the government's persistence in upholding its Debt Adjustment Act of 1932 avoided making mortgage companies share some of the risk in case of crop failures. The CCF would allow payments on mortgage interest only, and have farmers forego payments on actual principals during the period of crop failure. The act also made no guarantee that the farmer would not be deprived of his home quarter in the case of foreclosure when such a guarantee might assure a basic subsistence. Nor did the act contain any "machinery for the effective mediation of disputes."[98]

Conservative criticisms were also directed at outdated legislation and statements issuing from the government that there was little that the provinces could do in the field of agriculture without federal initiative and funding. During the campaign, provincial Agriculture Minister C. L.

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[96] WFP, May 31, 1958, p. 44.

[97] WFP, June 5, 1958, p. 14.

[98] WFP, May 26, p. 6 and May 9, 1958, p. 4.

Shuttleworth attended a meeting of ministers in Ottawa where he hoped to be able to report some expansion of federal farm credit programs upon his return. As government comments on crop insurance and farm security turned to a criticism of Duff Roblin's absence in the house during consideration of agriculture estimates, it was apparent that no new good word had come out of Ottawa.[99] Rural opponents called the Campbellites "a bunch of miserable tightwads" and Mr. Roblin described the provincial government's blame of Ottawa as "passing the buck."[100]

In return, government spokesmen criticized Mr. Roblin's implications that as a Conservative he had an inside track to Prime-Minister Diefenbaker's office. Cabinet minister Robert Bend spoke of an exhaustive study having clearly indicated that a single province could not handle crop insurance and that Saskatchewan and Alberta had already agreed to such a position. "Why rush into an unsound scheme when the federal government will come in and make sound crop insurance possible. What is Mr. Roblin's purpose? Is he running interference for the new government?," Bend asked rhetorically.[101] His comments were a reference to Premier Campbell's understanding that the federal Minister of Agriculture Douglas Harkness was planning a crop insurance scheme tailored for provincial needs. On the matter of farm credits the Premier admitted the "inadequate" nature of the federal farm loans scheme but felt it better to expand that program and make an offer of sharing fifty per cent of the costs of all expansions rather than "set up another agency beside it."[102]

Minor and Local Issues.

The major issues in the 1958 campaign were, most of them, "tucked safely into the pocket of a Royal Commission": education, liquor, gasoline distribution, roads, and penal reform. Some observers blamed the "wiliness of Douglas Campbell in this regard as having left opposition members little to talk about. "So far it has been more like a wake than an election," said the Winnipeg Tribune in a front page editorial scoring the party leaders and their inabilities at enlivening the campaign.[103]

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[99] *WFP*, May 19, 1958, p. 1.

[100] *WFP*, May 16, 1958, p. 8.

[101] *WFP*, May 21, 1958, p. 4.

[102] *WFP*, May 22, 1958, p. 28.

Other observers claimed that as the third election campaign in less than a year, and coming at seed time, interest was not unexpectedly low.

There was an overabundance of unresolved issues, many of them holdovers from earlier campaigns. The fight for colored margarine and daylight saving time, or at least some uniformity in Manitoba time, were matters which were known by many candidates to be mere formalities in legislative debates. The rural majority would, in the long run, defeat them.

Considerable concern continued to be expressed on the question of flood control. However, here again, an announcement by Public Works Minister R. D. Robertson of an eighteen-mile channel to divert water from the Seine River from the larger flood-prone Red River, plus the tie-up of a post-1950 federal report in a provincial commission, limited discussion on this issue in the spring of 1958. In reference to the federal report Stinson contended that "It had taken three years to prepare, and..contained information of great value. The Campbell Government did nothing with it for three years, and then finally appointed a commission to make a cost-benefit study." The later commission was still at work and no one knew what had been done in it, the CCF leader charged.[104]

Similar criticisms were advanced by Stinson as regards penal reform which, he stated, "stands pretty close to the top of the long list of things neglected by the Campbell Government." Two studies had made recommendations to the government, one calling for a reformatory for the training and reclamation of offenders under twenty-five, and one proposing both an open-type trades school and farm colony. "The superintendent of the Brandon jail has been pleading with the government for years to establish an open colony farm," Stinson asserted, "but the government will not act."[105]

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[103] The Globe and Mail, June 7, 1958, p. 7.

[104] WFP, May 5, 1958, p. 12.

Frustration was also in evidence, because, while another Bracken-chaired investigation--the Box Car Distribution Inquiry Commission--heard the complex arguments for appropriate distributions, irate farmers in areas like Carman complained of the unavailability of cars.[106]

The city of Brandon was said to face an alarming lack of housing, industry, water and sewer facilities, and was blighted by "unpaved streets" and "unsightly sprawl." The lack of comprehensive provincial legislation was blamed not only for Brandon's unplanned growth but for other communities as well. Said the Conservative Party: "...[M]any of Brandon's difficulties are not of its making: they cannot be removed until we have set up, under provincial government leadership, a general framework that will encourage sound development in all our Manitoba communities."[107]

Local Issues in Winnipeg.

Meanwhile, in greater Winnipeg a number of issues confined to that area rose to prominence. Right from his opening campaign address in Dauphin Conservative leader Roblin had pointed to the ugly inconsistency of a government which had lost seven to nine million dollars by not adopting a checkerboard system of auctioning oil rights, while its education program dwindled for lack of funding. A similar gross contradiction existed, Mr. Roblin argued, in the granting of a $600,000 bond guarantee for the contractors of the proposed new Assiniboia Downs race track for Winnipeggers.[108]

Liberal-Progressive cabinet members explained that the race track guarantee was on unsold bonds only and would provide the government with the first mortgage on a $2,500,000 race track with a $500,000 annual revenue. The ministers assured voters that the government had not yet bought any bonds and believed that they would not need to do so. They then turned on Mr. Roblin's apparent inconsistency for having previously criticized the government for allowing horse racing to die in Winnipeg. The ministers also insinuated that some parties may have wanted James Enterprises (contractors for the track) to run into financial difficulties.[109] Mr. Roblin replied by affirming Conservative alarm over the loss of revenue from racing but said even greater alarm arose "when the government required no bond of performance" from the new contractors. "I know of many firms who ran out of funds and few of them were fortunate enough to be able to approach the provincial government and obtain a public guarantee of future capital," the Tory leader said.[110]

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[105] WFP, May 17, 1958, p. 6.

[106] WFP, May 7, 1958, p. 10.

[107] WFP, May 24, 1958, p. 29.

[108] WFP, May 14, 1958, p. 42.

The need for, and location of, a juvenile girls' home was debated and apparently resolved during the early stages of the campaign in Winnipeg.

Considerable displeasure was directed towards the government because there was no cabinet representation from Winnipeg. The early June cabinet shuffle left two portfolios open for potential Winnipeg victors.

Complaints still filled the air over Winnipeg's fair share of federal aid, and minority-supported candidates like Labor Progressive's William Kardash condemned the new redistribution and the end of proportional representation as a policy of the government fostered "with the intent of gagging minority views in the Legislature." "It was further designed to cut down the chances of labor representation," the senior member insisted.[111]

An extensive volume could be written on those issues raised by or circulating about William Kardash over his years in the Manitoba assembly. During this campaign, for example, the request went out for a royal commission to investigate, along with other matters of external affairs, Premier Campbell's refusal to allow Kardash to visit military installations in Northern Manitoba along with other members of the provincial assembly. This prohibition, said Kardash, was made "on the outrageous pretext that

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[109] WFP, May 16, p. 15; May 21, p. 4; and May 23, 1958, p. 6.

[110] WFP, May 27, 1958, p. 10.

[111] WFP, May 27, 1958, p. 11.

that this would displease United States authorities."[112]

Kardash was also the most articulate spokesman of the many Winnipeg area candidates opposed to the government's labor record. While Premier Campbell announced a "separate Ministry of Labor very soon," Kardash, Stinson, Swailes and others decried the deplorably low wage structure and minimum wages paid in the Winnipeg area. Kardash condemned government members who had ridiculed him when attempting to draw out facts from an official report which indicated that one fourth of the needle trades' workers made less than thirty dollars per week.[113] Kardash challenged the government to tell the "whole truth" about Manitoba conditions like those described in a New York Times advertisement designed to attract investors which boasted a "favorable labor climate," a climate in which the wage structure in Greater Winnipeg was said to be "lower than any other major metropolitan center in Canada...."[114]

The Results

The results of the June 16th voting found Duff Roblin's Progressive Conservatives with twenty-six seats, seven more than the Liberal-Progressives but not enough to form a majority government. After a period of uncertainty Mr. Roblin was able to form a minority government but faced nineteen largely rural-based Liberals and eleven essentially urban CCF'ers. The Liberals had won only one urban seat, St. Boniface, which was undoubtedly due to the now traditional French Catholic support of the Liberal Party of Manitoba.

The greater Winnipeg area was now clearly demarcated along class lines in its newly defined boundaries--the poorer north electing CCF candidates and the more wealthy south electing predominantly Conservatives.[115] Tom Peterson explains that such a polarization was not carried into the balance of the province because of more traditional voting patterns where the Liberals benefited from their long-standing ethnic appeal in the Mennonite district of Rhineland, the French and German constituencies of Carillon and La Verendrye, and the Slavic districts of Springfield, Emerson, and Ethelbert Plains. However, as Peterson points out, CCF victories in the poor non-British constituencies of Fisher and Brokenhead (Ed Schreyer the victor) may have reflected an increase in class consciousness at the expense of ethnic feeling.[116]

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[112] WFP, May 20, 1958, p. 11.

[113] WFP, May 16, 1958, p. 8.

[114] WFP, June 4, 1958, p. 12.

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115 The enclosed tables indicate something of the extent of this disparity. While the Progressive Conservatives obtained 40.5 per cent of the total provincial vote, they received 44.9 per cent of the South Winnipeg vote and a mere 27.6 per cent of the North Winnipeg vote. All seven North Winnipeg seats were won by the CCF. (Table III) The CCF obtained only 20.2 per cent of the total provincial vote but had 24.3 per cent of the South Winnipeg vote and more than doubled its province-wide average by obtaining 45.1 per cent of the vote in North Winnipeg. (Table III) The big losers in the city were the Liberals whose 35 per cent province-wide support was made up of a 41.9 per cent of all rural votes and only 27.5 per cent of all urban votes, with a mere 22.7 per cent in North Winnipeg. (Table III) The total Conservative vote, rural and urban, was much more balanced in comparison with the other parties. (Table II)

The CCF was still predominantly an urban party, a fact which could be judged by even the most cursory examination of election results. Nine of the party's eleven victors were from greater Winnipeg. The CCF urban vote constituted 71 per cent of its 58,671 ballots in 1958. (Table IV) The party had 29.9 per cent of all urban votes, 2.4 per cent better than the Liberals, but only 11.2 per cent of all rural votes cast went to the CCF. (Tables II and III) If we examine the 20 constituencies which lie south and west of Winnipeg we find the CCF was only able to contest 8, finished dead last in all 8 cases and received a mere 6.8 per cent of its own total vote in these 20 constituencies while taking only 4.5 per cent of the total vote cast for all parties.

116 Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," pp. 98-99.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1958.

TABLE I

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Progressive Conservative	26	117,822	40.5	45.6
Liberal-Progressive	19	101,763	35.0	33.3
CCF	11	58,671	20.2	19.3
Social Credit	--	5,174	1.8	---
Labor Progressive	--	1,207	.4	---
Independents	1	6,254	2.2	1.8

TABLE II

POPULAR VOTE ANALYSIS--URBAN AND RURAL PERCENTAGE DEVIATIONS FROM TOTAL.
MANITOBA PROVINCIAL ELECTION 1958.

PARTY	PROVINCE-WIDE VOTE	URBAN VOTE	RURAL VOTE
Progressive Conservative	117,822	53,887	63,935
Liberal-Progressive	101,763	38,276	63,487
CCF	58,671	41,637	17,034
All others	12,645	5,584	7,061

PARTY	% TOTAL VOTE	% URBAN VOTE	% URBAN-TOTAL DEV'TN	% RURAL VOTE	% RURAL-TOTAL DEV'TN	% MAXIMUM DEVIATION URBAN-RURAL
PC	40.5	38.6	(-1.9)	42.2	(+1.7)	3.6 R
L-P	35.0	27.5	(-7.5)	41.9	(+6.9)	14.4 R
CCF	20.2	29.9	(+9.2)	11.2	(-9.0)	18.7 U
All Others	4.4	4.0	(-0.4)	4.7	(+0.3)	.7 R

TABLE III

POPULAR VOTE COMPARISONS PROVINCE-WIDE, RURAL, URBAN, AND SOUTH AND NORTH WINNIPEG FOR MAJOR PARTIES.

PARTY	% PROVINCE TOTAL	% RURAL TOTAL	% URBAN TOTAL	% SOUTH WPG.	% NORTH WPG.
PC	40.5	42.2	38.6	44.9	27.6
L-P	35.0	41.9	27.5	29.0	22.7
CCF	20.2	11.2	29.9	24.3	45.1
All Others	4.4	4.7	4.0	1.8	4.5

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGE OF EACH PARTY'S POPULAR VOTE COMING FROM URBAN OR RURAL RIDINGS.

PARTY	% URBAN	% RURAL
Independents (Including Kardash, LPP)	72.9	27.1
CCF	71.0	29.0
Progressive Conservative	54.3	45.7
Liberal-Progressive	37.6	62.4
Social Credit	00.0	100.0

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1958.

Major, Province-wide, Clusters.

1. The Administrative Record. (Perennial).
    - (a) Inaction, indecision, longevity.
    - (b) Government spending.
        - (i) Funds for development and education.
        - (ii) Need for services.
    - (c) Priorities--are they misplaced?
        - (i) Assiniboia Downs bond guarantee. (Specific, Local).

2. Economic Development. (partly Underlying).
    (a) Means of financing development.
    (b) North-south disparities.
        (i) Hydro power needs in the north.

3. Roads. (Perennial).
    (a) Condition of existing roads.
    (b) Planning and road program.
    (c) Disraeli Bridge and perimeter road. (Local, Specific).
    (d) Engineer shortage.
    (e) Use of vehicle licenses and gasoline taxes. (Instrumental).
    (f) Role of P.C. leaders--inconsistency. (Side, Dodge).
    (g) Ed Wachal's gas tank. (Side).

4. Education.
    (a) Poor standards--Commission report.
    (b) Teacher shortage.
    (c) Funding of schooling.
    (d) Larger school divisions and their implementation.
    (e) Competency of Education Minister.

5. Hospital Insurance Plan. (Evident, Specific).
    (a) Costs and compulsory nature.
    (b) Deterrent Fees. (Right).
    (c) Blue Cross premiums for advance payments.
    (d) Diagnosis and treatment of cancer.

6. Liquor Laws and Prices.
    (a) Revenues--"Beer-price scandal." (partly Dead).
    (b) Liberalization of liquor laws.

7. Natural Gas Distribution. (partly Speculative).
    (a) Cost of service.
    (b) Private versus public control.
        (i) Distribution rights.
        (ii) Service to small communities.

8. Crop Insurance Policies. (partly Federal).

9. Farm Loans and Farm Security.
    (a) Roblin's "in" with Federal gov't. (Dodge).

Minor, Separate, and/or Local.

Aid to Municipalities. (Perennial).
Flood Control. (Perennial).
Redistribution and End of "P.R."
Cabinet Representation from Winnipeg.
Use of Royal Commissions to Remove Issues.
Colored Margarine (Perennial).
Uniform Time. (Perennial).
Penal Reform and Facilities. (Concern).
Box-Car shortage. (Local, Sectional).
Unplanned Growth in Brandon. (Local).
Oil Rights Auctioning Policy.
Assiniboia Downs Bond Guarantee. (Specific).
Juvenile Girls' Home. (Temporary).
Low Wage Structure. (Left, Sectional).

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1958

Nominations, June 2, 1958; Voting June 16, 1958.

ARTHUR

J. G. Cobb, P.C.	2,072
J. W. McRae, L.P.	2,032
W. D. Taylor, S.C.	693

ASSINIBOIA

D. Swailes, C.C.F.	2,409
G. W. Johnson, P.C.	2,278
D. Graham, L.P.	1,165

BIRTLE-RUSSELL

R. S. Clement, L.P.	2,232
R. G. Smellie, P.C.	2,102
E. Caldwell, C.C.F.	933

BRANDON

R. C. Lissaman, P.C.	4,442
R. A. Clement, L.P.	2,818
H. Fries, C.C.F.	780

BROKENHEAD

E. R. Schreyer, C.C.F.	1,474
F. H. Helwer, L.P.	930
E. Wachal, P.C.	729
S. Copp, Ind.	641
J. W. Cross, S.C.	203

BURROWS

J. M. Hawryluk, C.C.F.	2,032
W. A. Kardash, Lab. Prog.	1,207
J. R. Haidan, L.P.	1,084
J. Kereluk, P.C.	1,067

CARILLON

E. Préfontaine, L.P.	2,433
L. Gauthier, P.C.	1,047
H. Mueller, Ind.	608

CHURCHILL

E. J. Williams, P.C.	1,580
E. D. Wray, L.P.	1,283
F. Mercer, C.C.F.	370

CYPRESS

M. Boulic, P.C.	2,347
S. E. Burch, L.P.	1,835
G. H. McIntosh, C.C.F.	321

DAUPHIN

S. E. McLean, P.C.	2,740
J. Potoski, L.P.	1,389
A. C. Matthews, C.C.F.	1,067

DUFFERIN

W. C. McDonald, L.P.	1,822
W. H. Hamilton, P.C.	1,749
J. A. Langtry, S.S.	545

ELMWOOD

S. Peters, C.C.F.	2,375
A. Turk, L. P.	1,519
J. Stepnuk, P.C.	1,084
M. Baryluk, Ind.C.	689

EMERSON

J. Tanchak, L.P.	2,097
F. Gasper, P.C.	1,918
J. Lambert, Ind.	200

ETHELBERT PLAINS

M. N. Hryhorczuk, L. P.	2,308
P. Burtniak, C.C.F.	1,327
L. Syrnyk, P.C.	835

FISHER

P. Wagner, C.C.F.	1,437
N. V. Bachynsky, L.P.	1,301
J. O. Olsen, P.C.	1,140

FLIN FLON

F. L. Jobin, L.P.	1,935
G. H. Whitney, P.C.	1,563
J. C. W. Kerr, C.C.F.	637

FORT GARRY

S. Lyon, P.C.	3,731
R. Fennell, L.P.	2,408
N. Woodward, C.C.F.	1,035

FORT ROUGE

G. Evans, P.C.	3,847
J. E. Wilson, L.P.	1,862
E. R. Draffin, C.C.F.	1,143

GIMLI

G. Johnson, P.C.	1,988
S. O. Thompson, L.P.	1,374
S. Wopnford, C.C.F.	954

GLADSTONE

N. Shoemaker, L.P.	2,570
C. Gault, P.C.	1,677
M. Batters, C.C.F.	455

HAMIOTA

B. P. Strickland, P.C.	2,281
W. T. Wherrett, L.P.	1,659
A. Nicholson, C.C.F.	416

INKSTER

M. A. Gray, C.C.F.	3,083
P. Okrainec, P.C.	1,584
P. Taraska, L.P.	1,516

KILDONAN

A. J. Reid, C.C.F.	2,786
L. E. Willis, P.C.	2,665
G. N. Suttie, L.P.	1,808

LAC DU BONNET

A. A. Trapp, L. P.	1,525
G. A. Stewart, P.C.	1,350
H. Olenzky, C.C.F.	563
L. P. Schlamp, S.C.	299

LAKESIDE

D. L. Campbell, L.P.	2,119
J. F. Bote, P.C.	1,582

LA VERENDRYE

S. Roberts, L.P.	1,585
S. Bisson, P.C.	1,395

LOGAN

S. Juba, Ind.	2,234
A. Coulter, C.C.F.	1,689

MINNEDOSA

C. L. Shuttleworth, L.P.	2,117
S. Faler, P.C.	1,983
G. A. Hutton, S.C.	634
W. A. Yuel, C.C.F.	443

MORRIS

H. P. Shewman, P.C.	1,762
R. McKenzie, L.P.	1,014
A. Recksiedler, S.C.	370

OSBORNE

L. Stinson, C.C.F.	3,215
J. Howorth, P.C.	2,813
K. Routley, L.P.	1,654

PEMBINA

M. E. Ridley, P.C.	2,683
K. C. Hartwell, L.P.	1,510

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

G. E. Greenlay, L.P.	1,978
R. E. Burk, P.C.	1,528
A. R. Barrett, C.C.F.	541

RADISSON

R. Paulley, C.C.F.	3,504
B. Wolfe, L.P.	2,334
H. Huppe, P.C.	2,116

RHINELAND

W. C. Miller, L.P.	1,687
O. Martel, P.C.	854
A. Enns, S.C.	758

RIVER HEIGHTS

W. B. Scarth, P.C.	3,945
W. J. McKeag, L.P.	2,884
A. Moore, Ind.	803

ROBLIN

K. Alexander, P.C.	1,884
R. Mitchell, L.P.	1,686
M.A. Miller, C.C.F.	[illegible]

ROCK LAKE

A. W. Harrison, P.C.	2,465
W. E. Clark, L.P.	2,227

ROCKWOOD-IBERVILLE

R. W. Bend, L.P.	2,450
G. Hutton, P.C.	1,731
S. Cranston, C.C.F.	434

PREVIOUS GENERAL ELECTIONS

1870	Dec. 27	1914	July 10
1874	Dec. 23	1915	Sept. 16
1878	Dec. 18	1920	June 29
1879	Dec. 16	1922	July 18
1883	Jan. 23	1927	June 28
1886	Dec. 9	1932	June 16
1888	July 11	1936	July 27
1892	July 23	1941	Apr. 22
1896	Jan. 15	1945	Oct. 15
1899	Dec. 7	1949	Nov. 10
1903	July 20	1953	June 8
1907	Mar. 7	1958	June 16
1910	June 11		

STANDING OF PARTIES

The party standing at dissolution of the 24th Legislature in 1958, was as follows.

Liberal Progressives	31
Independent Liberals Progressive	3
Progressive Conservatives	11
C.C.F.	5
Social Credit	1
Independents	3
Labour-Progessive	1
Vacancies	2
Total	57

The standing of parties, December 1958, was as follows:

Progressive Conservatives	26
Liberals Progressive	19
C.C.F.	11
Indenpendent	1
Total	57

RUPERTSLAND

J. Jeannotte, P.C.	2,342
R. Brown, L.P.	511
Mrs. Asta Oddson, Ind.	364

ST. BONIFACE

R. Teillet, L.P.	3,178
H. DeLeeuw, P.C.	2,616
B. Cyr, C.C.F.	1,258

ST. GEORGE

E. Guttormson, L.P.	2,144
D. McFayden, P.C.	970
D. S. Stefanson, C.C.F.	593
M. J. G. Magnusson, Ind.C.	274

ST. JAMES

D. M. Stanes, P.C.	2,646
R. F. Wightman, L.P.	2,170
A. H. Mackling, C.C.F.	2,136

ST. JOHN'S

D. Orlikow, C.C.F.	2,495
S. Carrick, P.C.	1,295
S. Rebchuk, L.P.	922

ST. MATTHEWS

Dr. W. G. Martin, P.C.	2,843
G. R. Fines, C.C.F.	2,026
Mrs. N. Murphy, L.P.	1,854
H. B. Scott, Ind.C.	260
G. A. Frith, Ind.	149

ST. VITAL

F. Groves, P.C.	3,616
W. R. Appleby, L.P.	2,331
L. C. Foden, C.C.F.	1,334
P. B. Hayward, Ind.	242

STE. ROSE

G. Molgat, L.P.	2,400
A. Getz, P.C.	1,010
A. J. Bouchard, S.C.	415
L. W. Hosler, C.C.F.	354

SELKIRK

T. P. Hillhouse, L.P.	1,850
D. B. Veitch, P.C.	1,493
F. Kuzemski, C.C.F.	581
F. L. Luining, S.C.	173

SEVEN OAKS

A. E. Wright, C.C.F.	2,841
M. Gutnik, P.C.	1,541
C. J. Lyon, L.P.	1,449

SOURIS-LANSDOWNE

M. E. McKellar, P.C.	2,258
D. L. Barclay, L.P.	1,549
A. Shiloff, C.C.F.	95

SPRINGFIELD

W. Lucko, L.P.	1,351
O. Russell, P.C.	1,269
E. Kanarowski, C.C.F.	875
W. G. Storsley, S.C.	293

SWAN RIVER

B. Corbett, P.C.	1,421
H. Ferriss, C.C.F.	1,316
R.D. Robertson, L.P.	1,083
A. S. Helps, S.C.	285

THE PAS

J. B. Carroll, P.C.	2,225
W. E. Cudmore, L.P.	698
H. R. Pawley, C.C.F.	801

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

E. F. Willis, P.C.	2,949
E. I. Dow, L.P.	1,950
C.A. Ferguson, S.C.	318

VIRDEN

J. W. M. Thompson, P.C.	2,935
F. C. Bell, L.P.	1,663

WELLINGTON

R. Seaborn, P.C.	2,532
J. R. McIsaac, C.C.F.	2,385
J. St. John, L.P.	1,958

WINNIPEG CENTRE

J. Cowan, P.C.	3,482
P. W. Goodman, L.P.	1,623
D. A. Mulligan, C.C.F.	1,141

WOLSELEY

Dufferin Roblin, P.C.	3,959
I. C. Harvey, L.P.	1,739
A. Denton, C.C.F.	1,202

THE BATTLE OF THE BUDGETS:

WHY DIDN'T THEY TELL US WHEN.

MARCH 31 TO MAY 14, 1959

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Progressive Conservative	Duff Roblin	57
Liberal-Progressive	Douglas L. Campbell	57
CCF	Lloyd Stinson	45
Labor Progressive	W. C. Ross	3
Independents	- - -	3

57 single member districts, plurality system.

The Dissolution Debate.

Assured of consistent CCF support the new Roblin Government was able to pass five major pieces of legislation at a special 1958 fall session of the Manitoba assembly: the Industrial Development Fund, the Farm Credit Act, a winter employment program, a $33,000,000 highway construction program, and revisions to the education structure. The latter legislation included provision for a go-ahead on larger school divisions subject to local referenda, which were conducted on February 27, 1959.

The March 12 to 31, 1959, spring session was, on the contrary, a bitterly partisan gathering which appeared to point to an inevitable government defeat. However, when the defeat and dissolution did occur the surprising and complex circumstances of its reality immediately arose as a most heated issue in the campaign which followed.

Premier Roblin's Progressive Conservative Government could not depend on CCF support with the consistency that had been forthcoming in the previous fall. The Liberals intended to condemn the Roblin Government for its failure to support a Farm Union march to Ottawa, which had demanded deficiency payments for western farmers, and to criticize the government for not pressing for a federal-provincial tax conference. Such issues if shaped into amendments critical of the government the CCF would feel constrained to support even if it meant tumbling the government out of office. The CCF had been the most avid supporter of the farmers' trek to Ottawa early in March 1959.

Premier Roblin, perhaps fearing he might not get the chance, seemed willing, if not anxious, to present his 1959-60 budget which would answer opposition criticisms that the fall legislation and spring session throne speech proposals did not involve tax increases.[1]

CCF support for a Liberal non-confidence amendment loomed as a near certainty. Consequently, on March 30, Mr. Roblin presented a motion to dispense with "Rule 23", which called for completion of debate on the throne speech before considering any other matter, in order to present his budget and obtain interim supply before the defeat of his government. Both opposition parties were willing to postpone the throne speech debate but desired assurance that the budget would not simply be presented for election purposes with no careful debate of details and estimates. Hence, Douglas Campbell moved an amendment supporting the government's overall intention while explicitly calling for the postponement of "further consideration of the address in reply to the speech from the throne...until detailed estimates of expenditures...and ways and means of raising of the supply...have been presented to, and approved by the House."[2] Premier Roblin considered the motion an expression of lack of trust and confidence in his government and so opposed the amendment, was defeated on it, and sought an immediate dissolution.

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[1] The Financial Post (Montreal and Toronto), March 28, 1959, p. 3.

[2] From the text of D. L. Campbell's amendment Age Press (Gladstone, Manitoba), April 1, 1959. This summary of the events of March 30-31, 1959 is taken from discussions in a variety of newspaper reports dated March 31 and April 1, 1959.

The two opposition parties immediately agreed that the government had "quit and called an election rather than tell the people the cost of their program."[3]

At his nominating convention Premier Roblin denied that he had quit, and claimed that the Liberals and CCF'ers had joined hands on the amendment in spite of his warnings of what the vote would mean. "They are like the man who aimed the gun, pulled the trigger and now is saying he didn't know the gun was loaded," Mr. Roblin explained. Directing his comments to CCF leader Lloyd Stinson, Premier Roblin continued by complaining: "After the last election Mr. Stinson...said his party would support any good legislation. How did he square that statement with his conduct on March 30. Mr. Campbell reached out his hand and Mr. Stinson took it and brought down the government. He defeated one of the most progressive legislative programs Manitoba has ever had." Mr. Roblin also argued that the opposition attack on the budget should be interpreted as an attack on the government's program for which the budget stood. As a consequence he asked the electorate to question the opposition parties as to where they stood on each piece of legislation tabled by the government.[4]

Attorney-General Sterling Lyon claimed that the opposition had had estimates of current expenditures and revenues on their desks four days before dissolution but did not want them introduced after seeing them.[5] Utilities Minister Jack Carroll claimed the opposition simply lacked the patience to "wait another day for the normal procedure with regard to budget and estimates."[6]

Opposition leader D. L. Campbell explained his party's support of suspension of Rule 23 while answering Premier Roblin's "loaded gun" analogy. "Yes, we had a loaded gun trained on them during the throne speech," Mr. Campbell noted, "But we didn't point anything at them during the debate on whether there would be a budget speech." Mr. Campbell went on to explain that his amendment to the Conservative suspension motion had been readied in order to "guarantee that the debate on the speech from the throne would be set aside entirely until the budget debate was finished. We did not want the government to be defeated before the budget debate was fully considered." "I had not thought for a moment that Mr. Roblin would try to pull a fast one but some of my colleagues thought he might. I believe now that he planned to delive his budget speech and then dissolve the house. For that reason we asked for the amendment. Mr. Roblin chose to consider that a want of confidence motion."[7]

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[3] WFP, April 14, 1953, p. 3.

[4] WFP, April 21, 1959, p. 7.

[5] The Neepawa Press, (Neepawa, Manitoba), April 14, 1959, p. 1.

[6] Flin Flon Daily Miner, (Flin Flon, Manitoba), April 11, 1959, p. 1.

The Major Cluster: Two Budgets and Two Records.

Mr. Campbell's tactics were reportedly to move from the position that Premier Roblin had quit when announcing dissolution for fear of submitting his budget and program to close scrutiny, to a position that the unseen budget could not be balanced and would demand higher taxes.[8] This latter position was prompted in part by the disclosure of the federal Conservative government's budget by Donald Fleming during the second week of the Manitoba election campaign. Mr. Fleming's announced increases in personal income and corporations taxes, excise taxes on cigarettes and liquor, were seen as a complete denial of John Diefenbaker's promises of new programs without spiralling taxes. The fear was expressed that Premier Roblin might have similar surprises in store for Manitobans in order to pay for his new Progressive Conservative programs.

The suspicions began early as Messrs. Campbell and Roblin applied alternative bookkeeping methods to determine whether or not the proposed budget sported a surplus. Highway appropriations of $33,000,000, for example, had been approved in advance at the fall session. Mr. Campbell argued that because the appropriations were left out of the current estimates, the government was made to look like it was spending less. Premier Roblin called the authorization necessary to proceed with the arrangement of contracts in the winter and spring. He claimed that once having had the advance it would not be necessary again, now that the expanded program was well under way.

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[7] WFP, May 1, 1959, p. 6.

[8] The Financial Post, May 9, 1959, p. 33.

The Free Press supported ex-Premier Campbell editorially, arguing that Mr. Roblin in his capacity as Provincial Treasurer had applied a saving of $3,600,000 from the previous year to make up his current surplus.[9] Both sides presented detailed arrangements of figures to support their contention that the budget did or did not have a surplus. And both sides also accused the other of being the party which feared public debate on the budget. Premier Roblin contended that Douglas Campbell knew the budget was balanced and that opposition attacks on the budget were really disguised criticisms of the expansive Conservative program that a cautious Liberal Party feared. "They are not attacking the budget as such--they are attacking the government's program which that budget will accomplish. It is as simple as that. The real issue of the election is whether we go back to work or shall Manitoba go back to the old policies of too little and too late."[10]

Liberal spokesmen like Robert Bend replied bluntly that the government was "trying to mislead the public." "We are not attacking the budget. We are attacking the Conservatives for stating the budget is balanced when it isn't."[11]

But Premier Roblin was insistent right up to the eve of the election. "I give you my solemn pledge that the budget is balanced--that there will be no increase in taxes." He claimed the budget issue was above politics. "It is your chance," he told the Manitoba electorate, "to express your faith in Manitoba's future."[12]

But Mr. Campbell was equally adamant. He was willing to "stake his reputation" that the "strange and wonderful document" over which the legislature was dissolved, was not balanced.[13]

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[9] Editorial: "Surplus That Isn't," WFP, April 2, 1959, p. 29.

[10] WFP, April 14, 1959, p. 6.

[11] WFP, April 17, 1959, p. 20.

[12] WFP, May 12, 1959, p. 10.

[13] The Neepawa Press, April 17, 1959, p. 1.

"A promise made--is a debt unpaid" said widely circulated Liberal-Progressive"newspaper ads."[14] Mr. Campbell and his supporters took up another side of the budget matters that "with all the spending they [the Conservatives] planned, we knew there must be a deficit looming."[15] "We know there will be a sales tax,"[16] Mr. Campbell asserted. He also expressed fears that heavy government borrowings at increasingly higher interest rates would place Manitoba back into extensive debt. And his previous administration had worked for years to wipe out just such an indebtedness.

Former Liberal minister C. L. Shuttleworth, in reference to the Fleming federal budget and its increased taxes in spite of promises to the contrary, declared, "now we know what a Tory 'tax reduction' is. The only thing left for us to find out is what constitutes 'no increase in taxes'--such as the local Tories are promising us."[17] Former Liberal-Progressive cabinet members like C. L. Shuttleworth warned voters that provincial government interest paid on loans had risen; Bud Jobin complained that Roblin plans to link provincial growth with anticipated national growth were ill-conceived since the gross national product (GNP) increases in 1958-59 had been a mere .2 per cent; and Messrs. Jobin, Bend and others noted that Roblin had already "upped a bunch of little taxes" like charges for haying permits and drivers' licences.[18]

Emerson Liberal John Tanchak claimed that while Mr. Diefenbaker's federal deficit would amount to about 14 per cent of his budget, Premier Roblin's would amount to "about 47 per cent." Comparing Premier Roblin to "Little Jack Horner" Mr. Tanchak argued that the economic pie Mr. Roblin was destroying was one "baked by the Liberals." Premier Roblin, he charged, had never had to work hard for his money and so didn't know its value.[19]

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[14] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 9, 1959, p. 3.

[15] The Neepawa Press, April 17, 1959, p. 1.

[16] WFP, May 1, 1959, p. 6.

[17] WFP, April 11, 1959, p. 6.

[18] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 7, 1959, p. 8 and WFP, April 14, pp. 4 & 6, and April 21, 1959, p. 6.

This particular portion of the cluster of budget issues was a two-sided affair; the concern for the means of paying for expanded programs provincially was linked constantly to the unwelcome federal budget tax increases.

In its editorials traditionally supportive of Douglas L. Campbell's Liberals the Winnipeg Free Press admitted Premier Roblin's program looked good but asked where the money would be coming from to finance it. Would Mr. Roblin be following "in Mr. Fleming's footsteps" since he had announced one year earlier: "I am a student of Mr. Diefenbakers. I will carry out my promises the way he carried out his."[20]

> The hard fact is that the high level of expenditure now proposed by Mr. Roblin, however desirable the services may be, is calculated to exhaust the Government's current and future revenues from existing taxes. And the fact that expenditures have rapidly increased in the last decade is the best reason for holding them down to a reasonable level if higher taxation is to be avoided.

Mr. Campbell, the Free Press reported, feared a "double-bite" from both the federal and provincial governments. "Mr. Roblin considers that fear unworthy of Mr. Campbell but provides no more than eloquence to reassure the taxpayer. Unfortunately eloquence does not pay taxes."[21] The Liberal daily also dealt with criticisms that the opposition's handling of the election was confusing federal for provincial issues. The paper argued that federal financial policy was a framework for provincial policy, unlike federal matters like foreign policy or capital punishment. Premier Roblin's borrowings would, for example, be dependent on interest rates set by Donald Fleming. "It is not Mr. Roblin's fault that Mr. Fleming has ushered us into a period of high cost money but manifestly Mr. Roblin's program must be appraised in the light of Mr. Fleming's financial management."[22]

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[19] WFP, April 21, 1959, p. 6.

[20] Editorial: "In Mr. Fleming's Footsteps," WFP, April 16, 1959, p. 29.

[21] Editorial: "The Double Bite," WFP April 27, 1959, p. 17.

In reply to Premier Roblin's denials of the need for a sales tax the Free Press responded:

> But the future is unpredictable. While there is no lack of evidence that a new inflationary surge is developing in North America, no one can say how far it will go or what actions will be taken to counter it, this year, or thereafter by governments not under Mr. Roblin's control. What can properly be said is that a program of heavy spending, in these conditions of tight money, high and mounting interest rates, carries a built-in risk of higher future taxation. It is surely not irrelevant to note that elsewhere in Canada governments in such a position have turned to the sales tax as an obvious escape from their financial difficulties."[23]

With traditional Conservative contrast the Winnipeg Tribune blamed Liberal politicians for having "dragged an old friend out of the spook closet...." "They are trying to scare the voters by the bogey of a sales tax which is neither inevitable or imminent. Manitoba neither needs a sales tax nor the kind of government offered by the Liberal Party."[24] The Liberals were "forgetful" said the Tribune "when they warn voters that Roblin and a sales tax go hand in hand." "They conveniently forget that the government headed by Mr. Campbell voted solidly for a 3 per cent sales tax in 1951--and a hidden sales tax at that." The newspaper noted that universal old-age pension talk in Ottawa was met by Manitoba statements that her share would have to be met by imposition of a sales tax. "These are the facts recorded in the journals of the Manitoba legislature. The vote in favor of the sales tax," said the Tribune, "was 29-18 with Mr. Campbell and his followers presenting a solid front." Only Quebec's withdrawal prevented enactment of the constitutional amendment that would have seen Manitoba applying a hidden sales tax. "In view of this record, voters should know which party stands for a sales tax. Actions speak louder than words."[25]

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[22] Editorial: "Federal Policies and Mr. Roblin," WFP, April 23, 1959.

[23] Editorial: "Defining the Issue," WFP, May 6, 1959, p. 27.

[24] Editorial, Winnipeg Tribune, May 2, 1959.

[25] As cited in Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 11, 1959, p. 8.

Premier Roblin himself called talk of a sales tax an "irresponsible departure." He maintained that the cost of expanded programs could be met via federal cost sharing arrangements, rising revenues, and borrowed money.[26] "Sure we're borrowing money," the Premier replied to criticisms regarding the high cost of borrowing, "but we're investing it." "The interest charges when balanced against what the government gets for its investments amounts to the insignificant total of $7,827."[27]

Yet another issue raised as part of this cluster of budget questions, this time by government members, was the contention that the Roblin Government had been able to capitalize on federal grants previously untapped by the Liberal-Progressives. Attorney-General Lyon and Industry and Commerce Minister Gurney Evans cited $10,500,000 obtained from the Federal Government in such areas as the unemployment assistance agreement which the Liberals had not previously attempted to ask for.[28] Liberal spokesmen dismissed the contentions as a mere chapter in "Gurney's Fairy Tales." The Free Press joined its favored partisans by claiming any party could have achieved what the Conservatives boasted of. "...[T]he province would get all the 'extra money' talked about by Mr. Evans no matter what kind of government was in power. It is equally clear that in trying to leave the impression that it is all the Roblin Government's doing, Mr. Evans is attempting to pull the wool over the voters' eyes."[29] Liberal candidates called for precise evidence that they had lost ten million dollars in a fiscal year, while Mr. Campbell explained certain losses because schedules of loans could not always be met.[30]

The former Premier, as a confirmation of his contention that Mr. Roblin was greatly overspending, announced at the end of April his intention to cut off thirty million dollars from the proposed Roblin budget if his party was returned to power. Premier Roblin interpreted the reduction as the means by which Mr. Campbell would "reduce the services of the people of Manitoba by thirty million dollars."[31]

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[26] WFP, April 25, 1959, p. 1.

[27] WFP, May 2, 1959, p. 2.

[28] WFP, April 7, 1959, p. 11.

[29] Editorial: "Wool Pulling," WFP, April 8, 1959, p. 17.

[30] WFP, April 4, 1959, p. 1.

Premier Roblin raised the whole Campbell record of "retrenchment and retreat" as being very much at issue in 1959 and made "crystal clear" once again by the intended thirty million dollars cut. A Campbell government would slow down northern development, deny modern educational benefits to the young, and cut the highway budget in half, the Premier contended in speeches around the province. "Indeed," said Mr. Roblin, "what Mr. Campbell proposes is that Manitobans retreat to the kind of government and the kind of policies which they repudiated a year ago."[32] Of his own party the Conservative leader could say, "We anticipate the future of this province with enthusiasm and we have unbounded faith in the ability and capacity of the people and unshakeable faith in the economic destiny of Manitoba." Mr. Campbell and the Liberal Party, Premier Roblin asserted, "appear to be afraid of the future and lead the electors of the province to believe they would deny the future of the province if they could."[33] He reminded the electorate that it had been common knowledge that Manitoba lagged behind the rest of the Canadian economy while the Liberal-Progressives were in power.

The Winnipeg Tribune argued that Mr. Roblin's administration of "courage and good sense" was willing to "accept its responsibilities and do the job that needs to be done." "The people of Manitoba have a clear choice between two alternatives...The Liberal Party offers a return to the past," the Tribune declared.[34] The Conservative paper also responded to charges that the Roblin Government was merely carrying out programs initiated by the Campbell administration. "But these candidates fail to point out that there is a great difference between getting a report from a Royal Commission and acting on that report." Liberal criticism that school division reorganization and too speedy implementation of the natural gas inquiry recommendations prompted the paper to quip: "The Liberals are hard to please. They want vigorous action and paralysing delay--at the same time."[35]

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[31] WFP, May 4, 1959.

[32] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 1, 1959, p. 5.

[33] WFP, May 11, 1959, p. 8.

[34] Editorial, Winnipeg Tribune, May 1, 1959.

Sterling Lyon was a consistently effective critic of Mr. Campbell's "go-slow" Liberals. He noted that the industrial development and farm credit legislation introduced by the government had been opposed by Mr. Campbell because of federal acts in the same field, even though the two were complementary.[36]

The reply of the Liberal-Progressive Party was a call for "sane, responsible government." "We were never a stand-pat government," Mr. Campbell objected.[37] In a major speech at Melita he defended against Conservative charges of parsimony. He explained his government's actions as "carefully planned expansion" which avoided waste and excessive tax burdens while whittling down debt "as the means of the province allowed." He then reviewed his administration's long record in able fashion and returned fire on the "spendthrift" Roblin regime.

> In 1935 our debt was about $135,000,000. When we left office it was $40,000,000 and we were prepared to pay off the rest of it, and free ourselves of interest charges altogether, within another decade. That plan has gone by the board under the present government which, like its friend and mentor in Ottawa does not seem to worry much about the cost of borrowed money--a cost lately pushed to an all-time peak by the present government. We were not satisfied to spend prudently on an increasing scale, and at the same time, to cut down the cost of debt. We believed that something was fundamentally wrong in the whole financial relationship between the Manitoba and the national government.
>
> We fought hard for a fairer deal from Ottawa and, under a Liberal government there, we got a fairer deal--maybe not all we deserved, in my opinion, but enough to alter our whole situation radically for the better. We were the first provincial government to open up the whole problem of federal-provincial finance and we were the first government to sign the taxation agreement which provided us with a larger amount of federal money.
>
> We fought for justice from Ottawa. We fought against higher taxes. We fought against debt. We fought for an orderly and very great expansion of public services. But we didn't represent ourselves as heroes or wizards in doing these things, as our opponents are representing themselves today.

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[35] Editorial, Winnipeg Tribune, May 8, 1959.

[36] The Neepawa Press, April 14, 1959, p. 1.

[37] The Neepawa Press, April 17, 1959, p. 4.

> We don't intend to rest on our record in government. We won't stand still. We fully recognize that times are changing, that the policies of governments must change with them, that the public services must be increased as fast as we can possibly pay them. But we would rather lose the election than bribe the public with its own money.[38]

But Jobin denied accusations that the Liberals advocated a return to "pay-as-you-go" financial policies. Such a policy had been abandoned four years ago, he told northern audiences. The former Minister of Industry and Commerce accused Premier Roblin of unsound borrowing practices amounting to an additional 75 per cent of estimated revenues. The Liberals, on the contrary, stood for "a sane, sensible practical policy of paying for current expenditures out of current revenue, and we borrow for capital expenditure and construction on a sound, repayable basis...thus avoiding tax increases or a sales tax...That's the way you run your home and that always has been and always will be the Liberal way of running your province."[39]

The issue in the spending philosophy debate was "the pace of public spending," said the Free Press editorially. Comparing provincial spending to the private individual who sizes up all the costs of a new house with its landscaping, garage, etc., the newspaper argued that such an individual "...may have the best reasons for spacing out his program in accordance with his means. It would surely be stretching credulity to suggest that he is therefore bent upon going backwards, which seems to be Mr. Roblin's principal criticism of his political opponents."[40]

The issue was well summed up as a choice between the optimistic liberalism of the Conservatives against the cautious conservatism of the Liberals.[41]

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[38] WFP, May 2, 1959, p. 8.

[39] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 7, p. 8; and May 13, 1959, p. 2.

[40] Editorial: "Defining the Issue," WFP, May 6, 1959, p. 27.

[41] Duart Farquharson, "The Manitoba Election," Canadian Commentator, June 1959, p. 5.

The Tory Lust For Power.

The CCF had been relatively quiet on most of the budget issues discussed above. The Stinson-led party seemed more intent on explaining its positions on policies often overlooked by major parties, particularly in the health, agriculture, and resource fields. Lloyd Stinson was obliged to withstand internal complaints about his leadership to the point that his periods of ill-health and alleged short-temperedness almost became campaign issues. However, Duff Roblin's appeal for a majority government, in the face of John Diefenbaker's unprecedented victory which had crippled the CCF nationally, was the major source of CCF displeasure. "That's the basic issue," Premier Roblin had said of majority government. "In the last few months Manitoba has learned what it is like to have a minority government at the mercy of irresponsible people, an opposition which lacks the power or right to form a government but does have the power to frustrate legislation."[42]

It was the so-called "Tory lust for power" which was most often repeated at Mr. Stinson's meetings. "I've never seen people with such lust for power," he said of Mr. Roblin's Conservatives at Neepawa's Royal Cafe. "They'll say or promise almost anything to get back on the right side of the speaker (the side where the government sits)[sic] ."[43] The CCF leader also expressed concern during the campaign for the phrase "destroy Stinson" used in letters from Conservative MP's, and warned of "four high-powered hucksters" called in to direct the Conservative push for a sweeping majority.[44]

"We're going to witness a razzle-dazzle campaign by the Conservatives," Mr. Stinson cautioned. "They've got barrels of money and have brought in a battery of high-priced publicity men from the East," who, he said, wanted to "steamroller their way in and set up a one-party state in this province."[45]

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[42] WFP, April 21, 1959, p. 7.

[43] The Neepawa Press, April 17, 1959, p. 1.

[44] WFP, April 23, p. 13 and April 11, 1959, p. 9.

[45] The Neepawa Press, April 17, 1959, p. 1. Among the most notable campaign organizers during this period were Dalton Camp for the Tories and Stephen Lewis for the CCF.

National CCF leader M. J. Coldwell joined Mr. Stinson in his campaign not to let happen again the near total ruin of the CCF Party as had happened federally in March 1958. Mr. Coldwell argued that there was no need to fear minority government. It had been made to work in Ottawa.[46]

Both CCF and Liberal-Progressive parties encouraged the evident second thoughts amongst the voters on the "virtual one party government" elected federally one year earlier. There is evidence that Liberals may even have begun to "convince themselves that the 'go-slow' passion of their leader might be the key to victory" in the face of such evidence that country voters were reconsidering their earlier balloting.[47]

Other Major Issues: (1) Education.

The Roblin Government's acceptance of recommendations from the MacFarlane Royal Commission on Education included the controversial promotion of larger school divisions. In plebiscites held on February 27, 1959, only four of thirty-six rural areas opposed the organisation of larger school districts. All four contained a Mennonite population which feared the plan might adversely affect local district rights to hold religious exercises in their schools.[48] Since acceptance of the larger districts seemed essential to Conservative government school funding plans, great uncertainty existed in those areas which had not approved the plebiscite as to "what happened next." "Would boundaries be changed?" "Was a second vote possible?" "Would there be heavier taxes in the current year without provincial help?" Such were the questions being asked in affected communities.[49]

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[46] WFP, May 5, 1959, p. 5.

[47] Canadian Commentator, June 1959, p. 6.

[48] The Neepawa Press, March 2, 1959, p. 1. The four districts, all in South Central and South East Manitoba, were Hanover, Boundary, Rhineland and Stanley. Franco-Manitobans voted 82 per cent in favor of the larger divisions. The placement of Franco-Manitobans in key positions, including chairman of the new boundary commission, plus statements in the report calling for consideration of social and religious concerns were sufficient reassurance for the French-Catholic community. See Turenne, "The Minority and the Ballot Box," pp. 143ff.

Hence, the plight of these few areas became very much the concern of the opposition Liberals who had opposed the implementation of the larger school divisions somewhat consistently in practice, albeit for other reasons. The Liberal-Progressives had been concerned chiefly that haste and politics might be too much entangled in establishing larger divisions. The Conservative Government should not have acted so quickly, Liberal leader Campbell asserted.

> We appointed the Royal Commission on education but we would not have acted as quickly on its recommendations as the government did. It needed some mature thinking to improve it. The Conservatives did not have any education policy. The scheme was rushed along, to some extent for political purposes. But we did agree with the basic points. We have introduced them but we had intended that it would be on a voluntary basis.[50]

Opposition Liberals claimed the proposed districts were much too large, some larger than the constituencies used in the provincial election. The Royal Commission had recommended 50 to 60 new secondary school divisions but the new legislation had created only 46. Thus, the divisions were "too big for proper administration" said Winnipeg school trustee Andrew Moore speaking for a Liberal candidate.[51] Liberal supporters questioned whether the commission recommendation for only one high school in each new district could be carried out given such large districts.

The government was also scored for not implementing the commission's suggestions on merit pay and more generous salary scales for teachers. Fears were expressed as well regarding the question of centralisation of the school system in the hands of the provincial Deputy-Minister of Education. While some spokesmen, like Andrew Moore, feared such control, many Liberals worried that the commission's recommendations for centralization had been made unmanageable because of the huge size of the districts.[52]

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[49] The Neepawa Press, April 28, 1959, p. 3, and WFP, April 23, 1959, p. 4. The questions were asked in Vita, Manitoba in the Emerson constituency.

[50] WFP, May 1, 1959, p. 6.

[51] WFP, May 2, 1959, p. 5.

[52] WFP, April 14, p. 6; April 29, p. 12 and May 2, 1959, p. 5.

The government's answer to such criticisms was to insist that both opposition parties were bereft of an education program. Premier Roblin answered Mr. Campbell's criticisms by reminding voters that even the "Liberal" Free Press had praised his government's activity in the field of education. Education Minister Stewart McLean portrayed the Liberal position in regard to the school district plebiscites as inconsistent. "They supported the plan unanimously when it was brought before the legislature and then some of them went out and actively opposed it," the minister charged. "At their annual meeting they approved the Royal Commission on Education report and disapproved the Conservative legislation, although the legislation was based directly on the recommendations of the commission."[53]

Premier Roblin criticized the Liberal attitudes which he believed had fostered claims that Manitoba had the best education in Canada. Such attitudes and claims were at work as the restructuring of districts was being considered: "They said it doesn't need to be done which is worse than saying it couldn't be done," the Premier insisted. "But in the school divisions plebiscite 70 per cent of the people in the province had said 'Roblin, you're right'."[54]

The oft-cited Liberal position, in the light of the plebiscite results, was an offer to pay 75 per cent of the cost of all secondary schools regardless of size; plus 75 per cent or more of the cost of construction, maintenance, and snow removal on roads used by school buses, "so that schools were really accessible to students."[55] "Such transportation needs were considered the basic problem in enlarged new districts, and the increased provincial assistance for secondary roads was seen as essential to municipal financing.

John Tanchak (Liberal--Emerson) accused the Roblin Government of

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[52] WFP, April 14, p. 6; April 29, p. 12 and May 2, 1959, p. 5.

[53] WFP, April 27, 1959, p. 37.

[54] WFP, April 21, 1956, p. 7.

[55] WFP, April 21, 1959, p. 6.

punishing areas which had defeated the larger school divisions vote. "They're taking a 'well-it-serves-you-right' attitude." The result was, Tanchak claimed, two education policies and two classes of citizens.[56]

D. L. Campbell spoke of Tory discrimination against the "no" voters of the Hanover district. A Conservative promise to Hanover for retroactive grants to April 1st if a petition and new vote went through was described by Mr. Campbell as a "bribe." "This is of course typical of the tactics being used by the government in this campaign," the Liberal leader complained, "but I want to go on record that we will provide for all, a fair share of the education grant, whether or not a district approves larger areas."[57] In Steinbach a Conservative-sponsored petition for a second vote was a matter of considerable contention in spite of local school board attempts to wash their hands of the attempt.[58]

In the meantime Lloyd Stinson and his CCF supporters busied themselves with calls for increased technical school scholarships and facilities, free university, and use of the larger school districts for evening adult classes, particularly in subjects like farm management counselling.[59]

Other Major Issues: (2) Health Care.

The CCF was much more vocal on matters of health care, even though attempts to raise universal health care as a major issue scarcely got off the ground. Mr. Stinson challenged Health Minister George Johnson to debate full health insurance but no official meeting took place. The minister dismissed Mr. Stinson's support of a federal-provincial health plan as "a palliative" claiming that the CCF leader did not know how the existing provincial plan worked.[60] Mr. Johnson dubbed a state health plan as

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[56] WFP, April 21, 1959, p. 6.

[57] WFP, May 9, 1959, p. 4.

[58] WFP, May 11, 1959, p. 9.

[59] The Neepawa Press, April 17, p. 5; and May 1, 1959, p. 4. Also WFP, April 17, 1959, p. 4.

[60] WFP, April 9, 1959, p. 13.

"ridiculous" and explained as hasty and foolish the actions of the Campbell Government in 1958. "The Liberals rushed off the health plan just seconds before the last election in order to get votes...They drew up the health plan in a matter of hours, and thus left it in "shambles" "...If the Conservatives had introduced the health bill the opposition parties would have blown the dome off the legislative building."[61]

The minister explained that the Conservative plan was to include placing patients who did not require acute care into nursing homes. However, the Roblin Government had been moving cautiously in this area, seeking a director of placements and a standards division in order to fit into federal plans and hence approval. Liberal politicians noted, meanwhile, that municipalities were reluctant to move patients from hospitals, where their care was paid for under the existing hospital plan, to the nursing homes which the municipalities themselves would have to manage. This reluctance existed even in the face of serious hospital bed shortages, although nursing homes, too, were in need of construction. The seriousness of this particular issue is evidenced in the following description of one severely burdened hospital, the Neepawa and District Memorial Hospital, where patients desiring admission were called upon to place their names on a waiting list.

> The shortage of accommodation has become marked since introduction of the government hospital insurance plan this year...Not counting the maternity wing, there are only 23 beds available to serve an estimated population of 12,000 in the trading area, which itself is rapidly expanding. This is considered definitely insufficient for future needs, and local doctors are known to desire some private room accommodation.[62]

At the end of April Premier Roblin announced that one million dollars surplus from the Manitoba Blue Cross premiums would be earmarked for cancer research. CCF leader Lloyd Stinson had already spent considerable time in campaign addresses outlining the need for a government supported cancer diagnostic and treatment program. Mr. Stinson compared Manitoba's record of cancer treatment with that of Saskatchewan noting that while in 1957 Saskatchewan was treating 20,000 persons and spending $1,337,400 on cancer treatment, Manitoba was treating only 867 persons and spending $195,780 in the same year. Mr. Stinson argued that the high cost of treatment to the patient caused persons to delay diagnosis and helped promote Manitoba's high fatality rate of 1187 deaths in 1957. "We brought this matter forth in the house year after year," Mr. Stinson complained, "and both of the other parties have voted solidly against it every time. The only way to secure this kind of legislation is to vote in a CCF government."[63] The CCF leader responded to Premier Roblin's announcement regarding the Blue Cross surplus by calling it a "hoax." "There is simply no provision," Mr. Stinson claimed, for free treatment at government expense, even if money were to be used to build a diagnostic and treatment center.[64]

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[61] WFP, May 7, 1959, p. 12.

[62] The Neepawa Press, April 10, 1959, p. 1.

P. W. Goodman (Liberal--St. Matthews) claimed that Blue Cross subscribers should have rights of consultation as to where their money was to go, along with the right of return.[65] One premium holder who described himself as "hopping mad" aptly captured some of the reaction to the Premier's announcement.

> For years I fell for this line: Hospital insurance by a public-spirited body, approved by the doctors, a private plan, symbolic of free enterprise at its best.
>
> I paid as an individual subscriber for over six years. They even had the gall to jack up their rates just a month before they closed to build up a surplus.
>
> Now everybody, from Duff Roblin down, has been trying to get their hands on our money. I say, leave it alone; it is not yours. Give it back to us, who paid it, with interest too.[66]

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[63] The Neepawa Press, April 17, 1959, p. 4.

[64] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 1, 1959, p. 1.

[65] WFP, May 2, 1959, p. 5.

[66] Letter to the editor from Ken Emberley, St. James, Manitoba, WFP, May 8, 1959, p. 13.

Other Major Issues: (3) Social Assistance.

One of the many proposals outlined in the March throne speech had been a social assistance bill which was touted during the campaign as pioneering in federal-provincial social welfare cost-sharing. Premier Roblin used the defeat of his government in the house to argue that the opposition parties thereby opposed legislation which would have offered food, clothing, shelter, and medical, dental, and optical care for all Indians, elderly, immigrants, widows with children, physically disabled, deserted mothers, and neglected children.[67] The Conservative Premier was particularly critical of the CCF which, he claimed, had crushed the possibility of such legislation after calling for it for eighteen years.[68]

However, Premier Roblin's opponents argued that, if social allowances were really of that great concern to the Premier, he could have brought down such legislation at the special fall session. Instead, they said, he chose to wait until spring. "I'll tell you why Mr. Roblin chose to do this," said Liberal Robert Bend. "This bill he believed was much more important to him as a potential vote getter."[69] The long list of services cited above, which highlighted various Conservative newspaper advertisements, lends some credence to Mr. Bend's charge.

This particular debate took place in the context of widespread regional demands for increased government grants to municipalities. D. L. Campbell feared the proposed Conservative scheme might stealthily rob control of the administration of welfare services from the municipalities. Premier Roblin replied to Mr. Campbell's fears by charging: "When we remember what he did when he was in office we know that what he really means is that the welfare burden will remain on the back of municipal taxpayers." The Premier denied that he intended a takeover of welfare administration for "political purposes." He saw such province-wide control, he said, as "neither efficient nor economical."[70]

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[67] Progressive Conservative advertisements, The Neepawa Press, April 21, 1959, p. 7.

[68] WFP, April 22, 1959, p. 7.

[69] WFP, May 12, 1959, p. 10.

[70] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 1, 1959, p. 1.

Other Major Issues: (4) Agriculture.

The Progressive Conservative agriculture program was widely promoted during the campaign in the light of a statement by D. L. Campbell at Osterwich, Manitoba. The former first minister had said there was little a provincial government could do to help farmers because agriculture was so much a federal matter. Errick Willis, Gurney Evans, and other Conservative ministers outlined the early success of their farm credit legislation "flooded with applications." Twelve new agricultural policies were flouted in the face of Mr. Campbell's Osterwich statement including, a decentralization of the agriculture department with new branches in Dauphin and Brandon; additional staff as livestock experts, agriculture representatives, and home economists; crop insurance; and additional grants for agricultural research.[71]

The context within which all agriculture issues were being fought in 1959 was the recognized existence of contract farming and vertical integration on the part of large corporate farms. The family farm was fighting monopolistic operations, CCF leader Lloyd Stinson warned, as he explained the cost-price squeeze faced by the independent farmer.

> It is not because he is not an efficient producer. Since 1947 the Western farmer's costs have risen 51 per cent while the price of wheat has declined 21 per cent. In 1946 it took 1,845 bushels of wheat to buy a small combine, and now it takes about 4,000 bushels of wheat to buy the same combine. 72

Mr. Stinson and others argued that independent farmers would eventually be wiped out because of their growing indebtedness to large companies which controlled all levels of agricultural production and marketing. Mrs. Della Yuel (CCF--Gladstone) described the plight of the family farm in her own constituency:

> One of the most important issues in this constituency is Farm Security. Without a prosperous farming community our towns will soon disappear. What has made towns such as Neepawa and Gladstone prosperous and given them good stores and homes? If we can afford to pay over one billion dollars a year to give manufacturers a price for their products

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71 WFP, April 17, p. 12; and April 22, 1959, p. 11.

72 WFP, May 9, 1959, p. 4.

> which will bear a fair relationship to their costs, then surely we can afford to pay farmers a few million dollars to give farmers a similar price. Are not farm women entitled to similar home conditions such as water works and automatic heat, not to mention comfortable homes (which lacks in many places in this constituency) [sic] as our city sisters?...The perspective is the sanctity of the individual and not the system.[73]

The Conservative argument was that much could be accomplished by granting credit to farmers. Premier Roblin claimed opponents of farm credit policy would keep money in surpluses rather than invest it in young farmers.[74] Gurney Evans, in a direct reference to Mr. Campbell's Osterwich statement, claimed "We can't touch prices, but we can attack the problem by cutting costs." Mr. Evans cited his party's farm credit legislation and plans to lift eleven million dollars of expenses from the municipal tax burdens as effective in promoting rural security.[75]

Mr. Campbell disagreed with the Tory program and its attitude toward him. "Mr. Roblin claims I said the province can't do much about agriculture. What I did say, and still say, is that the factors which matter most to agriculture--such as prices and markets--lie in the national and even international field."

"I know credit is important," Mr. Campbell admitted, "but fixing the farmer's income is even more important." The Liberal-Progressive leader claimed the best results would come about by amalgamating the provincial credit program with an already experienced federal scheme.[76]

Increased charges for haying permits for cutting on crown lands were widely criticized during the campaign. The increased fees came at the very time that a lack of moisture prompted farmers to make more use of hay on crown land.[77]

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[73] The Neepawa Press, May 8, 1959, p. 2.

[74] WFP, May 12, 1959, p. 10.

[75] WFP, April 23, 1959, p. 2.

[76] The Neepawa Press, April 17, 1959, p. 4.

[77] WFP, April 29, 1959, p. 1.

The government was also accused of being deceptive in its re-organization of departmental appropriations. Doubled appropriations had seemingly been promised for the agriculture department. "They merely shifted the estimates from one department to another," Mr. Campbell told Manitoba farmers. "They juggled the accounts and tried to make you believe that you would actually be receiving more. I call that phony. I say Mr. Roblin could have and should have told you the truth."[78]

One time Liberal Agriculture Minister C. L. Shuttleworth supported the Liberal Party position favoring a two-price system for grains. The system would offer a subsidized price for farmers as one means of combatting the cost-price squeeze on local farms. Mr. Shuttleworth also believed that free trade would eliminate the need for deficiency payments to farmers.[79]

It had been the demand for deficiency payments by western farmers which had prompted the march to Ottawa just weeks before the election campaign. A petition containing 300,000 names had been carried to Prime Minister Diefenbaker by 1,100 members of the Farmers' Union. Opposition candidates were unanimous in condemning Premier Roblin's apparent "complete subservience" to the Conservative Prime Minister. Douglas Campbell condemned what he called the government's "sickly telegram thanking the Prime Minister for consenting to meet the delegation."[80] "They simply were afraid to take a stand on this thing," the Liberal leader insisted.[81] CCF leader Lloyd Stinson also claimed: "If the Prime Minister decided that it is not in his political interests to do anything for the farmers, the Manitoba Premier bows meekly."[82] "We're with the farmers 100 per cent on this issue," Mr. Stinson promised.

Country newspapers carried CCF-paid notices to those who had signed the petition, which claimed that the forty-seven Western Conservative

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[78] WFP, May 7, 1959, p. 12.

[79] WFP, May 1, 1959, p. 10.

[80] WFP, May 7, 1959, p. 12.

[81] WFP, April 15, 1959, p. 12.

[82] WFP, April 22, 1959, p. 11.

MP's had assured their government that Western farmers were satisfied in spite of the many delegates and signatures. "Someone is wrong," said the notice, "--forty-seven Conservative MP's or 300,000 signatures from the West." "A vote for the old line parties is saying that the Western MP's were right. The only way to show Diefenbaker that you are not satisfied and that you meant what you signed is mark your ballot for the CCF."[83] A Conservative vote would be construed as an endorsement of "some of the shabbiest treatment Western Canada has ever had," national CCF leader M.J. Coldwell said in Neepawa.[84]

The handling of the Ottawa march had therefore become an open sore in many rural areas. One partisan Campbellite, while calling for support of Nels Shoemaker (Liberal--Gladstone), portrayed the Roblin Government as an enemy of rural Westerners and condemned local Conservative politicans for their behaviour during the Ottawa march.

> ...the Roblin government is a supporter of the so-called big eastern industry and also industry in our cities. They are a cruel government for us farmers and small town folk.
>
> Do we want the city of Winnipeg telling us how to run our affairs. The Campbell seats are in rural Manitoba. Lets increase these seats in the government to a majority, that we might have Mr. Shoemaker look after our rural needs....
>
> ...Don't forget the Farm Union march to Ottawa some weeks ago. The local union officials say Diefenbaker was disinterested--our local member would not give a hearing, according to the press. Liquor was given to those who would partake to help calm a storm. According to Farm Union leaders, the man who is now asking you to vote for him and for the Roblin party Refused to support this petition. This is a fact--check and see.[85]

A government newspaper advertisement replied to letters in The Neepawa Press: "Is the new highway program, northern development, increased allowances and better educational facilities just for those city slickers." The paid statement also noted that the Progressive

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[83] The Neepawa Press, May 8, 1959, p. 6.

[84] The Neepawa Press, May 12, 1959, p. 1.

[85] Letter signed "Rural Voter," The Neepawa Press, May 8, 1959, p. 4.

[86] Conservative Advertisement, The Neepawa Press, May 12, 1959, p. 8.

Conservative candidate in question, Earl Murray of Gladstone, had given his board room "free of charge" for farmers' meetings even though he did not support the petition.[86]

Local Issues: (1) The North:

No single issue dominated the campaign in northern constituencies of the province. Instead, a large number of issues of definite regional or local interest were apparent. The issue receiving most attention was, perhaps, the desire for television service in the north. The "ill-fated experiment" by the previous Campbell Government and Northwest Electronics, for which Premier Roblin claimed his government "had just paid the bill," was hotly debated. "The plans were rushed, the scheme was not well thought out and the net effect of the negotiations only resulted in a year's delay before any effective measures might have been taken to provide this service," said Education Minister McLean.[87] Northern Liberals and CCF'ers joined Conservatives in calling for the development of northern television services in which the C.B.C. should take full responsibility. Former Liberal minister Bud Jobin (Flin Flon) defended the previous $15,000 deal as a "good gamble" stating he would urge another chance for Northwest Electronics if re-elected.[88] Hon. J. B. Carroll (The Pas) Minister of Utilities claimed the deal "was not well considered although it might have been politically expedient." He said no legislature had the right to "gamble with the people's money" as had been done with the television experiment.[89] The Flin Flon Chamber of Commerce called on all northern candidates of whatever party to pledge support and press the federal government for the extension of C.B.C. television service to the Flin Flon region.[90]

Both major parties claimed credit for the completion of highway number 10, from Mafeking to Flin Flon and candidates of all three parties called for its blacktopping. Most candidates also promised to press for the development of a national or provincial park near Flin Flon and/or The Pas. "Bud" Jobin condemned the government's lack of effort to obtain land rights for the construction of a proposed two million dollar airport at Flin Flon, and Mr. Jobin also made much of the need for longer liquor hours in northern drinking places.[91]

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[87] WFP, May 5, 1959, p. 29.

[88] Flin Flon Daily Miner, April 11, 1959, p. 1.

[89] Flin Flon Daily Miner, April 11, 1959, p. 4.

[90] Flin Flon Daily Miner, April 25, 1959, p. 1.

In mid-April Premier Roblin announced a $25,000,000 International Nickle Company (INCO) refinery to be constructed at Inco's mining site at Thompson, Manitoba and destined to become the world's second largest producer of nickle.[92] One month later, speaking in Flin Flon, just before the election, Mr. Roblin announced a Northern Development Authority consisting of a cabinet committee and an operational committee "designed to put all available knowledge and effort into northern development." Mr. Roblin promised northern residents that the authority would explore natural resources and develop them by means of increased hydro electric power development, in particular on the Nelson River Kelsey site. He also promised that a considerable amount of the $33,000,000 his government was spending on roads would be allocated to the north. His approach was to provide the power, roads, and research essential for the development of forestry and other natural resources.[93]

Liberal spokesmen were infuriated as the premier opened a $500,000 provincial government office building in The Pas two days before the election, a building which he allegedly "had nothing to do with." The ribbon-cutting was described by irate Liberals as the "lowest kind of political manoevring."[94] Premier Roblin, on the other hand, said the opening was "not a government occasion but a Manitoba occasion."[95]

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[91] Flin Flon Daily Miner, April 11, 1959, p. 1; and WFP, April 11, 1959, p. 6.

[92] Flin Flon Daily Miner, April 15, 1959, p. 1 and Hon. Duff Roblin, "The Premier Reports on Manitoba...," The Monetary Times, June, 1959, p. 29.

[93] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 13, 1959, p. 1; and WFP, May 13, 1959, p. 24.

[94] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 7, 1959, p. 1.

[95] WFP, May 13, 1959, p. 40.

The battle of who had done most for northern Manitoba--the Liberals or Conservatives--had been launched in earnest.

Northerners seemed somewhat more interested than most Manitobans in a program for workmen's compensation which Jack Carroll (Conservative--The Pas) declared the government was prepared to take even further than the recent Turgeon Report recommendations on the subject.[96]

Independent prospectors placed briefs in the hands of all candidates condemning the governmental "concession system" which enabled large companies, both provincial and out-of-province, to tie up thousands of claims consisting of hundreds of thousands of acres, thus depriving independent prospectors "of all the benefits of years of work." The brief claimed that suggestions made by The Manitoba-Saskatchewan Prospectors and Developers Association had "been disregarded or ignored" by previous governments. The same governments had "extended very little sympathy to the problems of the individual prospector, allowing civil servants to carry on the policy of the department by means of order-in-council."[97]

Minor Issues: (1) The Legasse Report.

The long dormant interest in Manitoba's native people was aroused by a government study, the Legasse Report, which called for greater government responsibility for Indian and Métis citizens especially in community development, employment, and vocational training. CCF leader Stinson called the findings of the report "shocking" and said his party supported its recommendations for a "Fair Accommodations Practice Act." Premier Roblin promised his government would act in a detailed fashion on the report.[98]

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[96] The recommendations included an appeal board for aggrieved applicants, increased compensation to widows, orphans, and dependents, and the raising of the maximum salary basis for disability claims. Flin Flon Miner, April 11, 1959, p. 4.

[97] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 12, 1959, p. 1.

[98] WFP, April 8, p. 1; April 10, p. 31; and April 25, p. 4. The Neepawa Press, April 17, 1959, p. 4.

Minor Issues: (2) Labor.

In labor matters some discussion obtained during the campaign regarding the continued low wages paid in the province in spite of the Manitoba Fair Wages Board's ten cent per hour increase. Various agencies like the Winnipeg and District Labor Council complained of the Fair Wage Board's acceptance of a sixty-hour work week for highways and bridge construction workers and of a zoning policy with different wages paid by two different scales.[99] The Wage Board's absence in Thompson, Manitoba, where workers were said to be working as much as eighty-four hours per week, was also criticized.[100] The Winnipeg and District Labor Council made public its support of the CCF as the only party "consistently for labor."[101] Amendments to the Labor Relations Act which empowered a labor board "to define in precise terms, the extent of the bargaining agent's jurisdiction" were seen in labor circles as a threat to the traditional power of a union to determine where and where not to organize.[102]

Minor Issues: (3) Dismissal for Political Action.

Widespread concern was also expressed throughout the province about the announcement that several would-be candidates in the election had been threatened with dismissal by their employers if they insisted on entering politics while members of the firms in question. The Canadian Manufacturers Association, Chambers of Commerce, the Canadian Labor Council and all party leaders spoke in favor of political participation. The Free Press would sympathize with the undesignated companies, it said, if key persons had been involved. However, the reasons given, said the paper, were that the employee's action would hurt business and public relations. "The health of our political system depends on the interest taken in politics by ordinary people," the newspaper editorialized.[103]

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[99] WFP, April 22, 1959, p. 7.

[100] Letter signed "K. M. G.," Winnipeg, WFP, April 16, 1959, p. 17.

[101] WFP, April 22, p. 7; and May 11, 1959, p. 10.

[102] Canadian Labour, April, 1959, News Section.

A legislative correspondant for The Neepawa Press, Warner Troyer, noted that normally only the self-employed and independently wealthy were able to take part in politics. Others were forced to take leaves of absence at no salary and were often unable to run again. "Until Canadian employers generally adopt a more public spirited and realistic attitude we will never be able to say that our nation's politicians are truly and completely representative of the men who are willing to give their energies and abilities to the service of their country," Mr. Troyer wrote.[104] In the end the employees in question were granted permission to run for election.

Minor Issues: (4) Roads.

Announcements were made by Errick Willis of extensive road building plans to include $800,000 more spent on municipal roads than ever before in Manitoba's history. The announcements of let-contracts were met with cries that Manitoba did not have the road-building equipment to carry out the anticipated program. The Willis projects included vast street improvements in dozens of towns and villages where such improvements were central considerations in 1959. Liberal-Progressives continued to hold Errick Willis' previous cabinet responsibilities for road-building against him if he spoke of improvements over Liberal roads. "Every time Mr. Willis condemns a road now," said Robert Bend, "chances are he built it. I don't think he has become that much more of an expert recently."[105]

In Selkirk and Brokenhead constituencies so-called "mystery letters" promising a variety of public works projects were the subject of province-wide discussion. Arthur Trapp (Liberal-Progressive--Brokenhead) claimed that Conservatives were "scurrying up and down the constituencies armed with letters, appearing over the name of the Minister of Public Works promising roads, black-top rights, culverts for every town and village... everything and anything," and in many instances without local councillors having knowledge of the projects.[106] Public Works Minister Willis dismissed the letters as routine announcements issued each spring by his department. There was no mystery, the minister claimed, but he "could understand a Liberal candidate regarding as mysterious a government program which granted assistance to hard-pressed constituencies."[107]

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[103] Editorial: "Business and Politics," WFP, April 9, 1959, p. 29.

[104] The Neepawa Press, April 10, 1959, p. 4.

[105] WFP, May 14, 1959, p. 14.

Local Issues: (2) Portage La Prairie.

In Portage La Prairie two issues predominated. Mayor Lloyd Henderson made a considerable stir in the city with his complaints that Attorney-General Lyon had sent a letter to the Conservative candidate J. A. Christianson announcing the government's willingness to sell a thirty-acre parcel of land to the city. The information had by-passed the Portage La Prairie council in what the mayor called "cheap, dirty, low political manoevring."[108] Henderson, as president of the province's flood control organization, differed with Premier Roblin over the recommendations of the Manning Commission on flood control. Mayor Henderson charged that Premier Roblin was only carrying out those recommendations which would benefit greater Winnipeg. The Portage mayor challenged Mr. Roblin to debate the scheme declaring, "We want a total program, not only the spending of $70,000,000 on Greater Winnipeg."[109] Gordon Phillips (Liberal-Progressive--Brandon) expressed much the same concern about the flood control program. "All the work on the policy is being done in Winnipeg. What are the people in Brandon supposed to do when there is a flood? Sit in water up to our necks and say 'Thank you, Mr. Roblin'."[110]

CCF leader Lloyd Stinson believed the Conservative Government deserved congratulations for its speedy action on flood control, although he did predict that the federal and provincial governments would play politics with the announcements of funds and that the payments would have come no matter what party was in power.[111] The scheme was outlined in detail by Hon. Gurney Evans and involved $11,000,000 of federal aid for every $4,000,000 of provincial expenditure. The program involved a system of dams and floodways to divert waters around Winnipeg into Lake Manitoba.[112]

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[106] Flin Flin Daily Miner, May 1, 1959, p. 3.

[107] WFP, April 27, 1959, p. 1.

[108] Flin Flon Daily Miner, May 7, 1959, p. 1.

[109] WFP, May 8, 1959, p. 8.

[110] WFP, May 12, 1959, p. 37.

Local Issues: (3) Winnipeg.

In the Winnipeg area candidates debated Winnipeg's share of provincial school costs, recommendations for metropolitan government, and the location of a new city hall. Alderman Paul Goodman (Liberal-Progressive--St. Matthews) blamed Premier Roblin for pushing up the cost of a city hall for Winnipeg by offering a site on a re-development area in Douglas Point after Winnipeggers had already approved of a Broadway Street site and design.

> Roblin's actions at this stage are typical of the arrogance for which he is becoming famous. He ignored the committee appointed by city council. He insisted on appointing his own committee. He said his committee would report within four weeks. We know what happened. He did not appoint his committee in four weeks. In fact the report of the city's committee was in hand before Mr. Roblin had even gotten around to naming his own group.[113]

The same Alderman Goodman was outspoken regarding implementation of the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission's recommendations regarding metro government. Goodman criticized the government for not making its views public on the report during the campaign.[114] Eric Beecroft, national director of the Community Planning Association of Canada called "metro" government, "the forgotten issue." "It is hard," he said, "to see how we can get metropolitan area planning and administration on a sound basis anywhere in Canada unless the provincial governments take a strong stand and e act the necessary legislation."[115]

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[111] WFP, May 1, 1959, pp. 1 and 10.

[112] WFP, May 1, 1959, p. 12.

[113] WFP, April 18, 1959, p. 2.

[114] WFP, April 10, 1959, p. 31. The commission had recommended that sixteen municipalities should become eight cities with uniform charters with a metropolitan council over all. Financial planning would be based on the welfare of the whole over any given part. Editorial: "A Good Metro Plan," WFP, April 1, 1959, p. 23.

Minor Issues: (5) Camping Fees.

Increased fees for camping in provincial parks were the subject of such an outcry during the campaign that on May 5 the provincial government had to back down from its projected increases. The issue was used by opposition spokesmen to describe a government "pattern." "Never was the pattern of Conservative policy clearer," the Free Press said editorially. "First announce an attractive program that will appeal to the people [the new provincial parks]. Only after the initial favorable impression has been made, tell them what it is going to cost."[116]

Both new and old parks were also a subject of controversy over whether or not liquor outlets should be permitted within their boundaries.

Minor Issues: (6) Natural Gas Distribution.

Since both the Liberal-Progressive and Conservative governments had taken steps to hand over all natural gas distribution in the province to the Greater Winnipeg Gas Company it was largely the CCF party supporters who were critical of the "gas monopoly." Comparisons were made with Saskatchewan, where service for towns and villages existed extensively, unlike Manitoba's immediate plans. The CCF spokesman expressed alarm about the limits of service, the high cost, and the monopoly clause which gave the company complete control over natural gas distribution in Manitoba for twenty-five years. Utilities Minister Carroll defended his government's policy by announcing that the company would be subject to bi-annual reports and that the twenty-five year lease was the recommendation of a royal commission. He also noted that the lease was being offered on condition that the company lower its price per cubic foot of gas. Mr. Carroll anticipated expansion of the program to serve 75 per cent of the Manitoba market in five years.[117]

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[115] WFP, May 9, 1959, p. 3.

[116] Editorial: "The Pattern," WFP, April 22, 1959, p. 23.

Lloyd Stinson claimed that natural gas consumers in Winnipeg would lose $2,000,000 per year because of the "private monopoly." Mr. Stinson accused the government of wanting to have the safety of a majority government before "handing over this bonanza to a big private monopoly."[118]

M. J. Coldwell claimed Duff Roblin had passed up "the best opportunity any Manitoba government has had of implementing Sir Rodmond's philosophy"[119] his grandfather's willingness to take public control over major utilities. The average price of gas in Saskatchewan, Mr. Coldwell said, was 68 cents, and the price in Manitoba 90 cents. Transportation costs were 7 cents per cubic foot. The other 15 cents, he said, was "clear gravy for the company. It is the premium which the consumers have to pay for the privilege of having a government which turns over control of a great resource to private monopoly." Coldwell and various CCF candidates decried the lack of plans for gas distribution to small centers. "There is no money to be made in bringing natural gas to the (smaller) [sic] towns. The profit lies in the mass market of the big cities and private enterprises are interested in profit," the national CCF leader said.[120]

Minor Issues: (7) Fishing and Forestry Resources.

Debate ensued, finally, on the development of fishing and forestry resources, with Gurney Evans accusing the former Campbell Government of having depleted Manitoba's forest resources at a rate of 165 per cent of sustained yield. Commercial fishing, had been neglected and over-exploited, the Conservative minister charged.[121]

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[117] WFP, April 16, 1959, p. 3.

[118] WFP, May 2, 1959, p. 9.

[119] WFP, May 9, 1959, p. 2.

[120] WFP, May 9, 1959, p. 2; and The Neepawa Press, May 12, 1959, p. 1.

In response Liberal candidates claimed that new Conservative regulations for commercial fishing seemed destined to benefit large fishing companies at the expense of small independent fishermen. Mr. Evans insisted that Lake Winnipeg fishermen, facing hardships because of new Conservative government regulations for whitefish, had known of the meetings to discuss such regulations and had approved government conservation measures.[122]

John Ateah (Liberal-Progressive--Lac Du Bonnet) maintained that the government had literally put fishermen out of work by acting too quickly in enforcing its commercial fishing restrictions. Government intentions to conduct a study of the problems should have preceded the instigation of the regulations, Mr. Ateah argued.[123]

Elman Guttormson (Liberal-Progressive--St. George) denied that fishermen knew of the meetings at which the new fishing regulations were to be considered. Mr. Guttormson also specified the discrepencies between fishing companies and independent fishermen under the new restrictions. "They allow summer fishermen largely controlled by the fish companies, to take two million pounds of whitefish from the north end of Lake Winnipeg, but they won't let the small independent fishermen who work in the winter take their usual catch of 250,000 pounds."[124]

The Results.

May 14 gave Duff Roblin his majority. Thirty-six Progressive Conservatives now faced a mere eleven Liberals and ten CCF members. The CCF had fought hard to tie the Liberals as the official opposition by running Indian Chief Albert James Cook in the deferred seat of Rupertsland. The Indian chief was soundly trounced by Conservative Joseph Jeannotte even though 65 per cent of the constituency's voters were Indian. "For reasons of their own the Indian population will not politically support one of their own and make no attempt to conceal it," the Financial Post reported.[125]

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[121] WFP, April 24, 1959, p. 28.

[122] WFP, April 27, 1959, pp. 1 and 13.

[123] WFP, May 1, 1959, p. 12.

[124] WFP, May 1, 1959, p. 1.

In the Churchill poll of Thompson only 59 of 1001 eligible voters cast their ballots. As a result serious questioning ensued as to whether the polls had been placed too far from the town or whether the men in the mining industry had been given time off or even knew about the election.[126]

The victory was the Conservative Party's largest since 1914 with the party taking 46.7 per cent of the popular vote. The CCF maintained its stranglehold in all north Winnipeg ridings plus Brokenhead and Fisher. CCF leader Lloyd Stinson and deputy leader Donovan Swailes both went down to defeat in constituencies which lay just outside the northern Winnipeg strong-hold. The party's performance in the twenty constituencies south and west of Winnipeg remained unchanged. Only nine of the twenty constituencies were contested by the party. All nine candidates finished last. The party took only 6.2 per cent of the total votes cast. While the nine candidates constituted almost one-quarter of the party's total number of candidates fielded, the support constituted a mere 8.3 per cent of the party's total voting support.

The Liberal Party was routed again in urban areas save for St. Boniface. In the other twenty urban ridings the Liberals placed a poor second in five (no closer than 1900 votes behind) and deep in third position in the other fifteen ridings. Former cabinet ministers Bend, Jobin, Shuttleworth and Greenlay were all defeated.

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[125] The Financial Post, June 20, 1959, p. 22. See also June 6, p. 38.

[126] The Financial Post, June 27, 1959, p. 27.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1959.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Progressive Conservative	36	147,140	46.7	63.2
Liberal Progressive	11	95,452	30.3	19.3
CCF	10	69,594	22.1	17.5
Labor-Progressive	--	1,731	.5	--
Independent	--	1,171	.4	--

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1959.

Major, Province-wide.

1. Budget and Government Record Debate. (Cluster).
    - (a) Responsibility for dissolution.
        - (i) Lack of confidence question.
    - (b) Was the budget balanced? and how?
    - (c) Federal tax budget and fear of tax increases.
    - (d) Tory lust for power.
    - (e) Borrowing practices and spending philosophies.
2. Education.
    - (a) Larger School divisions--size, number, centralization.
        - (i) Effect on religious education. (Sectional, Perennial).
        - (ii) Future of areas voting against.
    - (b) Funds for salaries, facilities and transportation.
3. Health Care.
    - (a) Health insurance--program and philosophy.
    - (b) Financing nursing homes.
    - (c) Cancer research and treatment.
    - (d) Use of Blue Cross premiums (Dead).

4. Agriculture.
    (a) D. L. Campbell's Osterwich statement on Federal responsibility.
    (b) Vertical integration and family farm security.
    (c) Haying permit increases. (Specific, Left).
    (d) Deficiency payments and support of farmers march.
5. Welfare Administration--Provincial or Municipal Responsibility.

Minor, Separate.

Low Wages and Zoning Policy. (Sectional).
Labor Relations Act and Union Power. (Left).
Commercial Fishing Restrictions.
Depletion of forest Reserves. (Concern).
Gas Distribution Monopoly. (Left, Socialist).
Lack of Gas Distribution in Small Centers.
Government Responsibility for Indians and Metis--Legasse Report.
Threats of Dismissal of Candidates for Office.
Camping Fee Increases. (Temporary).
Liquor Licenses for Parks. (Social, Unprompted).

Local.

Local-North.

Campbell TV Experiment and Desire for C.B.C Service.
Completion of Highway #10.
Flin Flon Airport Construction.
Liquor Hours in North.
Park Development in North.
Which Party Best Serves North.
Concession System for Prospectors. (Sectional).

Local-Portage La Prairie.

J. A. Christiansen's Land Parcel.

Lack of Flood Control Outside Winnipeg.

Local-Various Localities.

Street Improvements.

"Mystery Letters" For Road Development.

Local-Winnipeg.

Winnipeg's share of Provincial School Costs.

Metro Government Recommendations.

Location of New City Hall.

Personality.

Lloyd Stinson's Health and Disposition.

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1959

Nominations April 30, 1958; Churchill and Rupertsland May 28, 1959. Voting May 14, 1959; Churchill and Rupertsland June 11, 1959 (deferred).

ARTHUR

John G. Cobb, P.C.	2,513
John Wilfred McRae, L.P.	1,932
William G. Powne, Ind.	556

ASSINIBOIA

George Johnson, P.C.	3,157
Donovan Swailes, C.C.F.	2,940
Jack Browarigg, L.P.	1,308
George Brown, Ind.	259

BIRTLE-RUSSELL

Robert Gordon Smellie, P.C.	2,239
Rodney Clement, L.P.	2,015
Michael Sotas, C.C.F.	947

BRANDON

R. O. Lissaman, P.C.	5,432
Gordon A. Phillips, L.P.	2,159
Hans Fries, C.C.F.	1,415

BROKENHEAD

Edward R. Schreyer, C.C.F.	2,017
Gordon B. Burnett, P.C.	1,409
Arthur A. Trapp, L.P.	1,083

BURROWS

John Hawryluk, C.C.F.	2,235
Andrew Zaharychuk, P.C.	1,298
Joseph R. Haidan, L.P.	1,155
W. C. Ross, Lab. Pro.	675

CARILLON

Edmond Prefontaine, L.P.	2,287
Peter J. Thiessen, P.C.	1,781

CHURCHILL

John E. Ingebrigtson, P.C.	1,587
Kenneth D. Wray, L.P.	1,325

CYPRESS

Marcel Boulic, P.C.	2,551
John Leslie Sundell, L.P.	1,781

DAUPHIN

Stewart E. McLean, P.C.	2,951
L. Clifford Matthews, C.C.F.	1,233
Mrs. Emma H. Ringstrom, L.P.	967

DUFFERIN

William H. Hamilton, P.C.	2,077
Walter C. McDonald, L.P.	1,928
Chester E. Johnson, C.C.F.	167

ELMWOOD

Steve Peters, C.C.F.	2,782
H. Emerson Snyder, P.C.	2,560
Alex Turk, L.P.	1,488

EMERSON

John P. Tanchak, L.P.	2,752
Ben Comeault, P.C.	2,190

ETHELBERT-PLAINS

Michael N. Hryhorczuk, L.P.	1,856
Peter Burtniak, C.C.F.	1,590
Isadore Syrnyk, P.C.	1,001

FISHER

Peter Wagner, C.C.F.	1,777
Roy Ellison, P.C.	1,361
W. J. Griffin, Jr., L.P.	1,028

FLIN FLON

Charles H. Witney, P.C.	1,810
Francis L. Jobin, L.P.	1,728
Frederick S. Pope, C.C.F.	923

FORT GARRY

Sterling R. Lyon, P.C.	4,842
Stanley Farwell, L.P.	2,035
Mrs. Hena Woodward, C.C.F.	1,373

FORT ROUGE

Gurney Evans, P.C.	4,332
Jerome J. Marrin, L.P.	1,947
Robert C. Murdoch, C.C.F.	1,425

GIMLI

George Johnson, P.C.	2,570
Alex Hawrysh, L.P.	1,007
Zado Zator, C.C.F.	932

GLADSTONE

Nelson Shoemaker, L.P.	2,469
Earl Murray, P.C.	2,318
Mrs. Della Yuel, C.C.F.	415

HAMIOTA

Barry P. Strickland, P.C.	2,377
James C. Scott, L.P.	2,115
Arthur Nicholson, C.C.F.	440

INKSTER

Morris A. Gray, C.C.F.	3,835
Mrs. Mary Wawrykow, P.C.	2,108
J. A. Kolt, L.P.	981
L. W. Kaminski, Lab. Pro.	489

KILDONAN

A. J. Reid, C.C.F.	3,859
J. Willis, P.C.	3,511
C. K. Huebert, L.P.	1,972

LAC DU BONNET

Oscar F. Bjornson, P.C.	1,357
John Ateah, L.P.	1,272
Donald H. MacLean, C.C.F.	1,018
Stanley Copp, Ind.	346

LAKESIDE

Douglas Lloyd Campbell, L.P.	1,896
John Frederick Bate, P.C.	1,774
Allen Werbiski, C.C.F.	278

LA VERENDRYE

Stan Roberts, L.P.	1,799
Edmond Guertin, P.C.	1,581

LOGAN

Lemuel Harris, C.C.F.	2,099
A. E. Bennett, P.C.	1,921
John Kozoris, L.P.	873

MINNEDOSA

Walter Weir, P.C.	2,886
C. L. Shuttleworth, L.P.	2,029
J. M. Lee, C.C.F.	1,090

MORRIS

Harry P. Shewman, P.C.	1,905
Bruce MacKenzie, L.P.	1,298

OSBORNE

W. O. Baizley, P.C.	3,608
Lloyd C. Stinson, C.C.F.	3,482
David E. Bowman, L.P.	1,166

PEMBINA

Maurice Ridley, P.C.	3,077
Lynwood C. Graham, L.P.	1,193

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

John. A. Christianson, P.C.	2,300
Charles E. Greenlay, L.P.	1,827
Fred A. Tufford, C.C.F.	416

RADISSON

A. R. Paulley, C.C.F.	4,605
Harold A. Huppe, P.C.	2,896
Nick Slotek, L.P.	2,029

RHINELAND

W. C. Miller, L.P.	1,648
Leo Recksiedler, P.C.	1,462

RIVER HEIGHTS

W. B. Scarth, P.C.	4,936
Keith Routley, L.P.	3,060
Magnus Eliason, C.C.F.	478

ROBLIN

Keith Alexander, P.C.	1,946
Joseph Perchaluk, C.C.F.	1,563
Ray Mitchell, L.P.	1,334

ROCK LAKE

Abram W. Harrison, P.C.	2,345
W. E. Clark, L.P.	1,843
Cyril Hamwee, C.C.F.	632

ROCKWOOD-IBERVILLE

George Hutton, P.C.	2,269
Robert W. Bend, L.P.	2,143
Samuel Cranston, C.C.F.	444

RUPERTSLAND

Joseph E. Jeannotte, P.C.	2,288
Harry Boulette, L.P.	587
Alfred J. Cook, C.C.F.	393

ST. BONIFACE

Laurent Desjardins, L.P.	3,772
Harry DeLeeuw, P.C.	2,982
Benjamin Cyr, C.C.F.	1,309

ST. GEORGE

Elman Guttormson, L.P.	2,279
Ivan G. Casselman, P.C.	1,371
Mrs. Nellie Baker, C.C.F.	255

ST. JAMES

Douglas M. Stanes, P.C.	3,616
Al. Mackling, C.C.F.	2,378
David M. Graham, L.P.	1,541

ST. JOHN'S

David Orlikow, C.C.F.	2,261
Dan Zaharia, P.C.	2,010
Abe Yanofsky, L.P.	854
Jacob Penner, Lab. Pro.	589

ST. MATTHEWS

W. G. Martin, P.C.	3,835
Gordon R. Fines, C.C.F.	[illegible]
Paul W. Goodman, L.P.	1,906

STE. ROSE

Gildas Molgat, L.P.	2,380
J. Albert Fletcher, P.C.	1,576
Leon W. Hoeter, C.C.F.	353

ST. VITAL

Frederick Groves, P.C.	4,599
George R. Goulet, L.P.	1,946
Joseph F. Trager, C.C.F.	1,858

SELKIRK

Thomas P. Hillhouse, L.P.	1,814
Edward G. Foster, P.C.	1,732
Scottie W. Bryce, C.C.F.	872

SEVEN OAKS

Arthur E. Wright, C.C.F.	3,888
Charles E. Nye, P.C.	1,973
Calvin G. Scarfe, L.P.	1,343

SOURIS-LANSDOWNE

Malcolm Earl McKellar, P.C.	2,686
George Adrian Griffith L.P.	1,448

SPRINGFIELD

Fred T. Klym, P.C.	1,878
William Lucko, L.P.	1,507
Richard Loeb, C.C.F.	772

SWAN RIVER

A. H. Corbett, P.C.	[illegible]
Hilliard L. Farries, C.C.F.	1,431
Arvid Brust, L.P.	786

THE PAS

John Benson Carroll, P.C.	2,345
Marvin Hill, L.P.	1,027
Peter Shewchuk, C.C.F.	779

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

Erick F. Willis, P.C.	3,247
Walter Christianson, L.P.	1,187

VIRDEN

John W. Thompson, P.C.	3,087
John W. Clarke, L.P.	1,337

WELLINGTON

Richard Seaborn, P.C.	3,082
James R. McIsaac, C.C.F.	2,834
William Norrie, L.P.	1,624

WINNIPEG CENTRE

James Cowan, P.C.	3,712
Fred Paulley, C.C.F.	1,474
J. Gurson Harvey, L.P.	1,462

WOLSELEY

Duff Roblin, P.C.	4,321
Frank Muldoon, L.P.	1,707
Peter Griffin, C.C.F.	1,131

WHERE STUDY COMMISSIONS FLOURISH--

THE ISSUES PERISH

NOVEMBER 9 TO DECEMBER 15, 1962

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Progressive Conservative	Duff Roblin	57
Liberal	Gildas Molgat	57
New Democratic Party	Russ Paulley	39
Social Credit	Jacob Froese	12
Communist Party	W. C. Ross	2
Independent	- - - -	3

57 single member plurality districts

The Issues and the Intervening Years.

Premier Duff Roblin used his new-found majority in the Manitoba legislature to introduce long overdue changes, particularly in the field of economic development. In retrospect his government's activity from 1959 to 1962 seems shaped by characteristic Manitoba conservatism. Bold, but also cautious, legislation, is how W. L. Morton describes Mr. Roblin's activity.[1] These seemingly contradictory terms help explain the fact that the very areas in which Premier Roblin was prepared to take action were at the same time to become later election issues. Criticisms came from both the right and left of Mr. Roblin. His government had introduced a new level of metropolitan government for greater Winnipeg in 1960. "Metro" was an attempt to unite the essential services of the city of Winnipeg and sixteen other urban and rural municipalities, including the cities of St. James and St. Boniface. Thus was to end the ofttimes parasitic arrangements by which many municipalities looked to Winnipeg proper for services like fire protection. The parasitic arrangement worked both ways as suburbanites fled to such areas to take unfair advantage of lower taxes.[2] The Roblin Conservative Government also took action on a diversion floodway scheme by which the waters of the Red River could be diverted through a channel east of Winnipeg. With federal assistance digging began in 1961. Another diversion scheme which was to become a heated issue in the 1962 campaign was the plan, in case of flood, to divert the Assiniboine River into Lake Manitoba at a point near Portage La Prairie.

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[1] Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 486.

The Roblin Government had also greatly speeded up highway construction, again, with federal assistance. A complete network of roads throughout the province meant an increase in the importance of tourism and the need for parks and recreational areas. The highway network included construction of a perimeter road around Winnipeg.

In 1960 the McFarlane Commission issued its report on the state of education in the province. The report's most controversial recommendation was the call for public assistance to private schools wherever such schools attempted to meet public school standards and curriculum. Premier Roblin's own attempt to instigate the commission's recommendation for the consolidation of district school boards led to further controversy particularly in French and Mennonite communities.

Seemingly most significant the Roblin Government had laid out plans for the increased development of Manitoba's natural resources. An Industrial Development Board was to offer assistance to both new and established industries. The most talked about development was the 1960 decision to develop hydro power at Grand Falls on the Saskatchewan River.

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[2] Morton: Manitoba: A History, p. 487.

To be serviced by a connecting road, the scheme was viewed as a vital north-south Manitoba link. A 1961 committee on economic development symbolized Premier Roblin's care in this area. However, anticipated rates of growth were not being met. Industrial expansion seemed only to parallel agricultural decline.[3]

Also in the intervening years between 1959 and 1962 both opposition parties had replaced their leaders. In November 1960 former Transcona Mayor Russ Paulley became the new CCF leader. On August 3, 1961, the CCF was reorganized provincially to become the Manitoba New Democratic Party. Gildas Molgat became the new Liberal leader in 1961. A native of his Ste. Rose constituency, Mr. Molgat was the first French-speaking leader since organized parties began in Manitoba some eighty years earlier.[4]

The "bold moves made with caution" had prompted members like Edmund Prefontaine and Stephen Juba, now the anti-metro mayor of a "diminished" city of Winnipeg, to call for an election at the spring meeting of the 1962 legislature. As complaints regarding the workability of Metro arose from the likes of Juba and his "one big city" platform in opposition to "metro"; the government proposed an amendment to the Metropolitan Incorporation Act. The amendment would allow the appointment of a committee of review three years earlier than originally intended. The Liberal members were solidly opposed to the amendment and argued then, and later during the campaign, that the early activation of the review committee did not give Metro the intended time to prove itself.[5]

But there was no election call in the spring or summer of 1962. Following John Diefenbaker's narrow minority government win in mid-June,expectations for a provincial election arose again. But the events which triggered the November dissolution were sudden and unexpected.

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[3] Based on Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 486-493 and Jackson, Centennial History, pp. 250-253.

[4] Jackson, Centennial History, p. 254.

[5] The Financial Post, May 26, 1962, p. 33.

René Prefontaine and the Election Call

Premier Roblin intended to appoint René Prefontaine to his cabinet, hence returning Franco-Manitoban representation for the first time since the death of Marcel Boulic in September 1959. René was one of the sons of long-time Liberal Edmund Prefontaine. The story goes that only seconds before Lieutenant-Governor Errick Willis was to swear-in the younger Prefontaine to the same Municipal Affairs portfolio his father had held as a Liberal, René Prefontaine declined "for family reasons." Premier Roblin's intended clever strategem to win Franco-Manitoban support away from the Liberals had fallen flat.

The evening before Prefontaine's refusal John Diefenbaker had narrowly escaped defeat in the House of Commons as his austerity measures divided the support of the Social Credit Party which stood between Diefenbaker's continuation as Prime Minister and a defeat in the house. The pundits now wagered that Premier Roblin wanted to avoid both federal and provincial elections in the spring.[6]

Liberal leader Molgat's immediate reaction was to call Mr. Roblin's decision an example of "government by fits of temper and tantrum."[7] Mr. Roblin had not got his way, Mr. Molgat argued, and so got mad and called the election. The Liberal leader had, he claimed, been told by Premier Roblin of his plans regarding René Prefontaine and of his intention to set the dates for two by-elections and yet changed those plans only two days later. Mr. Molgat called the embarrassment of the senior Prefontaine, who later announced his retirement from political life, "poor politics" on Mr. Roblin's part.[8] In explaining the place of federal politics in the call Mr. Molgat noted that Premier Roblin's majority in the assembly assured approval of whatever development plans the Premier wanted to implement and without recourse to a general election. "They were afraid to wait until spring for fear of what might happen to the Diefenbaker government in their next election," said Mr. Molgat. "They are playing politics."[9]

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[6] The Globe and Mail, November 10, 1962, p. 8.

[7] WFP, November 9, 1962, p. 1.

[8] WFP, November 9, 1962, p. 1, and November 21, p. 40.

NDP leader Russ Paulley said, "in view of the faux pas he has made recently I am not surprised at one more from Premier Roblin."[10] The Winnipeg Free Press argued editorially that Real Caouette's threat to end Socred support of the minority Diefenbaker Government was one of the chief reasons for the election call in Manitoba. The newspaper claimed that Premier Roblin's "complete and unqualified support for the Diefenbaker government" was one of the main issues of the campaign. "But what urgent provincial issues are there to justify the disruption and expense of an election now," the Winnipeg daily asked. "Mr. Roblin has evidently acted in such haste and had such difficulty in finding them," the paper complained, that he "would not have his manifesto ready" until the following week.[11]

Premier Roblin defended his election call by claiming that the government had fulfilled its four and one-half years' program since the election of 1958. Mr. Roblin said he wanted approval for far-reaching economic development proposals. The election "had been considered by the government for the past few months but it was only when we had reached certain conclusions regarding policy for the future that it became apparent we really ought to seek a mandate for our proposals and legislation," the Premier explained. "The Prefontaine affair was coincidental."[12]

In those constituencies containing the highest percentage of Franco-Manitobans--Carillon, LaVerendrye and St. Boniface--the "Prefontaine affair" remained an embarrassing, often underlying issue.[13] René ran in LaVerendrye constituency which bordered on the Carillon constituency which his father had held for so many years. Both father Edmund and brother Gilbert, Liberal campaign manager in LaVerendrye, spoke against their brother, claiming Duff Roblin had parachuted him into LaVerendrye without proper consideration of the constituents.

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[9] Flin Flon Daily Miner, December 6, 1962, p. 1.

[10] WFP, November 9, 1962, p. 8.

[11] Editorial: "Mr. Roblin's Rush," WFP, November 10, 1962

[12] WFP, November 9, 1962, p. 1.

Premier Roblin and René Prefontaine accused Gildas Molgat and his Liberals of "cultivating local grievances ," a form of "parish pump politics" which diverted attention from the real issues. "If a man is born into a party must he also die in that party," René Prefontaine asked his constituents with Mr. Roblin at his side.[14]

Major Issues: (1) Development.

The "real issues" which Messrs. Roblin and Prefontaine alluded to were, in short, the need for a renewed government mandate for an expanded program of economic and human development. The economic program was announced on November 23rd. The seven proposals included an economic consultative board with representatives from industry, labor, agriculture, finance, university and government; a Manitoba research council; a design institute; a products development fund; a non-profit Manitoba export corporation; increased aid to small businesses; and more trade missions to Europe and the United States.[15] The latter proposal was hard on the heels of successful trade talks with European Common Market countries. In fact, the hurried return of the government's European trade group to contest the election was a further sore point amongst opposition parties criticizing the snap election. Impressed by ECM government, business, and labor joint efforts, Premier Roblin called for a "partnership for progress" between public and private sectors of Manitoba's economy.[16]

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[13] WFP, December 4, 1962, p. 2.

[14] WFP, November 29, 1962, pp. 1 & 8.

[15] WFP, November 24, 1962, p. 1 and CAR (1962), p. 62.

On November 26th, in the face of Liberal talk that the Liberals were the party to put people before power plants, Premier Roblin announced his program for"human betterment." The pledges included interest-free loans for students and increased monies for low-cost rental housing, welfare services, operation of universities, vocational training, amateur sport, and community recreation. The first minister of the province also promised more government attention to the problems of Manitoba's Indians and Métis.[17]

Premier Roblin rounded out his request for a mandate by outlining a nine-point agriculture policy. The program amounted to expanded efforts in agriculture credit, community pastures, water conservation and soil testing. Increased aid to hog and beef cattle producers also highlighted the policy announcements by Premier Roblin and his Agriculture Minister George Hutton. The Conservative ministers argued that such a farm program, when added to their plans for industrial development, would provide the sound economic base for the financing of projects in the human development sphere.[18]

The only real issue of the campaign, Premier Roblin claimed, was "whether or not we are determined to keep the province rolling the way it has been in the last four years." His government was determined to "break every economic record you can think of."[19] Throughout the campaign the Conservative Premier stressed Manitoba's economic growth. The value of manufactured products stood at $800,000,000, he said, up 11 per cent from 1961. Mineral production at Inco's Thompson refinery was up 25 per cent over the previous year. Record wheat yields and total grain crops were also touted.[20]

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[16] The Globe and Mail, November 3, 1962, p. 7, and WFP, November 13, 1962, p. 1.

[17] CAR (1962), p. 62, and WFP, November 27, 1962, p. 1.

[18] WFP, November 28, 1962, pp. 1 & 10 and CAR (1962) p. 62.

[19] WFP, November 22, 1962, p. 19.

[20] WFP, November 16, 1962, p. 3.

All such plans and announcements were no reason for an election call from the opposition perspectives. Molgat argued that since all parties favored economic development it really was not at issue. Brock McArthur (Liberal-Fort Rouge) claimed that the government had succeeded only in attracting a single soup plant at Portage La Prairie as reward for its large monies spent on sending representatives to other provinces and countries to entice investment.[21] Mr. McArthur's Fort Rouge opponent, Commerce and Industry Minister Gurney Evans, was the chief such representative.

The most dramatic development plans were the government's intentions to develop and market Nelson River hydro-electric power. Premier Roblin extolled the potential development as the "biggest single development ever undertaken for Northern Manitoba." The benefits, he claimed, were "in the same league as those expected from the St. Lawrence seaway."[22] It would appear that what Mr. Roblin saw the election to be about was a request for a go-ahead from the electorate to invest in the Nelson development if his $6,000,000 two initial stages of marketing and feasibility "studies" proved desirable.[23]

The Premier argued that Nelson River power would provide adequate electricity for the province to the end of the century at the lowest possible cost. The development would boost the economy by providing jobs and gaining foreign exchange and national significance. Coal and thermal sources of power were both too expensive in comparison. He explained his sense of urgency:

> If our customers, whether in Ontario or the United States build their own thermal or nuclear plants, our opportunities may be lost forever. That is why the government has already started studies with the major utilities in the central and northern United States and with Ontario Hydro to determine their power needs and the price they can pay.

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[21] WFP, November 28, 1962, p.52

[22] Flin Flon Daily Miner, December 1, 1962, p.5.

[23] The Financial Post, November 24, 1962, p.33, and WFP, November 20, 1962, p.1.

After outlining various expenditures the Premier continued:

> This must be done and done now. We can't afford to wait any longer. The stakes are too important for all of us. If we are successful, and the omens are good...Manitoba can obtain hydro power from the Nelson for our own immediate use at lower cost than any other alternative open to us while our surplus can be marketed elsewhere until we need it.
>
> In the future-- in fifteen or twenty years-- when our surplus is returned to us, whether from Ontario or the United States, the depreciation and amortization costs on the power retained will already have been half-paid for.
>
> Thus for Manitoba, this power is half-price power.[24]

But were such intentions sufficient reason for an election call? "As an excuse for a 1962 winter election, the Nelson River project is preposterous," said the Free Press.[25] Liberal leader Molgat termed the announcement "just more politicking and propaganda." Mr. Molgat said his Liberals certainly agreed that investigation should precede such a development. However, Premier Roblin had promised a major policy speech which would explain the election's suddenness, Mr. Molgat stated. Instead came another promise that the government would "make another study, another report." The Ste. Rose native saw injection of the study intentions as an election issue as typical of the Roblin Government's indecision in matters of importance. Pointing to earlier Liberal-Progressive government power programs, he exclaimed: "Surely everyone is interested in low cost power but to listen to the Tories you'd think they invented it."[26]

NDP leader Russ Paulley dismissed the announcement as something for Tories and Liberals to quibble over. The Free Press argued that Mr. Roblin did not need an election mandate to proceed with the Nelson development since he had already begun the program. The paper cited $200,000 in photo-mapping expenditures and claimed that Premier Roblin's hurry was designed to have the project underway before thermal power might be proven cheaper. "By calling an election so hastily Mr. Roblin has made sure that there is not enough time to give this important matter the study and consideration it deserves," the newspaper stated. The Free Press also speculated on total costs, noting that little or nothing had been said about transmission lines. The paper also expressed strong disagreement with Premier Roblin's assumption that surplus power could always be returned when required in Manitoba. "Once industrial and residential complexes are dependent on a source of power it is impossible to withdraw the source," the editors concluded.[27]

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[24] WFP, November 20, 1962, p.5.

[25] Editorial: "Another Vision," WFP, November 21, 1962, p.27.

[26] WFP, November 21, 1962, p.40.

Frank Lamont (Liberal--Winnipeg Center), an Oxford economics graduate, argued that the Nelson power would not be needed by Manitobans for thirty to forty years. "If we develop this power now when we don't need it, we will be stuck with the high costs forever. By 1970 the cost of atomic power will be competitive with Nelson River power delivered in Winnipeg and less than the cost of that power delivered in the United States."[28]

The same questions were put in a perceptive editorial page article which averred that intelligent debate could not be conducted on the Nelson River plan until Premier Roblin's program for power export was discovered.

> How good are Manitoba's chances of reclaiming the exported power once it is needed within the province? How willing will Ontario or the American states be to spend large sums of money developing and transmitting power which they can only use for fifteen or twenty years? What will be the selling price of exported power compared to what Manitobans will have to pay for it?...these questions cannot be answered during the campaign...the real issues will only emerge after the campaign.[29]

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[27] Editorial: "Another Vision," WFP, November 21, 1962, p.27.

[28] WFP, December 8, 1962, p.3.

[29] WFP, November 23, 1962, p.9.

With two weeks of the campaign completed the conclusion was made that the campaign to that date proved there was no real reason for the election. The article did not blame Mr. Roblin directly but believed the election simply came "at a time when most of the major issues are not far enough advanced for the voters to make a decision on them." The Nelson River plan was at too early a stage to invite intelligent debate and the $700,000 report of the Committee on Manitoba's Economic Future still waited in the wings. "Without the facts which the committee is presumably unearthing any debate on economic prospects must be unrealistic," the author contended.[30]

By having prematurely activated the Metro Review Commission any structural changes for metro announced by the Premier would make a mockery of that commission's work. Hence, John Dafoe, the author of the editorial piece, argued, the Conservatives could insist that metropolitan government should not be at issue, and that Mr. Roblin was in fact going to do something about the matter. "The only problem is," said the Free Press editorial writer, "that when they go to the polls the voters will not know what he [Mr. Roblin] is going to do."[31]

Major Issues: (2) Fiscal Reform

The same "out" was applicable in the realm of finance or taxation, the issue made evident by Russ Paulley's NDP'ers. The New Democratic Party's program called for paying all education, health, and welfare services out of provincial income tax, rather than the heavy and usually unequal municipal and property tax burden. Mr. Paulley set out an extensive program calling for increased pensions; improved health, dental and optical care; producer co-operatives and a comprehensive crop insurance program in the field of agriculture; and floor prices, co-operatives, and marketing boards for the province's fisheries. The NDP program also included community development projects and vocational training programs for Manitoba's native people, and an all inclusive government auto insurance program. The latter offered comprehensive coverage at cost, thus reducing insurance premiums. Such programs cost money and for that reason the NDP was subject to widespread criticism. Premier Roblin argued that NDP proposals would increase taxes by $100,000,000.

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[30] WFP, November 23, 1962, p. 9.

[31] WFP, November 23, 1962, p. 9.

Russ Paulley maintained that his party was the only one clearly to indicate where the monies for proposed expenditures were to come from. Put forward as the sources were a provincial income tax, a tax on advertising, and higher incomes from corporate royalties. "The monies are being raised at the present time from the wrong sources and must be changed," Mr. Paulley insisted. "Inco, which was given Thompson by the Liberal government, made a profit on its Canadian operation of over $50,000,000 in the first six months of this year. Yet the Tribune, the Free Press, the Liberals and the Tories ask me where the money is going to come from."[32] Loan companies were also scored for not paying their fair share of health, education and welfare costs.

The Liberals, as well, favored paying for additional government programs out of general revenues--the liquor taxes, gasoline and income taxes, but not the over-burdened property tax. Gildas Molgat and his followers continued to charge that Premier Roblin intended to impose a provincial sales tax and would use both the new election and his recent announcement of a royal commission on provincial-municipal taxation to get out of his 1959 campaign promise not to impose such a tax.

Premier Roblin responded to Mr. Molgat's allegations:

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[32] WFP December 11, 1962, p. 1.

> I foresee no immediate or substantial change in the present tax structure of Manitoba. Indeed, I suggest that no responsible person will forecast any at this time, certainly not in advance of these intensive inquiries into the needs, capacity and capabilities of all three levels of government. The royal commission would try to apportion revenues and responsibilities between the province and the municipalities so that responsibility would be matched with revenue. This would restore independence and self-government in the relations of the municipalities of the province.[33]

Premier Roblin contended that his government's royal commission would "help determine the best allocation of function between the municipalities and the provincial government, make provision for an adequate revenue basis to support municipal responsibilites and determine the best and fairest way of dealing with the tax burden carried by home owners and farmers..." Mr. Roblin further defended his use of a royal commission by arguing, "Fiscal reform or revision is not a matter to enter into lightly. We believe in this connection that we are fully justified in approaching the problem by way of a royal commission." The Conservative leader called royal commissions the "envy of less happy lands," a "great British invention" which, while it should not be used indiscriminately, was justified in this particular case. The fact that the province's commission was to examine the same field as another already sponsored by the Union of Manitoba Municipalities and Manitoba Urban Association was dismissed by Premier Roblin as a need for consideration from the differing perspectives of each level of government. The provincial commission responded to a need for wider terms of reference than the municipalities' Murray Fisher Commission, Mr.Roblin concluded.[34]

The Free Press was far from satisfied. The Liberal organ still believed Premier Roblin had committed himself against a sales tax in an "unguarded moment." The newspaper feared that under cover of a royal commission the Premier would get an election over before imposition of a sales tax.

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[33] WFP, November 23, 1962, p. 1.

[34] WFP, November 23, 1962, pp. 1 and 8.

> Under these circumstances he ensured that he could enter an election campaign without making the sales tax an issue. Under the arrangement that he had worked out, he would be in a position to institute a sales tax, not because it was his policy or the policy of his government, but because the commission had recommended it. This is something of course, that he undoubtedly hopes the commission will do.
>
> To adduce anything less than this from the setting up of the Royal Commission and from Mr. Roblin's statement on the sales tax issue...is to presume him to be more politically naive than his record since entering politics would warrant. There is some evidence that all parties are playing politics, rather than being openly honest, on the over-all tax issues in the current campaign. But Mr. Roblin is playing them with a vengeance.[35]

Thus, we come, full circle, back to John Dafoe's contention that, as with the economic issues and metro, so with taxation, a commission stifles the issue. In this case debate is curbed simply by the announcement of intent to establish a commission. "The Premier can hardly discuss the NDP charges about the growing burden of municipal taxations," wrote Dafoe, "when his own plans to deal with that burden will be largely influenced by the Royal Commission report."

"If the election campaign so far seems deadly dull," Dafoe concluded, "don't blame the politicians. Its just that they have been given nothing to talk about."[36]

Major Issues: (3) The Education Cluster

The one area in which the existence of a study commission could not save the government from direct attack was education. The McFarlane Commission had already reported and many of its findings became issues in the 1962 campaign. The new rural high school was said to be replacing the grain elevator as the symbol of the prairies. However, many candidates would agree with the Free Press criticism that such a building program did not mean impressive scholastic achievement--"physical trappings have to some extent become confused with good education."[37] The government's promises for curriculum changes now centered on a proposal for an interprovincial meeting on uniform curriculum while growing numbers expressed concern for the quality of school curriculums in Manitoba. The government defended its record of vastly increased spending in the field of education while opponents spoke of a nearly impossible tax burden placed on municipalities and property-owners. A resolution at a meeting of the Union of Manitoba Municipalities held during the campaign sparked an open row over the question of a provincial take-over of the costs and administration of education in the province.[38] Concern was still expressed that teacher qualifications were inadequate with ninety-seven permit teachers still active. The province's teachers' college was said to have low standards. Rural school teachers were said to receive unduly low salaries and René Prefontaine, speaking as executive director of the Manitoba School Trustees Association, gave "fair warning" that the rural teachers would be demanding more money.[39]

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[35] Editorial: "Sales Tax," WFP, November 28, 1962, p. 35.

[36] WFP, November 23, 1962, p. 9.

In districts where citizens defeated the high school division plan several years earlier--parts of Emerson constituency and Rhineland--dissent continued because the areas seemed short-changed on government grants. Requests to obtain another referendum in Rhineland had gone unanswered by Education Minister Stewart McLean. Jack Froese, who would owe his continued success as a Social Crediter in Rhineland constituency to the dissent over the school district issue, claimed that the government was discriminating against those districts which had voted down the original referendum. "While high school enrollment in the rest of the province increased, enrollment in areas which had the referendum for school divisions was decreasing," the lone Social Credit MLA announced. Districts like Rhineland were also unable to compete for teachers under the government's existing system of grants,

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[37] Editorial: "Rough Edges on the Symbol: Looking at the Record." WFP, December 5, 1962, p. 44.

[38] WFP, November 23, 1962, p. 3.

[39] WFP, November 23, 1962, p. 3.

Froese charged.[40]

The most significant education issue in 1962 was the matter of public aid to private schools. The McFarlane report had stated (page 180) "All things considered, the commission agrees that some measure of public support should be extended to private and parochial schools which provide a satisfactory standard of education." The issue arose when a highly respected Catholic liberal lawyer Joe O'Sullivan charged on November 12th that Premier Roblin had made a secret deal to provide "a small measure of relief" to parochial school children.[41] Liberal leader Mr. Molgat picked up the charge almost immediately. He expressed his concern that school aid not become an issue. If Mr. Roblin would fully disclose his policy with respect to public aid to private schools the matter could stay out of the campaign. But Mr. Molgat was undoubtedly angered by the revelations in Mr. O'Sullivan's open letter. He said of Premier Roblin:

> I accuse you of trying to gain a narrow partisan advantage out of the differences under which minority groups labor in Manitoba.
>
> You made a decision in mid-October to give a small measure of relief to parochial school supporters. But you made no effort to secure multi-party backing for your decision. Instead you sought to gain support for yourself amoung Catholic voters. I do not know when you started to negotiate with René Prefontaine, but I feel sure your mid-October decision helped to make up his mind.[42]

Making use of Mr. O'Sullivan's charges Gil Molgat cited a secret cabinet decision made on the matter on October 15, and a secret Liberal caucus decision on October 19th. Mr. Molgat charged that Premier Roblin wanted his decision to travel by word of mouth through all the Catholic parishes.[43]

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[40] WFP, December 7, 1962, p. 18.

[41] Open letter, WFP, November 13, 1962, p. 1.

[42] WFP, November 13, 1962, p. 19.

[43] WFP, November 13, 1962, p. 19.

As the campaign progressed Premier Roblin denied that any deal had been made. Mr. O'Sullivan pressed further, calling on the Premier to deny fifteen specific charges relating to the secret meetings and approval of a practice whereby Catholic children were able to register at public schools, receive free textbooks, and later withdraw from the public schools. Almost on the day of the election a test case of just such activity was taking place at St. Vital to determine whether a seizure by the Department of Education would take place.[44]

While Joe O'Sullivan pressed his accusations most official Catholic spokesmen joined the Premier in attempting to avoid reopening Manitoba's own Pandora's box--"the school question."

The official Catholic Archdiocesan Winnipeg paper The Sunday Herald carried a denial of any deal. The president of the Catholic School Trustees Association representing all the parochial schools in the province affirmed that no arrangements had been made "nor assurances given on any matter to the executive of the association at any time."

"We deplore the fact that a Catholic has taken upon himself to arouse suspicion and mistrust in an issue that should remain above partisan politics," the Catholic paper said of Mr. O'Sullivan; and then continued:

> We hope that continuing improvement on this question will result in a just solution to the Catholic school problem.
>
> Our case is just. It is our earnest hope that the people of the government of Manitoba will recognize the fairness of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Education and implement them. Such unwarranted accusations can only delay the situation.[45]

Most candidates tended to side with the view expressed in the Sunday Herald. The aid to private schools was described by the Free Press as "another issue that the candidates would like to see solved but by negotiation, off the field of battle." Whether the school question and the Prefontaine affair would "remain relatively hidden and not explode into bitter fighting," said a Free Press reporter, would depend on the candidates. "At the moment they're sticking to other issues, trying to keep personalities and religion out."[46]

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[44] WFP, December 14, 1962, p. 1.

[45] Editorial, The Sunday Herald (Winnipeg Church Weekly), November 25, 1962, p. 1.

Perhaps most opposition candidates took up Mr. Molgat's position which was clearly articulated by the Citizen's Committee on Manitoba Schools i.e., to bring the government policy on aid to private schools out into the open. The committee organized in February 1961 to oppose the McFarlane recommendations on aid to parochial schools declared:

> We are opposed to an issue of such importance being determined by decision of a cabinet only or by a single party caucus.
>
> We believe that this important question, if it is to be resolved, should be decided in the legislature of Manitoba where all parties and all elected representatives of the people of Manitoba can be heard.[47]

Other spokesmen and agencies were exercised over the question of religious instruction in schools. The Congress of Canadian Women were eloquent in their opposition to such instruction declaring that it constituted, "Indoctrination under the aegis of the public school in matters of faith and dogma...an infringement of the democratic ideals the schools are required to teach."[48]

During the campaign the Winnipeg School Board turned down an official request for religious instruction during school hours.

The Israelite Press made an interesting distinction between the two issues: religious instruction in public schools and aid for private schools, and in so doing showed how yet another important issue had been hidden in the 1962 campign.

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[46] WFP, December 4, 1962, p. 2.

[47] WFP, December 5, 1962, p. 49.

[48] Letter to the Editor signed by Anne Thorne, Congress of Canadian Women. WFP, November 28, 1962, p. 29.

Noting that the Jewish community was prepared to encourage Jewish public officials speaking out against religious exercises in Winnipeg schools, the paper argued:

> To challenge religious exercises in public schools is to risk squandering goodwill for no conceivable gain or importance. To urge provincial government aid for private schools is to risk squandering goodwill--but for a very tangible objective. The campaign is likely to prove as dull as all provincial campaigns. May we suggest that one party or another spice things up...by turning the aid to parochial schools issue into a real campaign issue?[49]

Unlike some of the other issues we have examined in this campaign the education issues were not hushed up by anticipated commission recommendations. Nevertheless, the education issues were muted and for the most part remained latent and unmentioned, but in this case because of larger political fears. If we read between the lines, however, it is evident that even the hidden nature of the last two education issues discussed above was fully a part of one of the campaign's most important, even if largely speculative, controversies.[50]

Minor Issues: (1) Labor

Labor issues were much more in keeping with the prior pattern that where commissions had been or were now active, avoidance of heated discussion could be encouraged. As a result of a serious strike at Brandon Packers in 1960 a report commissioned under Justice G. E. Tritschler had made recommendations in November 1961 which would make unions legal entities, place limits on picketing, prohibit secondary boycotting, and insist on secret strike votes conducted by the provincial Department of Labor. The report was considered anti-labor by the organized labor community[51] and its recommendations were still being condemned by the Manitoba Federation of Labor and by Liberal and NDP candidates during the campaign. The recommendations were then considered by the Manitoba courts in the course of the general confusion over their meaning and applicability. Al Mackling (NDP--Assiniboia) said the legislation was instigated in response to employer and Chamber of Commerce organizations. He went on to condemn the Conservative Government as generally anti-labor. As evidence he termed Manitoba's minimum wage laws--a two-zone system, 66¢ urban, and 61¢ rural--a disgraceful symbol of the old-line party disregard for human dignity." The NDP wanted a $1.25 minimum wage and an end to the two-zone system.[52]

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[49] Israelite Press (Winnipeg) November 23, 1962. As cited in WFP, November 24, 1962, p. 3.

[50] Further evidence of the bitterness in these matters is the discussion in the Anglican paper The Ruperts Land News. The paper claimed that Jews, Communists and Unitarians were the leaders of the anti-religious instruction movement. Such people as Winnipeg School Board Chairman Andrew Robertson, a Unitarian, were responsible for refusing Winnipeg parents the right of having their children receive religious instruction, the Church paper charged. WFP, December 14, 1962, p. 3.

Liberal leader Molgat claimed the Roblin Government had admitted it did not know the full implications of its new labor legislation when it turned the act over to the courts for a ruling. "The courts," said Molgat, "didn't know what it meant either." The Liberal leader insisted the legislation should be returned for further study to a legislative committee. He claimed the labor legislation had been "rushed through" the house in response to the 1960 strike at Brandon Packers. Mr. Molgat was reported as saying that "the sanctity of the secret ballot had been destroyed by the legislation requiring government supervision, and...unions could not possibly be encouraged to accept more responsibility as long as provincial laws treated them like irresponsible children.

The labor legislation in general and the legal entity question in particular, had been sent to the courts before proclamation and then returned by the courts without decision. These events, the Free Press claimed, meant that the government entered the campaign without giving the electorate any indication as to what it would do in the area. It was, said the Free Press, another of the cases where commissions delayed issues, but with a difference:

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[51] Donovan Swailes, "Manitoba Unions Appeal Changes," Canadian Labor, November 1962, pp. 7-10.

[52] WFP, November 22, 1962, p. 19.

[53] WFP, December 4, 1962, p. 1.

> In the case of the legal entity clause a different tactic was used, but the end result is the same. Nothing has been done, and nothing can be done, until the election is over. This is not the record of a government of action and conviction. The only conviction evident is that delay is on the government's side--the conviction that troublesome issues must be shelved until the election is over.[54]

Minor Issues: (2) Transportation

The same shelving of an issue was charged in the case of a request from the Canadian Pacific Railway to shut down an additional three branch lines in Manitoba. The Free Press charged, that, since Premier Roblin could not say yes, he said the company should wait until the recommendations of the federal Macpherson commission on transportation issued its recommendations.[55] The anticipated closing of over five thousand miles of branch-line railroads was of considerable concern in rural constituencies.[56] As branch-lines closed, a truck-rail piggy-back service mushroomed in 1962 and placed tremendous demands on access roads to major highways.[57]

Liberal candidates throughout the province complained of the government's failure to fulfill promises for increased access roads.[58] They continued to accuse the government of using road-building monies for political purposes. Liberal leader Molgat charged that only ten miles of new road had been constructed in Liberal constituencies. His party would establish a highway planning commission independent of government to ensure proper non-partisan road building in Manitoba's future.[59]

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[54] Editorial: "The Roblin Government and Labor," WFP December 6, 1962, p. 47.

[55] Editorial: "Red Herring," WFP, December 10, 1962

[56] The Neepawa Press, November 30, 1962, p. 1

[57] The Financial Post, December 1, 1962, p. 32.

[58] The Neepawa Press, December 4, 1962, p. 1 and The Flin Flon Miner, December 7, 1962, p. 1

Premier Roblin on the first all-party television debate called the charges of highways being used for political purposes "false and malicious." He claimed his government had spent $2,700,000 in Molgat's constituency alone.[60]

Public Works Minister Walter Weir claimed that a Roblin-hired firm having surveyed Manitoba's road system had concluded that $190,000,000 more should have been spent on highways before 1958 and that $400,000,000 would have to be spent between 1962 and 1980 in order to make up for the backlog and improve existing facilities. Mr. Weir also spoke of government plans for over one hundred picnic sites and parks for the province.[61]

Minor Issues: (3) Agriculture.

In spite of pending commission reports almost all the areas discussed above were the subjects of heated debate. Agriculture, for example, was a matter of concern as vertical integration made its effects on the family farm fully known. The Manitoba Farmers' Union made public a brief citing its concern for the future of the family farm. The MFU invited the public and various candidates to discuss its brief in public forums. Agriculture credit, the rail branch-line question, crop insurance and the desirability of daylight saving time or a uniform standard time, were all contentious matters in this 1962 campaign. Most of these issues were debated at the MFU-sponsored meetings.[62]

Local Issues: (1) Metro.

The metro question was hotly debated in spite of the activation of the review commission. Most opposition spokesmen argued that Premier Roblin had abandoned metro instead of taking responsibility to ensure its ability to function by the proper distribution of responsibilities and finances.

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[59] WFP, December 5, 1962, p. 1 and the Flin Flon Daily Miner, December 7, 1962, p. 1.

[60] WFP, December 12, 1962, p. 1.

[61] The Neepawa Press, December 7, 1962, p. 1.

[62] The Neepawa Press, December 11, 1962, p. 1.

Federal NDP member David Orlikow, speaking for Saul Cherniak (NDP--St. John's) expressed something of the growing awareness of the problems of urban life as he accused Premier Roblin of hiding behind metro as a smokescreen for the big city issues.

> Urban problems of education, slum clearance, planning and traffic control are growing. But these problems have been slouched off [sic] by Mr. Roblin through the establishment of metro, which is being made into a convenient smokescreen to mask the premier's responsibilities.
>
> The only solution is one that the Roblin Government will not accept that the provincial government take over responsibility for health, education and welfare.[63]

Gildas Molgat, pointing to the way in which federal monies could be received via National Housing Act loans for costs of land acquisition and new buildings, also called the provincial government the bottleneck in urban renewal plans.

> The city has done its job--and done it well. The federal officials involved have done their part. The federal money is ready. The city is ready.
>
> Yet the provincial government still hesitates. The Tories--those bold gentlemen who ask us to re-elect them for their efforts to get things done--still hang back, still pause, peruse, pretend to be decisive while they hide their failure to act in a government filing folder.[64]

While Mr. Molgat outlined plans for an alternative organizational structure for metro, which would involve appointment of metro council members by participating municipal councils, other Winnipeggers were upset by more local matters. Residents of St. Vital were largely aroused by the long-talked of bridge over the Red River. "Duff won't make up his mind until after the election," said Doug Honeyman, (Liberal-St. Vital), in a now familiar accusation.[65] St. Vital residents and neighboring constituencies were also alarmed about plans to create a "sewage lagoon." Fred Groves (Conservative--St. Vital) claimed that the sewage lagoon was not an issue. Everyone was against it, he claimed, and it was a municipal not a provincial matter. And the bridge should not enter the campaign because no decision had been reached, Mr. Groves argued.[66] The so-called "Charleswood Lagoon" was defended by metro chairman Dick Bonnycastle who claimed the sewage ditch would "not be a nuisance in any way, shape or form...it is the people who are creating all the stink--I guess that is the right word. There is no need for this controversy or hysteria."[67]

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[63] WFP, November 21, 1962, p. 40.

[64] WFP, December 6, 1962, p. 1.

Many Winnipeggers expressed alarm that the federal government would soon be closing down the Trans-Canada Airline maintenance shop in the city. Opposition candidates claimed Premier Roblin had supported Prime-Minister Diefenbaker in his government's plan to transfer the shops to Montreal. The government promised to lead a delegation to Ottawa to protest the TCA shutdown.[68]

Local Issues: (2) Portage La Prairie.

In Portage La Prairie, as indicated earlier, the most pressing issue was the Assiniboine River diversion scheme. Local opposition was reportedly strong as candidates feared limitations on the city's development and criticized the limited extent to which Premier Roblin had obtained federal help. Local residents anticipated severe erosion, ice jams, flooding and excessive water evaporation to result from the new channel. Agriculture Minister Hutton attempted to allay fears on each concern expressed and insisted that the "diversion location should not be an issue because all the facts from which the government will make a decision haven't come in yet." Three routes, he said, were being studied.[69]

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[65] WFP, November 28, 1962, p. 21.

[66] WFP, November 29, 1962, p. 29.

[67] WFP, December 1, 1962, p. 3.

[68] WFP, November 26, p. 4; December 7, p. 3; December 11, p. 25, and December 13, 1962, p. 8.

Throughout the province rural candidates complained of the monies being spent on the Winnipeg floodway when local plans demanding provincial assistance went unaided. The "big ditch" would cost "taxpayers of all Manitoba $212 millions" Gladstone MLA Nelson Shoemaker (Liberal) calculated, and it would only "protect a few of the lush homes on Wellington Crescent."[70]

Local Issues: (3) The North.

In northern constituencies candidates differed sharply over the deferment of elections in Churchill and Rupertsland. Some argued that the January 4th election date for deferred elections would assure freeze-up and make travel and communication possible since aircraft could take in election material and land on frozen lakes. Churchill Liberals claimed the lakes were already frozen. Their resolution stated: "A deferred election poses a definite disadvantage to the candidates, as well as to the voters, inasmuch as the results of the election are already known and will exert an undue influence on the minds of the voters, as proven by the last election."[71]

Politicians warned of a slow-down in development in the north, growing unemployment, and need for additional access roads. Liberal and Progressive Conservative spokesmen argued over which of their parties' governments had best served the north. Throughout the northern communities concerns began to be expressed also over the increasing centralization of health, education and welfare services.

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[69] WFP, December 5, 1962, p. 1.

[70] The Neepawa Press, November 20, p. 1; December 4, p. 1; and December 7, 1962, p. 1.

[71] WFP, November 22, 1962, p. 19.

Head offices in Winnipeg were not seen to strengthen branch office administration in Flin Flon. One letter to the editor of the Flin Flon Miner described in considerable detail the lack of trained workers in northern communities. Centers like Cranberry Portage, Lynn Lake, Sherridon, Thompson, Churchill and Snow Lake all lacked resident social workers, with professional visits often months apart. The same was true of probation workers. Flin Flon as a branch office had been without a welfare director for three months. The featured letter-writer concluded:

> It thus appears that because of lack of training facilities, little hope of advancement and inadequate salaries, too many unqualified people are being attracted to these positions and to make matters even worse, these people, ill-trained and possibly ill-paid, do not even have the benefit of a supervisor from whom they can receive necessary guidance. As a result, they are called upon to make many serious decisions completely on their own. This is not only unfair to them, it is also unfair to the public.
>
> Unfortunately this problem is not an isolated one. It exists in many communities throughout Manitoba.[72]

"Side" Issues

Other matters to receive considerable attention in the 1962 campaign were the dismissal by Manitoba Hydro of one of its workers, a nephew and namesake of former Premier John Bracken. The NDP candidate was dismissed because the company classed him as a civil servant which would make his political action illegal while with the company. He was later reinstated in response to a public outcry.

Civil defence was widely debated, particularly the plans for bomb shelters and drills for public schools. If letters to the Free Press are any indication, government plans for defense drills were the subject of great concern. The Congress of Canadian Women, for example, opposed school defense drills and explained:

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[72] Letter signed "concerned." The Flin Flon Daily Miner, November 16, 1962, p. 1.

> We feel it is wrong to convey any kind of assurance to parents that these drills will in any way protect their children. There is no defense against nuclear war and no amount of crouching in corridors will save lives.
>
> We recall not long ago Mr. Duff Roblin declared that shelters were futile and a waste of millions. Why then were these measures introduced by the government into the schools when they were admittedly useless?
>
> Peace is the only answer to our children's survival.[73]

Another letter to the editor of the Free Press disclosed the kinds of criticisms being applied back on those who opposed bomb shelters. They were called, the writer said, fellow travellers of communism, and unpatriotic. But, the correspondent concluded: "It doesn't always work."

> Many of us have the courage to face reality. We can acknowledge the truth about nuclear war. And we will not hide in the never-never land of Civil Defense, or lull ourselves with pastimes such as school drills; pick your exit route; and hide-and-go-seek in the bomb shelter.[74]

Farmers across the province were incensed with the growing numbers of careless deer hunters who hunted illegally with lights at night, dug trenches without filling them back in, cut wire fences, left gates open, and shot horses and cattle.[75] The death of a three year-old Virden boy made the growing number of hunting accidents a campaign issue. Gildas Molgat complained bitterly that once again the provincial government was hiding behind the fact that it had brought in an American expert to make recommendations for hunting regulations. Molgat argued that the Manitoba Fish and Game Association had been urging regulations which would have checked such actions, unheeded by the Tories for over three years.

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[73] Letter to the Editor signed Betty Perlmutter, for the Congress of Canadian Women, Winnipeg, WFP, December 8, 1962, p. 33.

[74] Letter signed Mrs. H. B. Premislow, Winnipeg. WFP, December 8, 1962, p. 33.

[75] WFP, November 23, 1962, p. 4 and Editorial: "Irresponsible Hunters," The Neepawa Press, November 16, 1962, p. 2.

In the last week of the campaign the question of Duff Roblin's ambitions for the federal Tory leadership became the most-asked question around the province. NDP leader Russ Paulley, perhaps, best summed up the issue, and in the light of recent cabinet vacancies in Ottawa.

> Conservatives feel the mantle of federal leadership should fall to Roblin of Manitoba. Consideration for Manitoba is secondary. Duff supplied support to Dief, and is prepared to desert Manitoba for the federal arena.
>
> Roblin realizes that none of his cabinet ministers in Manitoba is capable of leadership and that they would not have the support of the electorate. An indication of this is that he attempted to bring a Liberal (René Prefontaine) into his cabinet and failed. Hence he is anxious to have a provincial election before going to Ottawa.

The Conservatives should be defeated Mr. Paulley argued, because of their "behind the curtain manoevres." "Roblin appears to sacrifice the Manitoba voters by calling this Christmas election before he fulfills a lifetime ambition to be the federal leader of the Conservatives."[76]

Conservative responses were to the point. Agriculture Minister Hutton explained: "It is true Canada needs him. I don't deny that. But I'll fight to my dying breath to keep him here because Manitoba needs him too."[77]

And Duff Roblin proclaimed,"I have no intention of going to Ottawa."[78]

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[76] WFP, December 7, 1962, pp. 1 and 8.

[77] The Globe and Mail, December 8, 1962, p. 7.

[78] WFP, December 11, 1962, p. 1.

The Results.

The results, including the two deferred elections, left the Progressive Conservatives with 36 seats, Liberals 13, NDP 7, and Social Credit 1: Jack Froese of Rhineland. The NDP had been caught off-guard, having just emerged in its new form from its old CCF coccoon. Once again its support followed the same traditional pattern.[79] The only non-greater Winnipeg victor was Edward Schreyer of Brokenhead constituency.

The Liberal Party picked up some support in Winnipeg by adding the seats of Burrows and Assiniboia to its traditional stronghold in St. Boniface. The largely Franco-Manitoban constituencies, St. Boniface, Emerson, Ste. Rose, Carillon and La Verendrye all returned Liberals. Interlake support in Selkirk, Ste. Rose (also listed above) and St. George was apparent as well as the usual rural support in the south-central parts of the province. The Liberals were now clearly the opposition party having narrowed the gap in popular vote to 8.7 per cent (Liberals 36.4 per cent, Conservatives 45.1 per cent) and polled the second most votes in the party's history. The NDP dropped to a mere 15.4 per cent of the popular vote, the worst showing for a labor party in Manitoba since 1936.[80]

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[79] If Ted Chudyk, present chief organizer for the party, is correct, the NDP performance may have been due to the party's continued dependence on traditional support, and reluctance to organize and campaign for new sources of voting strength. Interview Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, N.S., November, 1973.

[80] NDP performance in the 20 south and west Manitoba seats again accounted for eight of the party's 39 candidates, merely 3.2 per cent of the total vote and only 6.5 per cent of the party's own vote.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1962.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Progressive Conservative	36	134,208	45.1	63.2
Liberal	13	108,243	36.4	22.8
NDP	7	45,725	15.4	12.3
Social Credit	1	7,509	2.5	1.8
Communist	--	816	.3	--
Independent	--	960	.3	--

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1962.

Major, Province-wide, Clusters.

1. Economic Development.
    - (a) Proposals for development.
    - (b) Time and information for debate.
    - (c) Necessity of election call.
    - (d) Hydro development--cost and appropriateness.

2. Fiscal Reform.
    - (a) Reducing property tax burden.
    - (b) Tax Sources.
    - (c) Will Roblin impose sales tax?

3. Education.
    - (a) Public aid for private schools. (Perennial, somewhat underlying, key)
        - (i) O'Sullivan "secret deal" charges. (somewhat Diffuse)
        - (ii) St. Vital text seizure. (Specific)
    - (b) Quality of school curricula.
    - (c) Municipal school tax burden.
    - (d) Province takeover of administration.
    - (e) Teacher qualifications and salaries.
    - (f) Grant policy to districts opposed to enlargement.

Minor, Province-wide.

4. Reasons for Election Call.
5. René Prefontain's Refusal of Appointment. (Temporary, Underlying).
6. Enclosing Issues in Royal Commissions.

Vertical Integration versus Family Farm.
Crop Insurance Policies.
Agriculture Development and Aid.
Railway Branch-Line Abandonment.
Need for Highway Access Roads.
Partisanship in Road-Building.
Making Unions Legal Entities. (Left).
Minimum Wage Laws. (Left).
Labor Legislation--Confusion.
Careless Deer Hunters. (Temporary, Unprompted, Concern).
Premier Roblin's Federal Leadership Ambitions. (Personality).

Local.

Is Metro a Roblin Smokescreen Over Urban Problems?
Activation of Metro Review Commission.
Bridge for St. Vital.
Charleswood Sewage Lagoon.
Closing of TCA Maintenance Shop.
Assiniboine River Diversion Scheme.
Flood Assistance--Winnipeg versus Rest of Province.
Bomb Shelters. (Side).
Deferment of Northern Elections.
Best Party for Northern Development.
Shortage of Professional Workers in North. (Social).

9

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1962

Nominations November 30, 1962. Voting December 14, 1962.

LEGEND: P.C.—Progressive Conservative; Lib.—Liberal; N.D.P.—New Democratic Party; S.C.—Social Credit; Ind.—Independent; Ind.-Lib.-Lab.—Independent Liberal Labour; Comm.—Communist.

ARTHUR

J. Doug. Watt, P.C. ——	2,629
E. Harry Patmore, Lib. —	1,861

ASSINIBOIA

Stephen P. Patrick, Lib. —	3,238
George Johnson, P.C. ——	2,953
Al. Mackling, N.D.P. ——	1,379

BIRTLE-RUSSELL

Robert G. Smellie, P.C. —	2,676
Arnold G. Minish, N.D.P. -	704
E. Victor Fulton, Lib. ——	1,701

BRANDON

R. O. Lissaman, P.C. ——	4,771
James Creighton, Lib. ——	3,182
Hans Fries, N.D.P. ——	542
Harold E. Wright, S.C. ——	535

BROKENHEAD

Edward R. Schreyer, N.D.P.	1910
Richard, Mulder, P.C. ——	1,314
Max Dubas, Lib. ——	871

BURROWS

Mark Smerchanski, Lib. -	1,791
John Hawryluk, N.D.P. —	1,502
Peter Okrainec, P.C. ——	747
Andrew Bileski, Comm. -	517

CARILLON

L. A. Barkman, Lib. ——	2,116
Peter J. Thiessen, P.C. —	1,278
Edward Dubois, S.C. ——	811

CHURCHILL

Gordon, Beard, P.C. ——	2,170
F. L. (Bud) Jobin, Lib. ——	1,873

CYPRESS

Mrs. Thelma Forbes, P.C.	2,748
Welland, Stonehouse, Lib.	1,928
Charles, Turner, S.C. ——	257

DAUPHIN

Stewart E. McLean, P.C. -	3,247
John Seale, Lib. ——	1,801

DUFFERIN

W. Homer Hamilton, P.C.	2,542
R. G. Douglas, Lib. ——	1,309

ELMWOOD

Steve Peters, N.D.P. ——	2,024
John Kosoris, Lib. ——	1,815
Don Thompson, P.C. ——	1,737

EMERSON

John Tanchak, Lib. ——	2,545
Michael Sokolyk, P.C. —-	1,364

ETHELBERT-PLAINS

M. N. Hryhorczuk, Lib. —	1,990
James L. Crowe, P.C. —	1,376
A. C. Matthews, N.D.P. —	708

FISHER

Emil Moeller, P.C. ——	1,410
Peter Wagner, N.D.P. —	1,323
Arthur Dublin, Lib. ——	1,076

FLIN FLON

Charles H. Witney, P.C. -	2,375
Eli Ross, Lib. ——	1,173
Fred Ledieu, N.D.P. ——	448

FORT GARRY

Sterling R. Lyon, P.C. —	4,721
David Bowles, Lib. ——	2,828
Cliff Brownridge, N.D.P. —	1,168

FORT ROUGE

Gurney Evans, P.C. ——	3,507
Brock McArthur, Lib. ——	2,128
William R. Reid, N.D.P. —	889

GIMLI

George Johnson, P.C.	2,216
Magnus Eliason, N.D.P.	917
Dan Martin, Lib.	794

GLADSTONE

Nelson Shoemaker, Lib.	2,869
Jack McPhedran, P.C.	2,020
Fred Crooks, N.D.P.	249

HAMIOTA

Barry Stricland, P.C.	2,573
Frank D. Taylor, Lib.	2,015
M. E. Antonation, N.D.P.	329

INKSTER

Morris A. Gray, N.D.P.	2,650
John Shanski, Lib.	2,061
Mrs. Mary Wawrykow, P.C.	1,497

KILDONAN

James T. Mills, P.C.	3,176
A. J. Reid, N.D.P.	3,172
Ernie Rudolph, Lib.	2,751
John De Fehr, S.C.	452

LAC DU BONNET

Oscar F. Bjornson, P.C.	1,740
John Ateah, Lib.	1,264
John Bracken, N.D.P.	843

LAKESIDE

Douglas L. Campbell, Lib.	2,009
John F. Bate, P.C.	1,452
Mrs. H. C. Allan, N.D.P.	207

LA VERENDRYE

Albert Vielfaure, Lib.	1,394
Rene Prefontaine, P.C.	1,086
Raymond Thuot, S.C.	719

LOGAN

Lemuel Harris, N.D.P.	1,462
Mrs. Uberta Blackburn, P.C.	1,126
Thomas Blaine, Lib.	1,006

MINNEDOSA

Walter Weir, P.C.	2,829
Frank Anderson, Lib.	1,536
John Lee, N.D.P.	472
C. V. Hutton, S.C.	436

MORRIS

Harry Shewman, P.C.	1,848
Phil Perron, Lib.	1,128
Wilbur, Tinkler, S.C.	809

OSBORNE

Obie, Baizley, P.C.	3,023
Robert Moffet, Lib.	1,871
Jim Buchanan, N.D.P.	1,523

PEMBINA

Mrs. Carolyne Morrison, P.C.	2,436
Charles F. Cousins, Lib.	2,225

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

Gordon E. Johnston, Lib.	2,414
John A. Christianson, P.C.	2,124
Francis H. Mason, N.D.P.	220

RADISSON

Russell Paulley, N.D.P.	4,033
Nicholas Slotek, Lib.	3,169
Nelson A. McLean, P.C.	2,712

RHINELAND

Jacob M. Froese, S.C.	1,511
A. J. Thiessen, P.C.	1,478
J. H. Penner, Lib.	791

RIVER HEIGHTS

Maitland B. Steinkopf, P.C.	5,044
Ray J. Maias, Lib.	3,861

ROBLIN

Keith Alexander, P.C.	2,205
Charles Filowich, Lib.	1,530
Ray Taylor, N.D.P.	645

ROCK LAKE

A. W. Harrison, P.C.	2,444
Harry Parsonage, Lib.	2,015
J. A. Potter, N.D.P.	257

ROCKWOOD-IBERVILLE

George Hutton, P.C.	2,594
C. E. Crawford, Lib.	1,256
Samuel Cranston, N.D.P.	471

RUPERTSLAND

Joseph E. Jeannotte, P.C.	2,329
Reginald McKay, Lib.	515
Thomas Hamilton, N.D.P.	461

ST. BONIFACE

Laurent Desjardins, Lib.	4,175
Brunelle Leveille, P.C.	1,937
Ian Wright, N.D.P.	662

ST. GEORGE

Elman Guttormson, Lib.	2,451
John H. Hjalmarsson, P.C.	1,210

ST. JAMES

Douglas M. Stanes, P.C.	2,707
Dave Johnston, Lib.	2,202
William J. Hardy, N.D.P.	1,239

ST. JOHNS

Saul M. Cherniack, N.D.P.	1,798
M. Baryluk, P.C.	1,236
Ed Pollock, Lib.	1,229
Saul Simkin, Comm.	289
F. P. Bashchak, Ind.Lib.-Lab.	111
Sam Bordman, Ind.	56

ST. MATHEWS

W. G. Martin, P.C.	2,483
Don Cook, Lib.	1,771
Gordon Fines, N.D.P.	1,386

ST. VITAL

Fred Groves, P.C.	3,828
Doug. Honeyman, Lib.	2,605
Clare Martineau, N.D.P.	1,023
Fred Brennan, Ind.	795

STE. ROSE

Gildas Molgat, Lib.	2,849
J. A. Fletcher, P.C.	1,467
Leon Hosler, N.D.P.	147

SELKIRK

T. P. Hillhouse, Lib.	2,104
Ben Massey, P.C.	1,527
Robert Luining, S.C.	578

SEVEN OAKS

Arthur E. Wright, N.D.P.	3,085
Jack Chapman, P.C.	2,033
Calvin Sourie, Lib.	1,600

SOURIS-LANSDOWNE

M. E. McKellar, P.C.	2,471
D. L. Barclay, Lib.	1,832

SPRINGFIELD

Fred T. Klym, P.C.	1,893
William Lucko, Lib.	1,563
Harold Patzer, S.C.	429

SWAN RIVER

James H. Bilton, P.C.	2,350
Elmir Simms, Lib.	1,004
M. G. Hofford, N.D.P.	718

THE PAS

J. B. Carroll, P.C.	2,484
Adam Dominick, Lib.	1,487
Mrs. Rachael Schewchuk, N.D.P.	430

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

P. J. McDonald, P.C.	2,788
E. I. Dow, Lib.	1,373
C. R. Baskerville, S.C.	691

VIRDEN

Donald M. McGregor, P.C.	2,839
Malcolm T. McGregor, Lib.	1,323
J. J. Morton, S.C.	450

WELLINGTON

Richard Seaborn, P.C.	2,422
Lloyd Stinson, N.D.P.	2,202
J. Gurzon Harvey, Lib.	1,381

WINNIPEG CENTRE

James Cowan, P.C.	2,779
Frank Lamont, Lib.	1,684
Donovan Swailes, N.D.P.	1,016

WOLSELEY

Duff Roblin, P.C.	3,207
Russ Davis, Lib.	1,559
Ed Stefaniuk, N.D.P.	798

THE BATTLE

OF

STATISTICS 1966[1]

MAY 18 TO JUNE 23, 1966

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Progressive Conservative	Duff Roblin	57
Liberals	Gildas Molgat	56
New Democratic Party	Russ Paulley	51
Social Credit	Jacob Froese	18
Communist Party	W. C. Ross	2
Others	- - - -	2

57 single member plurality districts

The Events Which Shaped the 1966 Campaign.

In the years between the 1962 and 1966 election campaigns, the Roblin Government attempted to promote the expansion of many fields with far greater expenditures on education, industry, tourism, hospitals, floodways, and the development of a "shared services" program for private schools. In 1963 Roland Michener's commission report on local government and taxation outlined local and provincial responsibilites for public spending. The report suggested far greater provincial responsibility for education expenses. By advocating the amalgamation of over one hundred local government districts into less than half that number, efficiency and lower costs were expected. These larger municipalities, said the report, would retain administrative control over local education but would be supported by a provincial "foundation program" fed by a thirteen mill property tax on equalized assessment and a two per cent sales tax. The Conservative Government avoided the recommended sales tax, for what we might now recognize as obvious political reasons of face saving. Instead, the government, several times, increased taxes on liquor, tobacco, and gasoline, and imposed special taxes on telephone and light bills. In 1963 an extremely unpopular five per cent tax was levelled on heating fuel, only to be repealed in the session just prior to the 1966 election.[2]

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[1] From a description in WFP, June 22, 1966, p. 1.

The Roblin Government appeared most unwilling to be seen as the unequivocal supporter (i.e. outside of awkward local plebiscites) both of larger local government and consequent school districts. Nor did Premier Roblin wish to be known as the initiator of a provincial sales tax. Yet reluctance in such areas has been described by the astute conservative historian W. L. Morton as the greatest failure of the Roblin regime. And the "central issue of the times," says Morton, was the financial relief required by "hard pressed municipalities and school boards."[3]

In the months just prior to the election campaign the Manitoba Premier announced two major development projects: a billion dollar Nelson River power program, and a $120,000,000 pulp and paper complex in northern Manitoba. The Nelson River project was to include a $300,000,000 generating plant at Kettle Rapids near Thompson as the first stage in the development. Prime Minister Lester Pearson announced that his federal Liberal Government would be investing $120,000,000 to finance, own, construct, and lease to Manitoba Hydro, a 580-mile transmission line from Kettle Rapids to Winnipeg.[4]

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[2] Based on discussions of these events in Jackson, Centennial History, pp. 254-56; Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 498-500; The Financial Post, January 29, 1966, p. 17, and Feb. 12, 1966, p. 5; and Editorial "Deeper Into Debt: The Roblin Record," WFP, May 27, 1966.

[3] Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 499-500.

[4] The Financial Post, February 19, 1966, p. 2.

The various stages of a pulp and paper deal made with a relatively unknown Swiss firm, Monoca A. G., were to include a pulpwood processing plant, saw mill, paper mill, and chemical furnishing plant with much activity centered in jubilant The Pas, and a territory the size of Newfoundland given over to the new firm for cutting rights.[5]

Both these major developments were to become important matters of controversy in a campaign which focused attention on the overall extent of Manitoba's economic development.

Coinciding with Premier Roblin's announcements was the release in March 1966 of the annual report of the Manitoba Economic Consultative Board for 1965. The report noted expanded production and development in Manitoba but claimed the percentage increase in 1965 had "lagged behind" 1964. The report described the need for higher taxes to pay for the monumental manpower training and education program essential to economic growth. Vast increases in spending for general education were foreseen and the loss of 12,300 Manitobans to other provinces in 1965 bemoaned.[6]

The publication of the Consultative Board's report caused a shift in campaign strategy for the government Conservatives whose master-minds, Dalton Camp, William Wylie and Fred Groves were said to be reluctant to back off their plan of making government achievements the issue of the campaign. It appears that local Conservative candidates nevertheless demanded ammunition to fight the grow[illegible] use made by the Liberals and NDP of the ECB report.[7]

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[5] *The Pas Herald* (The Pas, Manitoba), March 9, 1966, p. 1, *The Financial Post*, March 12, 1966, pp. 1 and 4; and Peter McClintock, "Winnipeg Letter: A Bad Year for Governments," *Saturday Night*, August, 1966, pp. 11-13.

[6] *The Financial Post*, Apr[illegible] 9, 1966 (Prairies Supplement, p.P14).

[7] *The Globe and Mail*, June 18, 1966, p. 6.

Major Issues: (1) Statistics Pro and Con the Roblin Record.

Premier Roblin announced the campaign ostensibly to avoid an election in Canada's centennial year, 1967. The Liberal opposition had apparently challenged and antagonized the government as regards an election and the two parties were already bitterly at odds in assembly discussions of rural poverty and government agriculture policy. Yet the election call angered opposition spokesmen. Retirements or intended retirements resulting in three cabinet vacancies and perhaps as many holes in government backbencher ranks were described as almost unprecedented. It seemed evidence for many that "unstated reasons" existed for the election call.[8]

From the opening gun Liberal and NDP opponents questioned the economic growth achieved under the Roblin Government. Liberal leader Gildas Molgat and his Liberal stalwarts made constant reference to the province's "fantastic spending," a province, Mr. Molgat argued, which had moved from low taxation and low debt to one of high taxation and the second highest debt in Canada.[9]

Russ Paulley, as NDP leader, claimed the Conservative Government had "frankly confessed their failure" as producers of healthy economic growth, by supporting an opposition motion in the recent session asking Ottawa "to designate all of Manitoba a depressed area." Mr. Paulley deplored the exodus of skilled people leaving for better paid jobs in neighboring provinces.[10]

These opening salvos of the two major opposition parties were met by the Premier's announcement of seventy-eight policies outlined in his cabinet room for members of the press. Twenty policies on education included an expanded program of vocational and technical schools, higher standards of teacher education, and the re-organization of school boundaries.

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[8] From reports of legislature correspondant Ron Tuckwell. The Transcona News (Transcona, Manitoba), March 17, 1966, p. 3; May 26, p. 5, and June 2, 1966.

[9] WFP, May 19, 1966, p. 1.

[10] WFP, May 20, 1966, p. 3.

The policies included the all-important development plans already outlined plus a primary steel project. Other policies included a new department of tourism; increased assistance to Metro for construction of arterial roads, bridges, and overpasses; a modernised motor vehicle inspection system; regulations for compulsory safety devices on new cars; live television for northern Manitoba; and, with federal help, a voluntary, universally available health plan.[11]

In response to Premier Roblin's many announcements Gildas Molgat recounted the "mounting debt" of the province as it allegedly fell behind other provinces in industrial development. "They are aggressive only in election years," he said of the Roblin Government. "We've had eight years of government promises and now we have seventy-eight new ones. What's been going on in the past eight years if all these promises are needed now," he questioned.[12]

The Liberal Free Press responded to Mr. Roblin's "78 promises" by calling for a careful appraisal of the government record. Such an examination, said the newspaper:

> ...must inevitably lead to the conclusion that the Roblin administration has spent more, taxed more, borrowed more and had less to show for it than any previous administration in Manitoba's history."
>
> The opposition parties in this campaign will do well to leave the promises of the pie-in-the-sky to Conservatives, who have no peers in this department, and concentrate not on promises but on provable facts as they relate to the government's record of the past eight years. Set alongside the record of yesterday, Mr. Roblin's 78 trombones for tomorrow sound flat.[13]

The conservative Tribune called the Liberal criticisms an "old tune...just as sour now as it ever was."[14] The Conservative position was that Liberals were, as usual, "poor-mouthing" Manitoba's great achievements under Premier Roblin's eight years of direction. But the lines had been drawn. The task was set: gather the facts and attempt to show on the one hand unprecedented economic growth, and, on the other hand, outlandish spending and debt increase combined with a failure to match development and anticipated social welfare and education needs.

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[11] WFP, May 25, 1966, pp. 1 & 12.

[12] WFP, May 27, 1966, p. 1.

[13] Editorial: "78 Promises," WFP, May 27, 1966, p. 33.

[14] Winnipeg Tribune, June 10, 1966.

On the government side Premier Roblin set out the growth statistics since his administration took power: manufacturing up 70 per cent, farm income 76 per cent, mining income 225 per cent, personal income 83 per cent, and population increased by 125,000. In his Selkirk address Premier Roblin told constituents that their city, already "the center of steel skills in Manitoba," would be a "good place" for the steel industry. "That is why I would like to hear the voice of this constituency in the councils of government," said the Premier as he offered another of his many, and oft-criticized, "campaign carrots."[15]

In response to criticisms that he had greatly increased Manitoba's debt (from $29,700,000 under Liberal Premier Douglas Campbell to $186,000,000 eight years later, said Liberal spokesmen) Premier Roblin replied that "84 per cent of it was spent on roads and show me a road that the people don't want." Speaking at his own nomination in Wolseley constituency he reminded voters that his government had paid for fifty per cent of the roads in metropolitan Winnipeg and were prepared to set up a housing corporation to help reduce slums. He also boasted of the lowest per capita taxes in Canada except Alberta which, he noted, was much advantaged by oil revenues.[16]

Provincial Treasurer Gurney Evans, speaking in Brandon, dismissed Liberals as pessimists as he cited further evidence of Manitoba's alleged economic health. Unemployment, said Mr. Evans, was, since

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[15] WFP, May 27, 1966, p. 1.

[16] WFP, May 28, 1966, p. 13.

1958, consistently lower than in any other area in Canada. Mr. Evans then cited the exact number of new businesses and industries settling in Manitoba along with associated figures on their total spending and corporation taxes paid in the province. A new $30,000,000 Simplot chemical and fertilizer plant enticed to Brandon by a $20,000,000 investment from the expanded Manitoba Development Fund would likely attract fifteen allied industries, he announced.[17]

The Liberal Party borrowed directly from the Economic Consultative Board's annual report as it headlined advertisements, "Manitoba is lagging." Citing ECB findings the Liberal Party spoke of a growth rate "lagging in comparison to Canada as a whole." The widely published newspaper advertisements told the electorate that Manitobans faced the highest per capita debt in Canada; the lowest weekly wage west of the Maritimes; and a decline in total population of one thousand in 1965. "These are the facts," said the advertisements, "facts substantiated by the Manitoba Economic Consultative Board, by the Canadian Tax Foundation and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. These are facts you cannot ignore, because this is your province."[18]

The Progressive Conservative response to the use of ECB findings was the widespread publication of comments by federal Trade and Commerce Minister Robert Winters that "the future of Manitoba has never been brighter." Winter's words were used in describing new highs in provincial income of $2¼ billion, in gross farm product, and in the value of manufactured products.[19] Other Conservative candidates responded to the ECB and Liberal "facts" by calling attention to the many signs of development including roads, bridges, highrise apartments, doubled industrial investment in eight years, ten thousand new jobs in 1965, and a tourist trade increased by fifty per cent and triple the national average.[20]

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[17] WFP, June 1, 1966, p. 10.

[18] The Deloraine Times and Star (Deloraine, Manitoba), June 16, p. 2.

[19] Progressive Conservative Party advertisement. WFP, June 14, 1966, p. 17

[20] Peter J. McDonald (PC-Turtle Mountain) advertisement in the Deloraine Times and Star, June 16, 1966, p. 5 and Nelson McLean (PC-Radisson) at a public forum. The Transcona News, June 16, 1966, p. 1.

Premier Roblin answered the specific comments in the ECB report by citing a 44.6 per cent increase in industrial investment in 1965 which did not include the forestry and Nelson River developments. And "people do not invest where the province is going to the dogs," he argued. He compared Manitoba's population with Saskatchewan's to answer the question of population decrease. Whereas eight years earlier Saskatchewan had had a larger population than Manitoba, the positions were now reversed. He also claimed the debt figures used to discredit his government were misrepresentative, arguing that utilities indebtedness should not count as they were "business investments" which provided the cheapest hydro and telephone rates in Canada.[21]

Russ Paulley and the NDP program called for a 49 per cent limit on foreign equity or investment in provincial enterprises. Mr. Paulley called for increased funds from the Manitoba Development Corporation to make such a policy viable when other Canadian funds were not available. His party would design a system of royalty fees to encourage primary producers, such as mining firms, to expand into secondary industry. Mr. Paulley criticized Premier Roblin's comments on a steel mill complex in Selkirk, claiming such an industry belonged in the north, close to mineral deposits and the cheap power of the Nelson River. The NDP leader expressed alarm over the exodus of Manitoba workers and feared that many of the 20,000 recent immigrants to the province would be faced with a similar decision unless the root causes of the exodus were uncovered.[22]

The NDP leader was particularly articulate in regard to the government's taxation record. The province owed its municipalities ten million dollars he argued, by virtue of the fact that twenty per cent of funds raised in 1965 were not used as previously indicated by the Premier to ease municipal taxes. "Instead it went into general revenue to help build the surplus necessary for the drafting of an attractive budget in an election year," Paulley insisted. He went on to criticize the government for having tried to keep its promise to municipalities by levying taxes on essential services like light, power, and telephones, and introducing its many increases on licences, gasoline, tobacco, etc. He complained that only the surcharge on income tax was reduced, and that was the only tax which bore some relationship to ability to pay.

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[21] WFP, June 9, p. 29 and June 22, 1966, p. 12.

[22] WFP, May 30, 1966, p. 1.

In reply to the government's widely publicized contention that the province had the lowest per capita tax burden in Canada save for Alberta, Mr. Paulley observed that two matters were overlooked. Excluding Alberta, he argued, firstly, that the level of services such as roads and medical care provided in Manitoba was lower than any province west of New Brunswick. And, secondly, on a percentage basis property provided a larger share of total tax revenue than in any other province west of the Maritimes.

Russ Paulley was also bitterly opposed to Mr. Roblin's handling of the heating fuel tax. He saw as grossly unfair the fact that a ten per cent fuel tax remained in effect for apartment houses, paid for by apartment dwellers via their rents. It was just a further indication for Paulley that Premier Roblin had not repealed the residential five per cent fuel tax out of any conviction but simply in response to opposition pressure and the nearness of an election.[23]

There was undoubtedly truth in columnist John Dafoe's conclusion that the debate in the campaign:

> ...shows, if nothing else, that you can prove anything by statistics. Both sides are telling the truth.
>
> Manitoba's economy has had its successes, but the successes have not been big or numerous enough to enable the province to keep pace with the economic advance of provinces with more resources or a stronger industrial base.[24]

Evidence that even the Roblin Government recognized this particular problem was witnessed in its having obtained enlarged monies and powers for its own Manitoba Development Fund at the spring session prior to the election.

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[23] WFP, June 17, 1966, p. 6.

[24] The Globe and Mail, June 18, 1966, p. 6

But it was just this latter expansion which most exercised the fledgling Social Credit Party. Socreds, like national organizer Martin Kelln and Rhineland MLA Jacob Froese, feared that the enlarged powers of the development corporation could engulf any business or property and hence, said a Rhineland pamphlet, have "more power over your business and business community than all the CCF legislation passed by the government of Saskatchewan in 20 years."[25] Local Social Credit candidates cried "communism" and "state control" as they feared a trampling of individual rights.[26] Jake Froese was the only MLA to have opposed the enlargement of the development agency's powers in the spring session. Froese's Rhineland campaign was described as follows:

> If a socialist or Communist government ever took power in Manitoba, he warns the voters in his home riding of Rhineland, it would not have to pass any new legislation in order to nationalize industry or bundle farms together in collectives. The necessary law would be in the books, thanks to Mr. Roblin, he says.
>
> That aspect of the economic debate is a big issue among the deeply conservative people of Rhineland...[27]

"Tommyrot" was Premier Roblin's angered reply to such statements. "Somebody's trying to alarm the people of Rhineland that the government is going to walk in like a tyrant and ride roughshod over their businesses."[28]

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[25] WFP, June 10, 1966, p. 10

[26] The Deloraine Times and Star, June 9, 1966, p. 4; and WFP, June 10, 1966, p. 10.

[27] The Globe and Mail, June 18, 1966, p. 6.

[28] WFP, June 10, 1966, p. 10.

Major Issues: (2) The Nelson River and Monaca A. G. Developments.

Premier Roblin seemed able to make great political capital out of the two major development announcements. Aside from isolated questions on transmission lines and new flood levels and their effect the Manitoba Premier was free of criticism on the Nelson River project. Conservative advertisements were able to rib opposition candidates by reminding the electorate of the skepticism of the opposition in the 1962 campaign.[29] While enthusiasm for the forestry industries announcement was unprecedented in northern communities, more southerly candidates were not quite as keen.

One of the earliest and most persistant critics of the forestry deal was the Communist Party and its leader W. C. Ross. In Mr. Ross's view the government was "selling out" the province's resources and demanding a minimum of capital investment. Mr. Ross very quickly caught sight of a highly subsidised program supported by the MDF when, in the Communist leader's view, such projects warranted creation of a crown corporation or outright public ownership to prevent public-subsidized profits for a private corporation. "The Roblin government has auctioned off an area one-sixth the total size of Manitoba to a foreign corporation," W. C. Ross complained of another undesirable aspect of the deal. The Inkster candidate was also alarmed at the government's seeming refusal to answer questions on the terms of the agreement.[30]

The NDP's Russ Paulley described the Monoca A. G. agreement as the "worst business deal ever undertaken by a government in Canada."[31] Mr. Paulley made repeated charges that the Roblin Government had panicked in response to opposition criticism over lagging industrial development. The "sordid story" of subsidies to "this outfit of Swiss yodellers," Mr. Paulley claimed, included government assistance for job training; the importation of and training facilities for, workers; aerial mapping; fire protection; and the building and maintenance of grid or access roads. The government offered special rates for timber at half the cost other companies were paying, and intended to cover the full cost of reforestation, and forest inventory. The NDP leader charged that the town of The Pas had been railroaded into concessions as well, and that only $100,000 had actually been put up by Monaca A. G. He speculated that outside of another $500,000 bank deposit the MDF might loan Monaca A. G. the balance of an anticipated $50,000,000 to begin the development. Hence, he said sardonically, "most of the risk will be borne by the people of Manitoba--What a deal for Manitoba."[32]

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[29] WFP, June 16, 1966, p. 20.

[30] WFP, May 16, p. 11; and June 10, 1966, p. 10

[31] WFP, June 9, 1966, p. 29.

The Winnipeg Free Press was alarmed, as well, that so few questions were being asked and so few answers given over the miniscule investment of Monoca A. G.

> Remarkably little has been heard in the present campaign of the Roblin government's agreement with Monoca A. G....
>
> This reticence is understandable on the government's part. If Mr. Roblin were to talk much about this dubious venture, he would find himself under fire to answer many questions about the deal that the government apparently prefers to have remain unanswered--notably who are the mysterious principals behind the Swiss company.

According to the editorialist's source, Julius Koteles, Premier Roblin's Liberal opponent in Wolesley:

> ...capitalization of Monaca A. G. and an affiliated company is only $24,400, yet they have been given a contract by the Roblin government that could permit them to take a profit of $1.5 million a year out of Manitoba on an initial investment of over $100,000.[33]

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[32] WFP, May 30, p. 1; and June 9, 1966, p. 29.

[33] Editorial: "Mr. Koteles' Issue," WFP, June 22, 1966 p. 29.

In northern communities such criticisms were treated with considerable scorn. The Pas was presumably to be recipient not only of major elements of the forestry complex but of concessions in the way of taxes and new lands incorporated in the town. The local paper was perhaps typical of much northern reaction to its longstanding neglect by politicians.

> So long as the money is made available the people of The Pas and northern Manitoba care very little for the debate that has ranged over the financial aspects of Monaca A. G. Indeed all the debate has done is resolve the minds of many of us that there are still politicians who talk of northern development with forked tongues. They come north with trumpets blaring that our area must have industry at any cost. And when industry does come about they then try to throw all kinds of booby traps in the way.[34]

Major Issues: (3) Education and Municipal Taxes.

As W. L. Morton noted, the central issue of this period was municipal tax burden, with education costs the major cause of hardship. All three major parties were prepared to transfer school costs to provincial sources of revenues but the manner of that transfer and the protection of local control would remain sources of controversy. Premier Roblin had handled the financial squeeze by offering an $11,000,000 rebate to local taxpayers (up to fifty dollars per homeowner) from provincial funds. Liberal leader Molgat was a vigorous critic of the government's rebate system. He called it a "political gimmick" which had cost the taxpayers $400,000 in postage and handling charges.[35] Premier Roblin was charged with having delayed issuance of the cheques in order to have them come from provincial rather than municipal offices. Liberal leader Molgat would have such rebates issued by municipal clerks at tax paying times. The Free Press lamented over increasing education costs, noting that whether property or provincial taxes, the general taxpayer still paid. "It is simply a question of which of our pockets the money is taken from."[36] The newspaper summarised the issue and its history editorially.

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[34] Editorial: "The Pulp Agrement," The Pas Herald, May 11, 1966, p. 2.

[35] WFP, May 27, p. 1; and June 17, 1966, p. 6.

> When the Roblin administration was first elected, it promised to spend much more provincial money on education with a view to relieving the load on property taxes used for educational purposes. The government spent more money, as promised, but the property tax burden did not get lighter. On the contrary it increased to the point where Mr. Roblin was forced to levy more provincial taxes in order to implement his awkward and unfair gimmick of returning to the homeowner $50 of his own money as "relief" from property taxes. This program has been criticized, and rightly so. Mr. Roblin has been going around the country claiming that the Liberals would do away with the $50 refund--leaving the impression that the taxpayers would thus be $50 poorer. In fact, as Mr. Molgat said, a Liberal government would reduce taxes on real property by having the provincial government take over a larger share of education costs and would also limit taxes on lands and homes.[37]

Premier Roblin and his Attorney-General Sterling Lyon defended the rebate policy noting that Alberta and Saskatchewan had both initiated similar schemes in view of Manitoba's program. Mr. Roblin promised changes in the system which would take those on fixed incomes and young homeowners into consideration. Additional federal education assistance would be his own priority at a future federal-provincial conference.[38]

Critics of the government's educational policies were also vocal over apparent failures of the Manitoba Government to take advantage of federal assistance for vocational and technical schools. This particular failure was indicative of a lack of education planning, Gildas Molgat maintained.[39]

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[36] Editorial: "This Campaign has Five Weeks," WFP, May 20, 1966, p. 29.

[37] Editorial: "Mr. Molgat's Urban Program," WFP, June 13, 1966, p. 25.

[38] WFP, May 31, p. 3 and June 17, 1966, p. 4.

[39] WFP, May 30, p. 1 and June 1, 1966, p. 1.

The lack of planning was a subject which prompted Molgat to suggest an education research council to study teaching methods, curriculum and other components of the educational system. Other critics, including the assistant superintendent of Winnipeg schools, G. T. MacDonell, claimed that curriculum revision had not been carried on continuously and had become a "delicate area." Now drastic changes were needed and "strong views" were being expressed at election time as to whether or not the education department and minister had "done a good job," the superintendent concluded.[40]

The campaign resounded with charges of a severe teachers' shortage and inadequately trained rural teachers while trained personnel left the province for teaching positions elsewhere.[41]

A group of eight young urban Liberals became known as the "Ginger Group" as they spoke out all too independently of their leader according to Free Press reports. They were particularly concerned with matters like the needs of teachers. Howard Loewen of the "Ginger Group" claimed that Manitoba teachers were not being treated as professionals nor given the freedom to be creative and imaginative. He and his coharts advocated the use of income and sales taxes to pay kindergarten teachers and remedial teachers who would help with the integration of Manitoba Indians. The Ginger group also advocated the reduction of school boards so often called for in previous commission reports. An enlarged student loan program, subsidies for students away from home and a tri-semester system were all advocated to enlarge high school enrollment.[42]

Government advertisements replied to all such criticisms with a wealth of figures showing per capita expenditures on education up from $24 to $86, a 255% increase, public school enrollment up 29 per cent, grade 12 up 193 per cent, available places in vocational schooling up 205 per cent, university enrollment up 68 per cent and the number of teachers increased by 30 per cent, including a 72 per cent increase in those who hold university degrees, and all since Mr. Roblin took office.[43]

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[40] WFP, June 10, 1966, p. 3.

[41] Editorial: "Teacher Surveys," WFP, June 8, 1966, p. 47 and June 3, 1966, p. 1.

[42] WFP, June 11, 1966, p. 21.

Gil Molgat and other critics contended, however, that increased government spending had done little to raise education standards. And the larger school district problem had also been handled with too much politics and too little direction. As one reporter summarized the education critics' position:

> ...the province had merely acquired a number of flossy high schools in areas where they are not needed. (The original plan was that each school area should be served by one large composite high school.)[sic] But politics crept in and towns competed for high schools, so that instead of one big school, some areas have half a dozen smaller ones, an unnecessary duplication and expense.[44]

One final education issue with a local setting, but receiving province-wide attention, was the exclusion of Indian children from Dominion City school. Again, the financial burden may have been the root cause since the local school board had voted to end integrated classes because of overcrowded classrooms and a teacher shortage. Chief Albert Henry of the Roseau River Indians called for a boycott by his native people of businesses in the town. Indians on the reserve believed the school decision was in retaliation for their own decision not to renew land leases to white farmers. The Dominion City Chamber of Commerce called for a royal commission to investigate means by which Indians could be integrated "without lowering or disturbing the educational standards of the public school system."[45] The controversy helped to make the treatment of Indians, Métis and Eskimos in the province the subject of some consideration throughout the campaign.

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[43] P.C. advertisement, The Deloraine Times and Star, June 16, 1966, p. 4.

[44] Peter McClintock, "Winnipeg Letter," Saturday Night, August, 1966, p. 11.

[45] WFP, June 8, 1966, p. 15.

Major Issues: (4) Indians and Métis.

Perhaps three of the most significant factors in placing Indians and Métis at center stage in Manitoba public attention after such a long absence were: the disintegration of the economic and social base of many reservations, particularly in the Interlake district where fish and game were no longer abundant; the growth of minority awareness and an appropriate militancy to organize to meet their plight; and the concommittant attention of most Western governments to the plight of the dispossessed domestically as well as overseas. In the 1966 campaign, agencies like the Indian and Métis committee of the Community Welfare Planning Council called for employment of Indian labor on the Nelson River project. Indians, this committee noted, earned an average of $200 per year, one-seventh of the average per capita income in the province. The committee also called for regional Indian and Métis conferences with costs to be born by the province.[46]

Speaking in the Interlake area of Fisher Branch, Premier Roblin offered another of his constituency carrots. He promised to set up a $100,000 revolving fund for Indian and Métis cooperatives and noted the importance of bringing industrial activity to Indians and Métis to locations like Dallas, near Fisher Branch. "We must bring industry to the place where it will do the most good for the most people," the Premier observed, "and I cannot make a promise, but I think this community has a very strong case."[47]

Premier Roblin's proposed technical and vocational schools, six to ten throughout the province, were also to have a curriculum tailored to Indians and Métis in places like The Pas and the Interlake region.

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[46] WFP, May 17, 1966, p. 8.

[47] WFP, June 3, 1966, p. 1.

Major Issues: (5) Agriculture.

A longstanding feud on agriculture policy was exacerbated further by the publication of the government's own brief to a conference on poverty revealing that two-fifths of Manitoba's farmers lived at or under the poverty line. Farmers were caught in a cost-price squeeze but government policies seemed only to enhance corporate production for large-scale consumption at the expense of once independent farmers. Such was the context or perspective of Liberal and NDP critics. Russ Paulley described the cost-price squeeze: a 30 per cent increase in the cost of commodities for farmers between the years 1951 and 1964 compared to a 16 per cent drop in the prices received for farm products in the same period. Consumer prices rose 13 per cent in the same 13 year time-span. In 1951, Mr. Paulley noted, the average net farm income was $3100 annually and average non-farm income $2600. By 1963 the positions were reversed with average incomes of non-farm workers at $4,337 and farmers at $3,900.[48] A 400 per cent increase in farm productivity since 1930 had not substantially benefited the Manitoba farmer.

The issues which constituted a cluster of agricultural controversies included a desperate need for expanded sewer and water facilities. The most often repeated Liberal promise in the campaign was "a biffy in every farmhouse."[49] The management of land ownership was a second matter at issue with repeated complaints that the Roblin Government was depriving farmers of land titles because of insufficient prices for their products. "Instead of seeing that you get a price sufficient to permit you to keep your land titles, they offer to buy your land and lease it back to you. That is what the forbearers of most of you came to avoid," Russ Paulley told a group of Arborg farmers.[50] Liberal leader Molgat said Premier Roblin should sell, or grant, but not lease, additional crown lands to farmers who needed more land. The Liberal leader claimed Duff Roblin was out of touch with rural Manitoba and that government services should be decentralised. Crop insurance officials, for example, could be situated in rural localities, and agriculture agencies placed in towns like Dauphin and Brandon. A Liberal government would immediately remove all taxes from farmer-used purple gas.[51]

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[48] WFP, June 6, 1966, p. 7.

[49] The Deloraine Times and Star, June 16, 1966, p. 3.

[50] WFP, May 31, 1966, p. 2.

Every corner of the province had its own version of rural dissatisfaction. Interlake farmers, as we have noted, were concerned with land freehold. Northern farmers had been neglected in their needs for marsh drainage, proper care of wildlife, and vocational training, said Calvin Gibson (Liberal-The Pas).[52] C. M. Robson (NDP-Arthur) blamed corporation profits for the rising prohibitive cost of farm implements.[53] Stanley Copp (Independent Liberal-Brokenhead) spoke for vegetable farmers when he complained that the government's Vegetable Marketing Commission had been created in spite of farmer opposition and that its appointed executive was unrepresentative of farm regions in the province. Commission fees, and permits for all producers growing on a quarter of an acre or more of land, raised vegetable costs above American growers and could drive small producers out of business, Mr. Copp warned. Marius Van Hull, president of the Vegetable Producers of Manitoba, predicted an artificial vegetable shortage could be created by large producers in order to raise prices against consumers.[54]

On most of these issues Conservatives seemed relatively quiet, tending to stand behind announced Roblin policies or promises. The government plan would expand the percentage of crop insurance and apply it to vegetable crops. Hail insurance, an agriculture manpower service, grants for seed cleaning plants, diking and other assistance in flood areas, dairy management education assistance, an agriculture productivity council, and a water conservation program were all part of the many programs suggested by the government leader.[55]

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[51] WFP, May 30, p. 1; June 1, p. 1 and June 13, 1966, p. 6.

[52] The Pas Herald, June 15, 1966, p. 10.

[53] The Deloraine Times and Star, June 16, 1966, p. 4.

[54] WFP, June 15, 1966, p. 1.

Major Issues: (6) Health.

Although medicare was well-packaged for delivery as an election issue in Manitoba and Premier Roblin spoke continuously of his plans to enter the federal scheme by July 1, 1967, the perennial controversy did not erupt as it might have in May and June of 1966. Union organizations worried about the program's fee structure and T. C. Douglas and Russ Paulley joined the many who questioned how Duff Roblin could insist on a voluntary program and still anticipate raising Manitoba's 75 per cent participation to the necessary 90 per cent in the first year and 95 per cent in the second year of the federal program. Paulley dismissed Premier Roblin's announcement as "poppycock." "It is not possible under a voluntary scheme to reach the percentage coverage necessary to qualify for Dominion participation," he said.[56]

In the closing week of the campaign Premier Roblin announced his intention to call a special fall session, if reelected. The top priority item on the agenda of that special session was to be the introduction of medicare legislation. Still stressing its voluntary nature and calling for free coverage for those below minimum income tax exemptions, Mr. Roblin claimed negotiations with the medical profession warranted his optimism.[57]

The NDP still favored a universal and compulsory scheme. T. C. Douglas claimed all Canadians would be watching to see if Manitobans would defeat a Conservative government which refused to endorse a compulsory scheme. Russ Paulley compared the Manitoba plans to Saskatchewan's universal scheme where administrative costs of five per cent seemed low, and with premiums well within the federal guidelines.[58]

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[55] WFP, May 26, 1966, p. 1.

[56] WFP, May 30, 1966, p. 1.

[57] WFP, June 17, 1966, p. 1.

If medicare did not catch fire as an election issue, other health matters did. Opponents of the government were alarmed over the shortage of hospitals, hospital beds, and trained staff. "Mr. Roblin keeps showing us blueprints but very few bricks," said Gildas Molgat of the hospital shortage.[59] Most hospitals made loud requests for additional funds for such highly complex medical services as intensive care units and artificial kidneys. The Manitoba Association of Registered Nurses expressed concern that the overworked nurses in the profession had come to doubt the legality of the work they were doing in the face of the shortage of qualified professionals. The Liberal program included payment of medical training tuition fees to encourage medical students to practise in rural areas where the shortages were most severe.[60]

The Progressive Conservative Party responded to such criticisms by publishing large newspaper advertisements noting the special allowances and medical care available for senior citizens, dependent children, the disabled, and the widowed. Since 1958, a Conservative advertisement announced, forty-four hospital projects had been undertaken with twenty-five more new projects planned in 1966.[61]

Care for the elderly was also a concern of government candidates, with Walter Fox-Decent (Conservative--Logan) calling for a government study of all the problems of the elderly. Peter McDonald (Conservative-Turtle Mountain) noted that the government's accelerated program would attempt to meet suitable accommodation needs. Government advertisements noted a total of 82 projects providing 4,500 accommodation units for senior citizens including 685 personal care units.[62]

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[58] WFP, June 8, p. 15 and June 21, 1966, p. 1.

[59] WFP, May 30, 1966, p. 1.

[60] WFP, May 24, p. 3; June 2, p. 1 and June 3, 1966, p. 27.

[61] The Pas Herald, June 22, 1966, p. 3.

[62] WFP, May 20, 1966, p. 50; The Deloraine Times and Star, June 16, 1966, p. 5; and The Pas Herald, June 22, 1966, p. 3.

Major Issues: (7) Labor.

The Roblin Government appeared as anti-labor to the Liberal and NDP parties and union organizations. Although the government had discontinued its practice of demanding government-supervised strike votes, it stood by its insistence that non-union members participate in any strike vote, much to the chagrin of union members who saw such action as non-union intrusion in "union issues." The government had been slow to raise minimum wages and to revise vacations with pay legislation. The section of the Labor Relations Act making unions legal entities seemed designed to open the door to injunctions against them. R. J. Henderson, president of the Manitoba Federation of Labor, said "This section is not intended to serve the public interest. As for injunctions, this legal gimmick is not in the purview of the Labor Relations Act. In any case, court actions don't solve industrial disputes. Final solution of them is always made more difficult by resort to the courts."[63]

Leading opponents of the government's labor record saw the exodus of skilled labor as requiring serious investigation. Suspicions were that the low wage scale (average annual earnings were one thousand dollars less than British Columbia, Gil Molgat observed) and minimum wages were in part responsible for the emigration. The same spokesmen called for labor-management structures which could fairly deal with industrial disputes and provide incentives and facilities to maintain healthy employment.[64]

Minor and/or Local Issues.

The government was under attack in the context of a number of more minor issues including decentralization of welfare services; protection of consumers from soaring prices and undisclosed loan and interest charges; the closing of the San Antonio gold mine at Bissett in Eastern Manitoba, and its choice of a provincial flag.[65]

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[63] The Financial Post, May 14, 1966, p. 28.

[64] WFP, May 30, p. 1; June 4, p. 2; and June 14, 1966, p. 4.

Other controversies raged in local areas. Portage La Prairie was perhaps the most bitterly contested seat in the province. Liberal Mayor Lloyd Henderson and Municipal Affairs Minister R. G. Smellie were at loggerheads over a suit against the Portage council. B. C. Pea Growers had suffered damage to crops because of a leaking sewage lagoon. While the town council disputed with the province over the right to borrow monies to pay for damages, B. C. Pea Growers was mounting a second lawsuit for default of payment. After a public inquiry the minister bailed the council out in time, but not soon enough to leave the deep scars of town-province antagonism.[66]

The Progressive Conservative candidate in Portage, former cabinet member John Christianson faced a judicial inquiry for his purchase of land on the proposed floodway by-passing the town. Mr. Christianson was cleared of any wrong doing by way of intending to benefit by government expropriation, on the very eve of the election, but too late to save him from defeat.

John Christianson's campaign was also under attack for a newspaper advertisement which seemed to imply, if one "read between the lines," that roads, parks and vocational schools would follow only with government representation. "It's tough to get these projects for Portage if you're sitting with the opposition," the advertisement noted in part.[67]

Again, all too late, Mr. Christianson explained he meant merely to correct his Liberal opponent George Johnston's extravagant claims for the constituency.

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[65] WFP, June 1, p. 1; June 8, p. 1; The Financial Post, April 23, p. 23, and WFP, May 28, 1966, p. 34.

[66] WFP, May 17, p. 12; May 25, p. 3; May 28, p. 1, and June 17, 1966, p. 3.

[67] WFP, June 15, 1966, p. 1.

The major local issue in the Winnipeg area was the publication of the federal government's Thompson report on May 19th which now spelled "fini" to Winnipeg's Air Canada maintenance base in the city. The recommendation was tempered by the announcement one day earlier that Air Canada would construct a $2,000,000 cargo center in the city. But opponents felt Premier Roblin was simply attempting to salve the loss of 882 jobs and $5,398,920 in annual salaries.[68]

The Premier said Manitoba was "entirely dissatisfied" with the outcome and later chided the federal government for lacking a national air policy.

NDP leader Russ Paulley described the air cargo announcement as an "attempt to pull the wool over our eyes to make us think they (Air Canada) [sic] were doing something to make up for the move. It would have come anyway." Mr. Paulley wanted to know why the announcement was dated March 3rd but had not been released until May 17th. He was joined by the Free Press editors in calling a futile gesture Premier Roblin's telegram to Prime Minister Pearson asking for a rejection of the Thompson recommendations. Mr. Paulley scored both provincial and federal governments for failing to be "on their toes" when a polar route linking Winnipeg "was set up for bids." The NDP leader also expressed interest in the report that the Air Canada management had "misled the community and employees for years" in regard to its plans.[70]

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[68] WFP, May 18, pp. 1 & 3; and May 19, 1966, p. 1.

[69] WFP, May 20, 1966, p. 1.

[70] WFP, May 21, 1966, p. 29.

In Northern Manitoba residents faced inflated power rates as populations declined and industrial development lagged. But Premier Roblin's announcements were welcomed with tremendous enthusiasm, as we have noted. Technical schools, electric power, highways, health services, forest industry, Frontier colleges, community development, parks and recreation, and mineral exploration incentives, were all part of the mixture of Conservative promises and policies for the North.[71]

Liberal and NDP candidates deplored unequalized power rates, and, in a telling editorial, the Herald of The Pas attacked MLA Keith Alexander (Conservative--Roblin) who had argued against southern Manitobans sharing the cost of northern power since diesel costs in the north made power more expensive. The editors wrote with bitter sarcasm:

> We feel sorry for Mr. Alexander and his southern neighbours and constituents. They have shown so much concern over the loss sustained in revenue to The Pas from the Grand Rapids Dam destroying fishing, hunting and trapping. We admire their courage in accepting our tax dollars for their floodways, permanent and temporary, for the Pan-American Games, for their metro bridges. We could go on and on. Theirs is a hard lot indeed.[72]

In more southerly constituencies Liberal loudspeakers blared "Roblin says he is going to develop the north but keep one hand on your pocketbook because you're the ones that will be paying for it."[73] As Duff Roblin travelled through south-west Manitoba (Rivers, Reston, Virden and Boissevain) he spoke of crop insurance, farm credit, education costs and government aid to constituencies, elderly persons' housing, and park development.[74] In Deloraine and Hartney, street programs, hospital facilities, and "consolidation and high cost of education borne by the local taxpayer," were the dominant issues.[75]

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[71] Advertisement for Utilities Minister Jack Carroll. The The Pas Herald, June 15, 1966, p. 5.

[72] Editorial: "North and South," The Pas Herald, May 4, 1966, p. 3.

[73] The Globe and Mail, June 23, 1966, p. 3. This particular loudspeaker was located at Rivers, Manitoba.

[74] The Globe and Mail, June 23, 1966, p. 3.

[75] The Deloraine Times and Star, June 23, 1966, p. 3.

In the Transcona area and interlake districts drainage problems left a frustrated and impatient electorate. That same electorate called for its share of industry, vocational schools, and connecting highways.[76]

Other areas along the shores of Lake Winnipeg and the Winnipeg River (Riverton, Gimli, Winnipeg Beach, Icelandic River, Pine Falls and Powerview) cried out for flood assistance, blaming the provincial power developments for rising water levels. One Gimli resident remarked:

> We feel this is a little unfair that when the water cycle is low they (the provincial government) [sic] retain the water to suit themselves and when the cycle is high they just spill it all over us here without any regard to the effect.

Agriculture Minister Hutton called the above statement "completely uninformed." He denied that the province held water back when it was low and described as "infinitesimal," Manitoba's control over waters that influenced lake levels.[77]

Personality Issues.

There were issues of a "personality" nature in this 1966 campaign, as well. Gildas Molgat faced charges that he could no longer unite the rural and urban elements in his own party. The urban Ginger Group, which made little attempt to hide its differences with Mr. Molgat and announced its desire for a reconsideration of leadership following the election, was evidence enough of a Liberal split.[78]

Russ Paulley suffered from a respiratory ailment which Liberals seemed to rejoice in calling to the attention of electors.

And Duff Roblin still waited for an invitation to federal leadership. The Free Press joined those who saw an important issue at stake.

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[76] The Transcona News, June 16, 1966, p. 1.

[77] WFP, June 13, 1966, p. 3.

[78] The Globe and Mail, June 21, 1966, p. 3.

> In the past, Mr. Roblin was quite definite that his duty lay with the province. But more recently he has indicated that if a "call" were forthcoming from Ottawa he would not be deaf to it. Should this be the case, it may be that those people who vote Conservative on June 23rd will be voting for a party whose leader does not intend to stay with it much past election day. This is a matter worth the serious consideration of each voter.[79]

As for Premier Duff Roblin, having withstood some pressure to run federally in 1965, he announced on national television: "I don't know whether there is a call for me to take part in national affairs at the present time. I haven't heard a call."[80]

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[79] Editorial: "Mr. Roblin's Plans," WFP, June 9, 1966, p. 43.

[80] McClintock, "Winnipeg Letter," p. 13.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1966.

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
Progressive Conservatives	31	129,887	39.9	54.4
Liberals	14	109,364	33.6	24.6
N.D.P.	11	72,558	22.3	19.3
Social Credit	1	12,457	3.8	1.8
Communist Party	- - -	638	.2	- - -
Others	- - -	766	.2	- - -

The one deferred election in Churchill constituency was won (and included above) by Gordon Beard, Progressive Conservative, on July 7. Mr. Beard shortly thereafter left the government ranks to become an Independent in protest over government inattention to the north.

The results of the voting simply reinforced traditional patterns. Only 8 per cent of the NDP vote came from the 20 south and west constituencies, while 31.9 per cent of the party's 72,558 supporters (the largest since 1945) came from the 7 north Winnipeg ridings.

The NDP took 45 per cent of the popular vote in the north Winnipeg ridings compared to 27.4 for the Conservatives and only 22.3 for the Liberals.

The pattern in the 20 south and western constituencies which we have been examining in each of these campaigns also remained unchanged. Only 30 votes separated the Conservative and Liberal parties, 38,674 to 38,644. While both of these parties took 43 per cent of the popular vote in these rural ridings, Social Credit took 7.5 per cent and the NDP only 6.5 per cent.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1966.

Major, Province-wide, Clusters.

1. Economic Growth and Roblin Record. (Cluster).
    - (a) Government spending, achievements
    - (b) Debt, taxes, borrowing.
    - (c) Cost of industrial expansion.
    - (d) Population decrease and labor exodus.
    - (e) Heating Fuel tax. (Side).
    - (f) Control by EDC. (Side).
2. Education.
    - (a) Tax burden. (Perennial).
    - (b) Education planning
    - (c) Need for vocational and technical schools.
    - (d) Teachers' shortage and graining needs.
3. Agriculture. (Liberal Left).
    - (a) Rural poverty.
    - (b) Cost-price Freeze and government role.
    - (c) Rural sewer and water facilities.
    - (d) Management of land ownership.
    - (e) Decentralization of agriculture agencies.
    - (f) Purple gas tax.
    - (g) Vegetable marketing regulations.
4. Major, Local.

    B. C. Pea Grower's Suit.
    Closing of Air Canada Maintenance Base.
    Northern Industrial Development.
    Local Street Programs.
    Unequalized Power Rates--North vs. South.
    Drainage.
    Vocational Schools.
    Connecting Highways.
    Floor Assistance

Major, Province-wide, Separate.

5. Hospitals and Medical Professionals Shortage.

6. Nelson River and Monaca A. G. Developments. (Speculative).

7. Medicare -- Fees and Compulsory vs Voluntary Nature.

8. Government Support of Education and Jobs for Indians and Métis. (Ethnically Relevant.)

9. Decentralization of Welfare Services.

10. Needs and Accomodation For Elderly. (Sectional).

11. Labor. (Liberal Left).
    - (a) Non-union participation in strike votes.
    - (b) Minimum wages and vacations-with-pay legislation.
    - (c) Unions as legal entities.
    - (d) Exodus of skilled labor. (see 1 (d) above)
    - (e) Labor-management structures.

Minor.

Consumer Protection.
Ginger Group Independence of Liberal Leader. (Political).
Closing of Bissett Gold Mine. (Local).
Choice of Provincial Flag. (Dead).
Park Development.

Personality.

J. Christiansen--Land Purchase. (Perennial).
J. Christiansen--Newspaper Advertisements. (Political)
G. Molgat's Leadership *vis-a-vis* Ginger Group. (Political)
R. Paulley's Illness. (Social)
D. Roblin--Aspirations for Federal Leadership (Political perennial)

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1966

Date of dissolution of Twenty-Seventh Legislature May 18, 1966.

Nominations — June 9, 1966.

Voting — June 23, 1966.

In all Electoral Divisions except Churchill: Nominations — June 23, 1966. Voting — July 7, 1966.

LEGEND: P.C.—Progressive Conservative; Lib.—Liberal; N.D.P.—New Democratic Party; S.C.—Social Credit; Ind.—Independent; Comm.—Communist.

ARTHUR

J. D. Watt (PC)	1,902
Frank S. Patmore (Lib)	1,807
C. M. Robson (NDP)	494

ASSINIBOIA

Steve Patrick (Lib)	5,168
Stewart Millett (PC)	4,800
Charles Norman (NDP)	2,943

BIRTLE-RUSSELL

Rod Clement (Lib)	2,223
R. G. Smellie (PC)	2,079
Ronald Kostesky (NDP)	446

BRANDON

R. O. Lissaman (PC)	3,863
Terry Penton (Lib)	3,696
Harold Weitman (NDP)	1,452
Ben Van Hollen (S.C.)	508

BROKENHEAD

Sam Uskiw (NDP)	1,809
George Mulder (PC)	1,315
Stanley Copp (Ind. Lib.)	669
Ken Skiba (S.C.)	365

BURROWS

Ben Hanuschak (NDP)	2,415
Mark Smerchanski (Lib)	1,487
Walter Paschak (PC)	1,301

CARILLON

L. A. Barkman (Lib)	2,352
Z. Audet (PC)	1,217
A. O. Harrison (NDP)	116

CHURCHILL

G. W. Beard (PC)	3,159
W. L. Hudson (Lib)	2,192

CYPRESS

Thelma Forbes (PC)	2,331
Duncan CAMPBELL (Lib)	1,888

DAUPHIN

Stewart McLean (PC)	3,149
Edward Demkiw (Lib)	1,512
Michael Sotas (NDP)	236

DUFFERIN

W. Homer Hamilton (PC)	2,135
Cam Johnston (Lib)	1,280
Walter D. Taylor (SC)	583

ELMWOOD

Russell Doern (NDP)	2,765
Tom Snowden (PC)	1,816
John Kozoris (Lib)	1,458
Walter G. Bowden (SC)	744

EMERSON

John P. Tanchak (Lib)	2,180
Gabriel Girard (PC)	2,015

ETHELBERT PLAINS

Michael Kawchuk (NDP)	1,246
William Paziuk (Lib)	1,182
Melvin G. Pipe (SC)	804
John Tycholis (PC)	548

FISHER

Peter Masniuk (PC)	1,480
Peter Wagner (NDP)	1,368
Arthur R. Devlin (Lib)	712
John F. Palamarchuk (Ind)	97

FLIN FLON

C. H. Witney (PC)	1,750
Scott Day (NDP)	1,090
Mickey Perepeluk (Lib)	1,071

FORT GARRY

Sterling R. Lyon (PC)	6,131
Peter Stokes (Lib)	2,435
Victor Ratsma (NDP)	1,769

FORT ROUGE

Gurney Evans (PC)	3,767
Frank Muldoon (Lib)	2,451
Leonard L. Green (NDP)	1,045

GIMLI

George Johnson (PC)	1,981
Gunnar Eggertson (Lib)	1,021
Zado Zator (NDP)	767

GLADSTONE

Nelson Shoemaker (Lib)	2,926
John A. McPhedran (PC)	1,787
William A. Yuel (NDP)	236

HAMIOTA

Earl Dawson (Lib)	2,194
Barry Strickland (PC)	2,043
M. S. Antonation (NDP)	412

INKSTER

Sidney Green (NDP)	3,644
Olga Fuga (PC)	1,713
Roy Babick (Lib)	1,557
William C. Ross (Comm)	312

KILDONAN

Peter Fox (NDP)	4,644
James T. Mills (PC)	3,808
Jim Smith (Lib)	2,964
Henry W. Redekopp (SC)	1,331

LAC DU BONNET

Oscar F. Bjornson (PC)	1,342
James L. Desilets (Lib)	1,262
Walter Zarecki (NDP)	1,151
Ruben R. Thomas (SC)	474

LAKESIDE

Douglas L. Campbell (Lib)	1,780
Frank Sims (PC)	1,428
Francis H. Mason (NDP)	272

LA VERENDRYE

Albert Vielfaure (Lib)	1,807
Stan Bisson (PC)	860

LOGAN

Lemuel Harris (NDP)	1,975
Wally Fox-Decent (PC)	1,657
W. M. Swystun (Lib)	1,019

MINNEDOSA

Walter Weir (PC)	2,136
Don McNabb (Lib)	1,615
C. V. Hutton (SC)	774
John Lee (NDP)	648

MORRIS

Harry P. Shewman (PC)	1,518
Bruce MacKenzie (Lib)	1,288
William T. Loftus (NDP)	370

OSBORNE

Obie Baizley (PC)	3,363
Bob Murdoch (NDP)	2,189
Howard J. Loewen (Lib)	2,141

PEMBINA

Carolyne Morrison (PC)	2,056
Vernon N. Spangelo (Lib)	1,545
Frederick Hamm (SC)	878
Robert K. Wallcraft (NDP)	129

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

Gordon E. Johnston (Lib)	2,726
John A. Christianson (PC)	1,991
Sybil A. Barnett (NDP)	312

RADISSON

Russell Paulley (NDP)	7,114
Joseph P. Gucy (Lib)	4,905
Nelson A. McLean (PC)	2,561

RHINELAND

Jacob M. Froese (SC)	1,676
Bruce W. Gunn (PC)	1,324
Alf Loewen (Lib)	696

RIVER HEIGHTS

Sidney Spivak (PC)	5,325
Scott Wright (Lib)	4,083
Lionel Orlikow (NDP)	826

ROBLIN

Wally McKenzie (PC)	1,798
Joseph P. Perchaluk (NDQ)	1,583
Jack Mitchell (Lib)	863

ROCK LAKE

Henry J. Einarson (PC)	1,835
Ronald Gardiner (Lib)	1,691
Jacob Harms (SC)	505
Ernest H. Sloane (NDP)	333

ROCKWOOD-IBERVILLE

Harry J. Enns (PC)	2,091
Douglas Trick (Lib)	1,429
Armand J. De Ryck (NDP)	804
Wilmer Antonius (SC)	229

RUPERTSLAND

J. E. Jeannotte (PC)	1,866
Jean Allard (Lib)	953
Douglas A. MacLachlan (NDP)	363

ST. BONIFACE

Laurent L. Desjardins (Lib)	4,040
Remi Lafrehiere (PC)	1,750
Maurice Paul (NDP)	1,033

ST. GEORGE

Elman Guttormson (Lib)	2,009
Arthur Schwartz (PC)	1,418
Stanley W. Burdett (NDP)	357

ST. JAMES

Douglas M. Stanes (PC)	3,034
Lloyd Axworthy (Lib)	2,244
Jim Rose (NDP)	1,497

ST. JOHN'S

Saul Cherniack (NDP)	2,4[illegible]
Dor Zaharra (PC)	1,113
Harry M [illegible] (Lib)	975
Don Currie (Comm.)	426

ST. MATTHEWS

Robert Steen (PC)	2,941
Andrew N. Robertson (NDP)	1,950
Donald J. Cook (Lib)	1,922

ST VITAL

Donald W. Craik (PC)	4,432
Douglas E. Honeyman (Lib)	2,027
William J. Hutton (NDP)	2,310

STE ROSE

Gildas Molgat (Lib)	2,410
Michael Posmituck (PC)	1,167
David L. G. Duning (SC)	275
Harry Shafransky (NDP)	86

SELKIRK

Thomas P. Hillhouse (Lib)	1,832
Sydney S. Sarbit (PC)	1,792
Alan B. Cooper (NDP)	875
Jens H. Magnusson (SC)	227

SEVEN OAKS

Saul Miller (NDP)	5,295
Nathan Nurgitz (PC)	2,596
Melvin Fenson (Lib)	2,010

SOURIS-LANSDOWNE

M. E. McKellar (PC)	1,919
Frank E. Ellis (Lib)	1,556
Margaret Gray (SC)	367
Irene Bauman (NDP)	238

SPRINGFIELD

Fred T. Klym (PC)	1,697
Richard Loeb (NDP)	1,274
William Lucko (Lib)	1,113

SWAN RIVER

James H. Bilton (PC)	1,591
Gerald E. Webb (SC)	1,185
Claude Dunbar (Lib)	793
George Higgs (NDP)	602

THE PAS

John B. Carroll (PC)	2,278
Calvin D. Gibson (Lib)	1,769
Glen F. Allen (NDP)	288

TURTLE MOUNTAIN

Edward I. Dow (Lib)	2,149
Peter J. McDonald (PC)	2,144
Peter H. Sawatsky (SC)	690
Selwyn Burrows (NDP)	141

VIRDEN

D. Morris McGregor (PC)	2,092
Roland A. Tolton (Lib)	1,245
Donald J. Rowan (SC)	743
Vernon Masawasicuna (NDP)	256

WELLINGTON

Philip Petursson (NDP)	3,153
Richard Seaborn (PC)	2,447
J. Gurzon Harvey (Lib)	1,117

WINNIPEG CENTRE

James Cowan (PC)	2,982
Ross White (Lib)	1,917
Donald Malinowski (NDP)	1,434

WOLSELEY

Duff Roblin (PC)	3,132
Julius Koteles (Lib)	1,780
Cecil E. Wood (NDP)	1,495

PREVIOUS GENERAL ELECTIONS

1870	Dec.	27	1915	Sept.	16
1874	Dec.	23	1920	June	29
1878	Dec.	18	1922	July	18
1879	Dec.	16	1927	June	28
1883	Jan.	23	1932	June	16
1886	Dec.	9	1936	July	27
1888	July	11	1941	Apr.	22
1892	July	23	1945	Oct.	15
1896	Jan.	15	1949	Nov.	10
1899	Dec.	7	1953	June	8
1903	July	20	1958	June	16
1907	Mar.	7	1959	May	14
1910	June	11	1962	Dec.	14
1914	July	10	1966	June	23

STANDING OF PARTIES

The Party standing at dissolution of the 27th Legislature May 18, 1966 was as follows:

Progressive Conservative	36
Liberal Progressive	13
N.D.P.	5
Social Credit	1
Vacant	2
Total	57

The standing of parties, January, 1969, was as follows:

Progressive Conservative	28
Liberal	13
N.D.P.	11
Social Credit	1
Vacancies	4
Total	57

HOW ED SCHREYER'S NEW DEMOCRATS

FINALLY WON

IN MOODY MANITOBA

MAY 22 TO JUNE 25, 1969

PARTY	LEADER	CANDIDATES
Progressive Conservatives	Walter Weir	57
NDP	Ed Schreyer	57
Liberals	Robert Bend	57
Social Credit	Jacob Froese	6
Communist Party	- - - -	2
Independents	- - - -	5

57 single member plurality districts

Political Events: 1967 to 1969.

Canada's centennial was observed in Manitoba by the hosting of the Pan-American games; by granting of the freedom to employ French as a language of instruction for up to one half of the school day for schools in predominantly French-speaking areas; and by the introduction of a five per cent sales tax.

The Progressive Conservative Party of Canada observed Canada's 100th year by dethroning its leader, John Diefenbaker. Duff Roblin contested the federal leadership of his party in September, 1967 and, when he lost to Robert Stanfield of Nova Scotia, held to his promise that he would resign as Premier of Manitoba, win or lose.

On November 25, 1967 Walter Weir, Minnedosa MLA since 1959, and former Minister of Municipal Affairs and Highways and Public Works, was chosen as the new party leader, and hence, Premier of the province. The choice of Walter Weir seemed by most observers to reflect a reaction to Mr. Roblin in that the large Minnedosan was much more representative of small "c" rural conservatism and financial retrenchment.[1]

Mr. Weir moved much more cautiously on all fronts. Even in these years of bilingual and bicultural concerns Walter Weir expressed his opposition to any special status for the province of Quebec. He deeply frustrated Franco-Manitobans with his declarations of "gradualism" on language questions inside Manitoba.[2] The province's joining of the federal medicare scheme was moved farther ahead into the future by Mr. Weir to April 1, 1969. In anticipation of the inevitable, Manitoba doctors demanded and got a higher fee schedule and the right to "extra-bill" patients on top of the 25 per cent premium increase Manitobans were not compelled to pay under their Manitoba Medical Services plan. One of the MMS founding medical practitioners confessed: "MMS has changed from a service plan for low and middle income people to a doctors' scheme to get maximum money from the public. MMS has been paying us much more over the years than we would be able to get from our patients ourselves.[3] It seemed that only lengthy protests and an MFL demonstration on the steps of the legislative building obliged Premier Weir to set the April 1st entry date.[4] These years of increased costs for medical expenses and the alleged insensitivity of the medical profession prepared the way for one of the major issues in the 1969 campaign.

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[1] See Jackson, Centennial History, pp. 256-258, and Petersen, "Ethnic and Class Politics," pp. 104-5.

[2] Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," pp. 106-7.

[3] Margaret Harper, "The Great Medicare Swindle," Canadian Dimension, September-October, 1968, p. 28.

[4] Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 105

In a nationally televised federal-provincial conference on the constitution Walter Weir had gained prestige in Manitoba by his defense of western interests and by his position of "gradualism" against Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau. In by-elections held on February 20, 1969 Premier Weir's Conservatives won three of four seats contested, a reflection, it seemed, of his "rumblings against Ottawa." The federal Liberals were being blamed for the low price for wheat and lacking grain sales. The Manitoba Federation of Labor, embittered by the closing of Winnipeg's overhaul base in favor of the centralization of Air Canada services in Montreal, sponsored newspaper advertisements captioned: "Is the Just Society Just for Quebec?"[5] The disillusionment with Mr. Trudeau's Liberals had been reflected in the by-elections where local Liberal candidates had sunk to a new low, an average 27 per cent support.[6] Leader Gildas Molgat of Franco-Manitoban background resigned within a week of the results. In a convention on May 10, Robert Bend, former Health Minister of the by-gone Douglas Campbell era was elected leader over several younger opponents. It appeared that the back-room oldsters meant to hold the party to the same traditional rural conservatism by which Mr. Weir had found recent winning ways.

In the spring session, just prior to dissolution a redistribution bill was passed which gave Winnipeg an additional seven seats (now to total twenty-seven), gave a second seat to Brandon, and created a new northern constituency around Thompson. The changes meant a majority of urban seats over rural seats (29 to 28) for the first time in the province's history.

With his stock riding high, the Liberals in disarray, and the New Democrats planning their own leadership convention in late June to replace ailing Russ Paulley, Premier Weir called the election.

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[5] Walter Stewart, "The Coming Showdown With The West," Macleans, July, 1969, pp. 35 and 39. The article cites Art Coulter, executive secretary of the MFL as saying of the transfer: "There is no doubt in my mind that this decision was a political decision made for the benefit of Quebec and against the interests of Manitoba."

[6] CAR (1969), p. 126.

However, one further major issue may have precipitated the election call.

The Key Cluster: Southern Indian Lake.

As previously noted the plight of Manitoban Indians and Métis was fast coming a matter of public debate. In response to a report describing their living conditions as "among the most wretched in Canada," former Conservative, now Independent, Churchill MLA Gordon Beard resigned his seat to draw attention to just such matters.[7]

While public attention was thus being drawn towards Manitoba's Indians and Métis, Manitoba Hydro proposed a major diversion scheme and high level dam which would demand the resettlement of 600 Indians and Métis whose lands would be flooded. Unexpected costs, high interest rates, and the development by potential customers of thermo-nuclear plants had changed the optimism of the first phase of the Nelson River development as touted in June of 1966. Now Manitoba Hydro proposed to divert 80 per cent of the waters of the Churchill River into the Nelson in order to assure ample water for the power generating plants like Kettle Rapids. The diversion would be accomplished via Southern Indian Lake (sixty miles northwest of Thompson) whose level would be raised by some thirty-two feet. The 600 Indians and Metis who lived on the shores of the lake were amongst the most prosperous native people in the province, having proven themselves to be highly successful trappers and fishermen. Once a license for damming the lake was granted to Manitoba Hydro these people would be forced to move, with compensation of $60,000 promised from the crown corporation.[8]

As soon as public hearings began in early January it was evident that opposition to the entire scheme, including resettlement, was widespread. The government now argued that the flooding of Southern Indian Lake was essential for the viability of the entire Nelson River project. It was that or power shortages "on the coldest, darkest day of winter," said Kris Kristjanson, Hydro's assistant general manager.[9]

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[7] Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 105.

[8] Eric Wells, "Is Being Premier of Manitoba as Comfortable as Ed Schreyer Makes It Look?," Saturday Night, October, 1969, pp. 43-44; Jackson, Centennial History, pp. 258-59; and CAR (1969), pp. 126-28.

Reports submitted by four University of Manitoba professors raised serious doubts whether the government had in fact considered all the alternatives. Resource Minister Harry Enns claimed the government intended to grant the license and that no further cross-examination of hydro officials would be necessary. He refused to make public the government's $6,400,000 worth of reports on the scheme. At this point the Indian community and its spokesmen lost faith in the government. But within days the hydro reports were leaked to the press and the government's intransigent position became almost impossible. Public hearings reopened during the legislative session but Mr. Enns remained irrevocably committed to granting the license.

Both NDP and Liberal parties refused to support such an action in the house, with the NDP voting against proceeding with the development until further information was available. The Liberal members abstained.

On May 20, 1969, the four University of Manitoba professors stood by their earlier charges that the government had taken a narrow single-purpose view of the hydro development. Manitoba Hydro's view, they argued, now supported by the "leaked reports," overlooked the economic destruction of fishing, trapping, wildlife, forestry, tourism and possible ill effects on places like Churchill as regards its water supply and a change in ice patterns in the port. At this same time, just a few days before Walter Weir was to dissolve the legislature, opposition spokesmen tried desperately to persuade the government to make its four technical reports public. Indian leaders and their legal counsel demanded a royal commission and court injunction against granting the license. Thirty Indian demonstrators failed in their attempt to see Mr. Weir and obtain copies of a task force report on the proposed flooding.

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[9] C. W. McConick, "The Tragedy of South Indian Lake," Canadian Dimension, February, 1969, p. 9.

At the very moment that Gildas Molgat was condemning the government, only seconds away from calling for the resignation of Resources Minister Enns, Lieutenant-Governor Richard S. Bowles entered the house to make the dissolution official.[10]

The standstill situation for the Southern Indian Lake (SIL) project caused by dissolution would cost the government $1,000 per day noted Sid Green, candidate for the NDP leadership, as the campaign began in earnest. It was enough money, he argued, to wipe out any alleged economic advantage of the government's plan. It was the inability to obtain information from the government which was at issue from Mr. Green's point of view.

> The losses incurred are a direct result of the government trying to hide the fact that they are past the point of no return on a project which subsequent events have revealed to be of questionable economic validity. The abruptness with which the legislature was dissolved made it impossible for those of us who were involved in the Southern Indian Lake debate to make a public assessment of the facts which were ferreted out at the public utilities board hearings.[11]

As Sid Green and Ed Schreyer travelled together, campaigning against Premier Weir and against each other for the leadership of their own party, they both advocated a low level diversion scheme. They were not opposed to the development of hydro potential but were convinced that the low level diversion, as opposed to the government high level proposal, would be equally as effective and less costly, and would make movement of the Indians at the South Indian Lake colony unnecessary.[12]

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[10] Gonick, "South Indian Lake," pp. 9-10; CAR (1969), pp. 126-8; and WFP, May 20, 21, 22, and 23, 1969.

[11] WFP, May 29, 1969, p. 10.

[12] WFP, June 2, 1969, p. 12.

The new leader Ed Schreyer, once having achieved the leadership at the NDP convention, moved ahead to June 7th, explained that his work as Selkirk MP in Ottawa put him at some disadvantage regarding details of the SIL proposal. "But," he said, explaining cost differences on the two alternatives,

> ...it seems the relative cost between the high and the low is not that great. The high option necessitates two or three bridges, not included in cost estimates, and this would bring the difference to less than $5 millions.
>
> Add to this the advantages of avoiding an enlarged lake with flooded forest, timber and wild life considerations, not having to relocate the inhabitants--on the basis of information I have, it would seem that it could well be that the second option should be taken.
>
> Artificial transplanting of people has failed in the past... we would go for the second option even if it cost 1½ or 2 million more.[13]

Liberal leader Bend favored a low level waterway involving waters from Lake Winnipeg. He insisted that no license should be granted to dam Southern Indian Lake. He called for the development of nuclear power, noting that his comments were now voiced with access to the long secret government reports.[14]

Defences of the government's scheme were made by Manitoba Hydro officials and the Resources Minister. Kris Kristjanson, Assistant-General Manager of the government corporation, explained to the Thompson Chamber of Commerce during the campaign that his corporation was faced with providing a doubled power output every eight years, with mining locations like Thompson doubling every four or even two years. Low level alternatives would provide only 20 per cent of water storage capacity and 60 per cent of the power production capability of the cheaper high-level diversion, he argued. The net yearly advantage of the high-level scheme he calculated at $1,000,640. Questioned by Joe Borowski (NDP--Thompson) he commented on resettlement of the Indian and Métis persons along the lake shore.

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[13] WFP, June 11, 1969, p. 56.

[14] WFP, June 20, 1969, p. 1.

> The Hydro would meet all the costs of moving the people, constructing new houses as well as building a floating fish processing plant. The removal of the Indian graves in the area will be done in accordance with the wishes of the people. Provision will also be made for an upgrading education program. The choosing of the site of the new community will be entirely up to the Indians to decide.

Mr. Kristjanson also warned against further studies--what he called "studyitis"--when $6,400,000 had already been spent on research.[15]

Resources Minister Enns in debate with Robert Bend warned that the Indians in the settlement would soon be subject to a declining standard of living unless they relocated and accepted a government welfare guarantee until 1980. Pointing to a decline in the fish population, he observed of the community, "Right now there is little welfare, but with the kids coming, in five years it will be the same as all the others, they'll be drawing the dole." He also argued that alternative schemes of hydro development could add 50 to 60 per cent to hydro bills and discourage large industries from locating in northern Manitoba.[16]

The deeper levels of the SIL issue expressed by wildlife leaders and community spokesmen of a myriad of groups concerned with the Indians, conservation of wild life, and the environment, were perhaps best voiced by a Mrs. David Daycock addressing the Public Utilities Board. Her loudly applauded comments accused the government of an inhuman lack of sensitivity to the intangible facets of the SIL question. She was referring, in particular, to the feelings of the native residents of the area. She saw an ominous similarity between the use of as many Indians as possible to carry out the project and the employment of Jews in Warsaw ghettoes as operators of doors on the ovens in death camps. Her reaction to the demand for economic development at all costs reflected a new or renewed perspective of the late sixties which focused attention on minority rights, protection of the human and natural environments, and a concern for human or inner development in contradistinction to economic development. Her comments seem to reflect some of the underlying concerns of the 1969 campaign.

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[15] WFP, May 27, 1969, p. 10

[16] WFP, June 24, 1969, p. 1

> ...the notion of the goodness of (material) [sic] progress must be rejected forever. Those who in the past espoused this view left misery and ugliness as their offspring...
>
> Unfortunately progress has come to be a near synonym for the word "more," more busses, more cars, more fur coats, more golf clubs, more electric washing machines and more electric tooth brushes.
>
> But "more" does not necessarily mean "good" or "better." These things do not make us good men. Surely what is more important is to be sane, balanced and whole men--men who care about the quality of life.
>
> Material progress should not be confused with God.[17]

Mrs. Daycock's views mirrored a growing concern for the consequences of "progress" to both the physical environment and the spiritual quality of life. Similar concerns were apparent after farmers requested a six inch lowering of Lake Manitoba to facilitate the growing of hay in low marshlands. The area affected consisted of 35,000 acres of large shallow bays and marshes at the south end of the lake. Dr. H. Albert Hochbaum, director of the Delta Wildlife Research Station spoke at special hearings at Portage La Prairie. Dr. Hochbaum explained how a lowering of the lake would end the fluctuation in water source to the marshes thus destroying a delicate chain of life. Mud and disease would replace the nesting places of ducks, geese and muskrats. He estimated the total value of hay that could be grown in the area at $5,000, the loss in number of ducks alone at 10,000.[18] Concern for Lake Manitoba and its marshes fell into the larger pattern of concern being set by Southern Indian Lake.

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[17] WFP, May 21, 1969, p. 19.

[18] The Globe and Mail, June 7, 1969, p. 8; and WFP, June 3, 1969, p. 18.

The Election Call Issue.

On May 22 Premier Walter Weir gave as reasons for his election call that he desired public approval of his stand at constitutional conferences and of his northern development policies including SIL. He also desired approval for his various tax control measures, agriculture policies and plans to control education costs by more direct control over local school board spending. "You must remember that no party in Manitoba under present leadership has received such a mandate from the people," Mr. Weir announced. "In the past eighteen months there have been leadership conventions for every party."[19]

Tourism Minister Jack Carroll defended dissolution by claiming that opposition parties had been campaigning for three months, that 1970 would be a poor time for an election because of Manitoba centennial celebrations and that the newly approved constituencies would result in fairer representation.[20]

Politicians of all stripes were angered by the sudden dissolution. Much legislation had been left unapproved. Metro councillors were angry because a bill to approve reduction of bus fares for old-age pensioners had not been considered. Another bill which would have doubled a provincial grant to the metro transit system also failed of completion, as did a bill to allow councillors to run for the legislature without first resigning as a councillor and yet another bill allowing a tax-freeze to encourage development in greater Winnipeg.[21]

Russ Paulley pointed to other incomplete areas of proposed legislation, including SIL, a proposed Ombudsman, and new financial arrangements for schools and bargaining rights for teachers. Robert Bend's criticism of dissolution focused on the unnecessary costs of by-elections for an incomplete session, with total election expenditures likely to reach $1,800,000.[22]

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[19] WFP, May 23, 1969, p. 1; and The Financial Post, May 24, 1969, p. 2.

[20] WFP, June 3, 1969, p. 42.

[21] WFP, May 23, 1969, p. 3.

One columnist summed up the election call as sheer expediency on Premier Weir's part, while he was still in the "television limelight" and before fall tax bills were received by taxpayers.

> In short, we're having an election now. Now-- before people have forgotten how their Premier looks in living colour, before Trudeau starts talking back, before the medicare bills hit, before the local tax bills hit, while farmers' hopes are still high, while the opposition parties are at a disadvantage. And before Southern Indian Lake sinks in.
>
> So we are, so we are. But wouldn't it be interesting if it turned out that the voters in Manitoba are not quite as witless and gullible as Mr. Weir seems to think we are?

In the same issue the Winnipeg Free Press called the Premier's action in calling an election with so much unfinished business "most reprehensible." "What a hell of a way to run a province. His decision seems to be based on nothing stronger than political panic," the newspaper charged. "He has...put the political fortunes of his party ahead of the welfare of the people of Manitoba, and done it blatantly and crudely." The paper feared that just this "unfinished business" would become the election platform of the government.[23]

In the context of this perennial issue of dissolution and an election seemingly called for reasons of political expediency, Ed Schreyer promised that an NDP government would propose legislation so that no government could call an election without either first being defeated in the house, or serving out its term of office. "The argument that a premier should have elbow room is not logical," Mr. Schreyer insisted. "Certain rules should be set before the game starts. Any premier worth his salt should be able to defend his government's action at any point in time."[24]

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[22] WFP, May 28, 1969, pp. 1, 18.

[23] Column: "Under the Dome," and Editorial: "Political Panic," WFP, May 23, 1969, p.43.

[24] WFP, June 16, 1969, p. 21.

The Government Record

The government which went to the Manitoba electorate did so determined to make an issue of its "firm grasp" on the Manitoba economy. Premier Weir in most of his speeches, along with most Conservative newspaper advertisements, spoke of two balanced budgets without tax increases in two consecutive years; an unprecedented provincial example in recent years.[25]

"We are not going to the people with a shopping list" Premier Weir said in defense of his party's campaign to stick with the record of the past; the road program, construction of old-age homes and hospitals, the government's outspokenness on constitutional matters, and a significant rise in most manufacturing areas.[26] The Conservative strategy was to stress industrial and economic development pointing to increased investments, more jobs, and more huge developments like the Nelson River project. The Conservative Winnipeg Tribune lauded Premier Weir throughout the campaign, showing pictures of him cutting ribbons and opening new developments.[27] "Manitoba gives every sign of being on the threshold of a major economic and industrial upsurge," the Tribune and Conservative stalwarts proclaimed.[28]

The Liberal Free Press, on the other hand, condemned the Roblin-Weir record as largely one of spending, debt and taxes. The Liberal paper looked back at a Campbell budget of $80,000,000 in 1958, comparing it to the recent $378,000,000 of Walter Weir's government. Debts had increased from $30,000,000 to $150,000,000 and had been as high as $187,000,000. There were, said the Free Press, "increased fees and charges for everything the government has a finger in" including provincial income tax, five percent sales tax, and high taxes on tobacco, liquor and gasoline. Schools were "flossier" and bigger but not better, and more jobs were made available in the Industry and

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[25] MFP, May 29, p.1; and June 3,1969, p.4.

[26] MFP, June 3, p.12; June 4, p.1; and June 21,1969,p.7.

[27] The Globe and Mail, June 24, 1969, p.8.

[28] Editorial, Winnipeg Tribune, June 26, 1969.

Commerce Department then in the rest of the province, the Winnipeg daily quipped.[29]

Both Messrs. Schreyer and Bend criticized the government for its "barrenness of ideas and imagination." They, like the Free Press, saw the loss of key cabinet ministers in retirement as an indication of such barrenness. The closed doors, secret reports and "decisions without discussion" were all seen by Liberal Bend as part of the Conservative failures.[30] Mr. Schreyer saw Premier Weir's reluctance to propose or defend a Conservative program as a further indication of his party's collapse.

> [I]n the entire last legislature session the premier spoke not more than twice to defend his own policies. Yet he expects Manitobans to vote for policies neither defended not explained...certainly the man who took over has no ideas at all. And what is the premier's office all about? Is it a nice big office where you light up big cigars and drive around in black Buicks? Is that what it is all about?[31]

Federal Issues: (1) Taxes and Tax-Sharing.

Walter Weir left the election battlefield behind him to attend a federal-provincial conference in Ottawa in early June. His absence merely intensified his seeming lack of willingness to confront the issues of the campaign. One commentator remarked that the Premier's "personal campaign has been conspicuous by its apparent absence."[32] The conference was not a nationally televised event but Ed Schreyer's NDP leadership victory received detailed coverage by all media in the province. The young leader remained center stage for the balance of the campaign. Premier Weir returned to push what many felt were the "straw-men" issues of federal politics, constitutional questions such as bilingualism and tax-sharing agreements. From some opposition perspectives the talk on such matters smacked again of political expediency, since they drew attention from more distressing provincial quarrels like SIL. Whatever Mr. Weir's motivation, controversies like federal provincial tax-sharing, bilingualism, medicare and wheat prices, although easily classed as "Federal," were undoubtedly the key issues in the campaign.

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[29] Editorial: "Time for a Change," WFP, May 27, 1969, p.21, and Editorial: "A Stronger Voice," May 29, 1969, p. 37.

[30] WFP, June 9, p.1; and June 14, 1969, p.4.

[31] WFP, June 10, p.8 and June 11, 1969, p.56.

[32] WFP, June 21, 1969, p.59.

Premier Weir argued for a wider provincial share of tax collecting powers, He favored constitutional change which would allow provinces to collect indirect taxes. He was confident that some "mechanism" could be set up to establish "spending priorities" in the country and determine them within provincial means.[33] Both Messrs. Bend and Schreyer disagreed with Premier Weir's basic position. The Liberal leader stood opposed to indirect taxes of any kind at any level of government, lest taxes become all too hidden from the taxpayer. "If you buy a pair of shoes, you want to know how much you're paying for shoes and how much in taxes," he said. "If I were going to change that, I would change it so even the federal government couldn't levy hidden taxes." Mr. Bend then described what he felt were the real political forces behind such a suggestion.

> We know the federal government has been letting the provinces move gradually toward the indirect taxation field. But if you weaken federal taxation, then you weaken federal ability to make equalization payments across the nation. If you limit Ottawa's width of taxation, then you limit the amount coming back to you. And who wants it? The Eastern provinces.[34]

Ed Schreyer's position was similar. Premier Weir's stand favoring a larger share of taxation power would only jeopardize Manitoba's growth, for lack of which Mr. Schreyer held the Conservative Government fully responsible.

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[33] WFP, June 11, 1969, p. 19.

[34] WFP, June 17, 1969, p. 1.

> In this province we unquestionably require the continued revenue input which can only be derived from federal-provincial tax-sharing agreements which emphasize equalization and regional development.
>
> Mr. Weir's ready agreement to water down this pattern of fiscal policy may well endanger the future capacity of our province to grow forward fast.
>
> Thanks in large part to his timid and listless administration, Manitoba is not yet in the more independent fiscal position enjoyed by Ontario, B. C., or Alberta.[35]

The quarrel over the tax-sharing position might just as well have been one of those issues which serve as instrumental or even subservient to a larger substantive matter. For the real problem in the view of many was the tax burden of Manitobans. One such citizen summarized the situation fully in a letter to the Free Press, as he reminded readers of the raft of taxes levied by the Conservative Government.

> ...let us remember the five per cent sales tax; hydro and telephone tax; spiraling gas taxes; the inflationary school divisions system that is bankrupting the rural and smaller communities; the compulsory hospital plan (remember how the premium has gone up?) [sic] the Manitoba Development Fund (by which the Government helps to set up big monopolies against which small industries and small farmers cannot compete); [sic] the compulsory medicare plan (many will find it difficult to pay the $204 annual premium; will the cost of medicare skyrocket like the cost of hospitalization did?) [sic] Their unrealistic, plunderous, inflationary programs have helped to raid the pocket book of the consumer to the tune of unknown millions of dollars.[36]

Each party presented its suggestions for easing such a tax burden. Robert Bend introduced one of his five, in retrospect, lacklustre, white papers on the subject which emphasized the principals of ability-to-pay, with a reduction in sales and utilities taxes. Ed Schreyer, too, talked of "transferring tax loads from one base to another." If those who can pay don't," he said, "it means those who are less able to pay, do."[37] Mr. Schreyer would follow suggestions in the Carter Commission report on taxation calling for a complete reform of tax bases. He would end tax holidays for mining companies and, he said, entering another area at issue, trade all estate tax rebates from the federal government in exchange for equivalent lessening of personal income tax.[38]

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[35] WFP, June 21, 1969, pp. 1 & 13.

[36] Letter to the Editor signed George C. Elias, Haskett, Manitoba, WFP, June 21, 1969, p. 65.

On the estates tax rebate question Mr. Weir had admittedly acted reluctantly to agree to a future rebate for what he called "false incentives." His government was still basically opposed to estate tax havens despite promises that if re-elected it would introduce estate tax rebate legislation. "...[W]ith Saskatchewan and Alberta providing a haven...Manitoba is in no position to see Manitobans liquidize their estates and move into other areas of Canada," the Premier explained.[39] He feared that Canadians could move and find legislative changes later. Liberal spokesmen condemned the government for its mismanagement of the entire issue. Robert Bend and the Free Press complained that a bill had been ready but died on the order paper at dissolution because Premier Weir wanted a quid pro quo agreement (along the lines outlined by Mr. Schreyer as it turned out) whose delay, and even realization, gave other provinces a distinct advantage.[40]

Federal Issues: (2) Bilingualism.

The second federal and constitutional issue which caught fire in the campaign was Ottawa's proposals for the encouragement of bilingualism (French and English) throughout the country. One of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism called for bilingual districts wherever a ten per cent minority of citizens in a given area spoke either of the two languages. Although Walter Weir had a list of twenty-four constitutional principles on which he continued to challenge politicians to debate, it was tax-sharing and bilingualism which were the talk of the province. "The main topic of conversation among the farmers of the south-west and the heavy population of Ukrainians and other ethnic groups in north Winnipeg is Ottawa's forcing everyone to speak French," was how one observer saw the campaign.[41]

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[37] Globe and Mail, June 24, 1969, p. 8.

[38] WFP, June 21, 1969, p. 13.

[39] WFP, June 18, 1969, p. 20.

[40] WFP, June 5, 1969, pp. 12 & 33. Including Editorial, "Seeing the Light."

It was Walter Weir's position that French-Canadian rights had in fact been protected in Manitoba and that a progressive extension of such rights could be made on the language problem by a process of gradualism as the people became ready to support such extensions. It was the return of an argument often used in Manitoba history. To facilitate the support of language rights and "to clear the air," Mr. Weir argued that the federal official languages bill should be tested in the Supreme Court, "before it becomes a subject of controversy throughout the land." Mr. Weir insisted that such a position was not "narrow-minded" but rather reflected Manitoba's historical tolerance on the "very delicate question" of language rights. It was quite another matter for Ottawa "to foist unconstitutional legislation on the provinces," he argued.[42]

Winnipeg's Ukrainian-Canadian Acting Mayor Slaw Rebchuk left his longstanding Liberal position to run as a Progressive Conservative candidate in the metro riding of Point Douglas. His campaign was based on promises to fight for equal recognition for the languages of Canada's other ethnic minorities.[43]

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[41] The Globe and Mail, June 20, 1969, p.3.

[42] WFP, June 5, p.63; June 11, p.19 and June 13, 1969, p.15.

[43] The Globe and Mail, June 20, 1969, p.3.

But perhaps the most outspoken critic of the official languages proposals was William M. Swystun (Conservative--Burrows). Mr. Swystun claimed the bill contradicted the spirit of a "Canadian Mosiac" proffered by Prime Minister Trudeau and infringed on provincial rights. He was angry with the federal Prime Minister for having kept silent on a brief presented to him on behalf of 500,000 Ukrainian-Canadians.[44] Arguing that the languages act would have serious repercussions in Manitoba with its large minority groups, Mr. Swystun wrote an open letter to his constituents in Burrows:

> I know of many cases of productive members of the community whose inability to speak French has already impaired their chances for the civil service or other Government posts.
>
> It is my belief that any language compulsion is unjust and threatens minority rights. Comprehensive legal research has convinced me that the Act is unconstitutional and must be tested by the Supreme Court.
>
> The constituency of Burrows is representative of diverse minority elements, and my forefathers were told that their languages were equal and that they would have full opportunity to keep their own language alive. The act completely disregards the rights of minorities, which we have so successfully fought for in Manitoba. The bill infringes on the provincial education system.
>
> No one language group or culture is superior to another. This is a crucial issue. Your vote is extremely important.[45]

NDP leader Schreyer expressed his personal distaste with the Weir and Swystun campaigns and said of statements coming from such Conservatives:

> Poisonous drivel like this cannot but harm Canadian unity. Anyone who has lived in Eastern Canada cannot help but think that what is involved in this election, is not the Government of Manitoba, but the future of the Canadian nationhood.[46]

Mr. Schreyer explained his readiness to debate the matter even in the Winnipeg Auditorium if need be, but after the election.

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[44] WFP, June 20, p.5 and June 23, 1969, p.5.

[45] Letter to the Voters of Burrows. WFP, June 24, 1969, p.5.

[46] WFP, June 24, 1969, p.8.

A Franco-Manitoban like MLA Larry Desjardins (Liberal-St. Boniface) expressed his preparedness to bolt the Liberal Party if his leader Robert Bend did not make clear his stand in opposition to Premier Weir. Disagreeing with Mr. Weir's "gradualism" principle Mr. Desjardins argued:

> By using this word we are encouraging separatism and we welcome back prejudice, with all its division, and yes, with its hate.
> Mr. Weir and those who hear his views...are advocating a retrogressive policy and we have fought too hard to bring about a change in the political climate of this province.[47]

For the Premier's part he denied trying to make the official languages bill an issue. "The talk about the...bill has been by others ...," he insisted, noting that charges of "racism" have "no place in an election campaign."[48]

Federal Issues: (3) Agriculture.

As an area of concurrent jurisdiction between federal and provincial powers, agriculture also fell into the arena of the major "federal" issues in May-June 1969. Premier Weir spoke of the need for a new concept of agriculture. He argued that the rising technology of agribusiness should cause a reconsideration of farm production. New products should be used as materials for manufacturing and processing for a world market. Using a new distillery at his home base of Minnedosa as an example, the Premier explained: "A bushel of grain shipped out of the province in a bottle was greater than a bushel of grain...left in a box-car."[49] "We need some assistance to help us develop" the Premier said. He advocated shared responsibility by federal and provincial governments along with farmers. Mr. Weir and his Agriculture Minister J. D. Watt favored federal acreage payments as a means of aiding hard-pressed farmers.[50]

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[47] WFP, May 31, 1969, p. 1.

[48] WFP, June 11, 1969, p. 19.

[49] WFP, June 4, p. 15; also May 29, 1969, p. 1.

[50] WFP, May 29, p. 1 and June 4, 1969, P. 75

The lack of wheat sales and a lowering of prices had caused a decline in prairie grain farmers' incomes of $450,000,000 over the last two years, according to Manitoba Farm Bureau spokesmen. The same bureau called on all candidates to clarify their positions on agriculture positions particularly on new federal guidelines promoting the "dynamic agriculture industry...in world markets," that even Mr. Weir spoke about.[51]

Storage facilities were overloaded with unsold grain, the low prices and lacking wheat sales for which were the prerogative of the federal government and the National Wheat Board. In a December, 1968 visit to Winnipeg Prime Minister Trudeau had commented "Why should I sell your wheat," in a reference to both wheat board and farmer responsibilities. But the comment came back to haunt usually strong local rural Liberals. One Liberal worker in south-west Manitoba said of the comment: "It's even worse than C. D. Howe's 'What's a Million?' It's beginning to take on the proportions of 'Let them eat cake'."[52]

The issue of Federal wheat sales was, then, bitter and widespread. Bill Uruski (NDP-St. George) complained at Poplarfield, "Our provincial government should be pressing the federal government to find markets for our grain instead of making a red-herring issue out of the language bill."[53]

Both Liberal and NDP opposition parties favored a two-price system for grain farmers to assure them of a fixed price no matter what the market bore. In another of his "white papers" Robert Bend criticized Premier Weir's stance against a two-price policy. He called on the government to help farmers move into livestock production when grain-marketing was not providing adequate incomes.[54]

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[51] WFP, June 11, 1969, p. 59.

[52] The Globe and Mail, June 20, 1969, p. 3.

[53] WFP, June 16, 1969, p. 21.

[54] WFP, June 11, 1969, p. 1.

Mr. Schreyer argued for the two-price system for grain sales; advocated an enlargement of crop insurance and optional hail insurance; called for legislation to enable independent farmers to enter livestock cooperatives before that area was taken over by large corporations looking for tax writeoffs; and recommended government assistance to enable farmers to switch from the production of surplus to scarce commodities. Calling for immediate cash assistance Mr. Schreyer said of the Conservative Government: "For too long the provincial government here has been silent or too timid in influencing national farm policy. As a result dairy quotas have been lost to Eastern Canada, there is no two-price system and farm incomes are falling."[55]

Sticking close to rural centres and smaller gatherings the Premier replied in Carman that a two-price system on wheat would not solve the farmer cash shortage but "would encourage overproduction in an area already plagued by surpluses." Premier Weir favored acreage payments as a stop-gap measure to enable farmers to make payments of interest on bank loans until their grain was sold.[56]

When the federal government announced general cash advances to needy grain farmers, Ed Schreyer expressed his disappointment. What the farmers needed was cash assistance, not advances. He questioned how such advances were to be repaid. It was, Mr. Schreyer said, "an appeasement, but a poor one."[57] The reaction of a farmer vice-president of the Manitoba Farmers Union to the cash advances announcement seems to have summed up the attitude of many farmers in June of 1969.

> All this will do is prolong the agony. Men who couldn't pay last year's advances will now have an even bigger burden to carry, but you can't borrow yourself out of debt.

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[55] WFP, June 19, 1969, pp. 1 & 6.

[56] WFP, June 20, 1969, p. 1.

[57] WFP, June 21, 1969, p. 35.

> The farmers will certainly take advantage of this, but it is not the answer. What the federal government should be doing is getting the grain moving agin. They are not trying hard enough with export sales.[58]

Federal Issues: (4) Medicare.

The last of the "federal issues" of province-wide concern was medicare. Although bills had not been sent to Manitobans the province entered the federal medicare scheme on April 1, 1969. We have already noted how premiums had risen for health care in Manitoba and it was that high cost (now $9.80 per family per month) particularly as it hit senior citizens and the poor, which was largely at issue. Most critics simply called for an adjustment in premiums to allow those least able to afford their premiums. NDP leadership aspirant Sid Green exclaimed: "Men like James Richardson pay the same premium as an Indian living at Southern Indian Lake."[59] Both NDP and Liberal candidates called for premiums tailored according to ability-to-pay. Ed Schreyer's promise to halve medicare premiums drew heated Conservative responses. Premier Weir commented as his sardonic response to ability-to-pay suggestions, "You could trade the premium for an eight per cent sales tax."[60] Alan G. Gardiner (Conservative-Elmwood) warned that Mr. Schreyer's "grandiose promises" meant an attempt to abolish premiums at the cost of greatly increased taxes. Calling such a contention the "stupidest" statement of the campaign, the NDP leader explained that he would "reduce" payment by taking the difference out of ability-to-pay. "The medicare premium is a medicare premium tax, that is the only way to look at it. What we want to do is to transfer this tax to another tax where the ability-to-pay principle is brought into use. That is why this is such a stupid thing to say."[61]

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[58] WFP, June 21, 1969, p. 35.

[59] WFP, June 2, 1969, p. 45.

[60] WFP, June 18, 1969, p. 45.

[61] WFP, June 20, p. 3 and June 23, 1969, p. 3.

Liberal leader Bend also called for abolition of the flat premium in favor of an ability-to-pay scheme, the same principle that was operative in the province's hospitalization plan. Mr. Bend warned that medicare premiums could rise even higher since they did not include the additional $7.20 per family per month likely to be added for hospital insurance.[62] Robert Bend also angrily charged that the Weir Government had included $4,000,000 worth of provincial health department expenditures under the umbrella of medicare premiums when the expenditures had been previously financed by general revenues. Mr. Bend claimed that the government, rather than raising taxes, attempted to disguise an increase in health spending by using the premiums. In short, Mr. Bend said on one occasion, "Manitobans are being overcharged $4,000,000 on their medicare premiums."[63]

The medicare issue was also explosive because of the long reluctance of many doctors to enter the scheme. In Brandon and Thompson, where almost all doctors opted out of the scheme, citizens organized and protested against the doctor's rights to "extra-bill" patients the full 100 per cent of medical services compared to 85 per cent under the plan elsewhere in the province. Dr. M. V. Naidu, chairman of the Brandon Citizens' Committee, said such extra-billing amounted to a third tax on Brandon residents. "Medicare," he said, "is one of the most important election issues...The rights and well-being of 32,000 people cannot be subordinated to the demands of forty-six individuals, even if they are doctors."[64]

At their convention during the campaign the members of the Manitoba Federation of Labor recommended a ban on extra billing by doctors who had opted out of the plan. The MFL reflected wider concerns as well as it called for diagnostic and preventive coverage. Such coverage would include dental, optical and pharmaceutical care.

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[62] WFP, June 12, 1969, p. 1.

[63] The Globe and Mail, June 14, 1969, p. 8.

[64] Ibid.

The federation favored a one per cent increase in income tax in order to do away with medicare premiums.[65]

Health and Welfare Issues.

In the larger realm of health and welfare, generally, there were a number of issues which received much less attention, including such matters as expansion of services for the treatment of alcoholics, higher salaries in order to attract nurses to rural hospitals, and the expansion and improvement of various day care centers and homemaker services.[66] The issue most talked about, however, was the province's seeming intention to form a joint department of health and welfare. As one of the sponsors of a Greater Winnipeg Social Service Audit Report, the government planned to devise new social service programs following extensive study of the report and consultation with the many agencies involved.[67]

Private social agencies and professionals in various medical and health services were both angered by attempts by provincial civil servants to reshape social services, and afraid of the pending results of the social service audit. A government-sponsored agency to deliver all health and welfare services was seen by such personnel as likely to foster a loss of voluntary contributions and private initiative and concern. They expressed their concerns at a public meeting called for that purpose.

> It is our belief, based on our experience, that such an impersonal bureaucratic organization would only dilute, if not destroy the very important citizen participation which can bring a multitude of talents and skills to the service of the private agency, and which also ensures that there is a feed-back of concern and knowledge of the needs and problems through these concerned citizens to the wider business and professional communities.[68]

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[65] Canadian Labour, July-August, 1969, p. 45; September, 1969, p. 10; and WFP, June 2, 1969, p. 3.

[66] WFP, May 24, p. 23; May 31, p. 23; and June 4, 1969, p. 3.

[67] From a statement of retiring Social Services Minister, George Johnson, WFP, June 19, 1969, p. 30.

[68] WFP, June 11, 1969, p. 1.

The release of the social service audit report one week before election day brought as its chief recommendation the formation of a network of neighborhood and social service centers sponsored and financed by the provincial government. The Free Press reacted to the release of the report by describing as the "real issue" whether voluntary or government organization could best help answer the rising call for social assistance.

> Both have advantages and disadvantages. Government, because of its personnel and financial resources, is perhaps best suited to operate a large, extensive program in which coherence is desired; but this can all so easily turn into a bureaucracy in which efficiency and the personal touch are lost. Voluntary organizations certainly are best qualified to give the personal care and human touch that is so necessary in helping people; but where a number of small organizations operate in the same field, this also can make for inefficiency.

The editorial then described the audit report's suggestion for decentralized neighborhood centers under provincial sponsorship as the best of both worlds, although perhaps the most controversial of the report's many recommendations. It continued:

> Voluntary agencies and workers distrust too much government control over what they are trying to do; some may be reluctant to join government service. Some agencies would be eliminated and would disappear. Nobody who has spent time and energy in promoting the objectives of voluntary agencies is going to take kindly to a government takeover or even an amalgamation of a group of agencies.[69]

Health and welfare concerns at election time now also extended to Indians and Métis. Government and opposition candidates spoke at Indian friendship centers about past achievements on the one hand and the need for housing and better education, on the other. Ed Schreyer noted the need for an education curriculum which corresponded to Indian culture and ancestry. He called for Indians to sit in on provincial curriculum planning sessions.[70]

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[69] Editorial, "Audit Report," WFP, June 19, 1969, p. 49

[70] WFP, June 13, 1969, p. 15

Housing Issues.

Housing needs in a climate of rising housing and land costs and the generally unhealthy environments associated with ever increasing numbers of high-rise apartments were a major urban issue. Liberal and NDP spokesmen indicated how the Weir Government had failed to take advantage of federal grants for housing programs. Cy Conick (NDP-Crescentwood) attempted to explain the rise in cost of an average $18,500 Winnipeg home in 1965 to $23,500 in 1969. "Large tracts of land around the city are being amassed by speculators who plan to hold them until they can be sold at huge profit. The result is an artificial scarcity of building land." Developers were thus forced by the high price of lots to put up luxury housing which would guarantee them a return on their investment, Mr. Conick charged.[71]

Opposition candidates joined the MFL in demanding provincial rent controls and a review of landlords and tenants legislation in order to provide legal rights for tenants and require landlords to justify rent increases. Robert Bend, in another of his white papers, called for a government department of housing as did several NDP candidates. Ed Schreyer expressed opposition to stereotyped public housing that lacked the outdoor space so many apartment dwellers complained of in June 1969. "Putting people into an environment that makes them unhappy is not the cheapest way," he said. The NDP leader proposed rent-supplements as employed in Western European countries as a way of avoiding barracks-like developments. He also recommended a public housing corporation to meet the demands for low-cost housing and subsidy rents.[72]

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[71] WFP, June 20, 1969, p. 5.

[72] WFP, June 13, p. 15; June 14, pp. 1 & 5; and June 17, 1969, pp. 2 & 43.

[73] See for example WFP, June 5, p. 63; June 12, p. 17; and June 14, 1969, p. 4

Education Issues.

Education issues raged about such monetary problems as heavy tax burdens and a growing demand for funds to build schools, expand programs, fund research, and offer student loans to meet increasingly higher tuition fees in higher education.[73]

However, two announcements by Education Minister Donald W. Craik were by far the most volitile controversies in the education field. Mr. Craik announced that the government would expand the power of its public schools finance board to enable it to review all local school board revenues and establish a time table for teachers salary negotiations. The expansion of powers of the finance board was designed to give it jurisdiction over special municipal tax levies which up until that time had been determined by local school boards attempting to cover costs not otherwise covered by the provincial foundation program grants. Under Mr. Craik's new proposal any special levy would require the unanimous approval of a school board or a majority vote of the ratepayers in the school district.[74] Tourism Minister Jack Carroll explained the government's concern behind the proposal by arguing that some school districts tended to let their costs run away with them and such actions "tended to become the floor level" for all other districts. The enlarged role of the provincial finance board would "flag down the ones who get out of control."[75] The government's proposals on collective bargaining called for regional bargaining and a September 15 to January 15 limit within which bargaining between trustees and teachers could take place. The latter proposal was ostensibly designed to facilitate proper budgeting.[76]

Criticism of the proposals was intense on the part of all opposition party leaders and educational associations. Large rallies heard these spokesmen complain that the financial proposal curbed the freedom of school trustees, and limited local autonomy at a time when more educators were thinking in terms of decentralized authority. John Enns, president of the Manitoba Teachers' Society argued that the proposed budget control would inevitably lead to provincial control of educational program entailing its associated loss of local initiative, community interest and participation. "If community involvement in education is to be maintained," Mr.Enns argued, "it is necessary that responsibility for the control of education expenditures remains with the division (school) [sic] board...." His attack continued:

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[74] WFP, May 31, p. 1; and June 3, 1969, p. 43.

[75] WFP, June 3, 1969, p. 42.

[76] WFP, June 3, 1969, p. 43.

> What the government is proposing is a restrictive, temporary measure suited to political expediency rather than to effecting economies in education. The teachers' society advocates that the government undertake a thorough, long-range study of education finance with provision for hearings from citizens and groups of citizens.[77]

At a Winnipeg teachers' rally Robert Bend said the financial proposal "negates a basic right of local determination of school affairs." "There is no question that we must evolve policies to combat increasing costs," the Liberal leader said, "but the answer is not to put total control on Broadway." Fearing the same lack of control, Ed Schreyer said in his turn at the rally that Mr. Craik's financial proposal "would have school boards as the apparent body to whom the citizen must look for participation while the real and effective control would be an administrative organization of the provincial government shielded from genuine scrutiny." The unanimous voting plan Mr. Schreyer noted, "amounts to giving a conservative veto power to a minority of one in every school board."[78]

Mr. Schreyer also accused the government of unfairly blaming school trustees for what was really a province-wide pressure to build and produce. In the same vein the president of the Manitoba Association of School Trustees charged that Education Minister Craik was trying to make the trustees "scapegoats in a pretense at cutting school costs."[79]

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[77] WFP, June 3, 1969, p. 43.

[78] WFP, June 13, 1969, pp. 9 and 12.

[79] WFP, June 3, 1969, p. 43.

The trustees were also the "goat" for the proposal to limit the period of time for collective bargaining. The same spokesmen of the various teachers' associations and opposition parties condemned the time limit charging that the trustees had not registered complaints and that no other group of employees from caretakers to superintendents faced such deadlines. By having given up the right to strike in 1956 and permitted jurisdiction of their bargaining procedures to be transferred from the Labor Relations Act to the Public Schools Act, Manitoba teachers were perhaps in an unfortunately unique situation. It was on such a basis that D. M. S. Robertson, president of the 2400-member Winnipeg Teachers' Association said of the bargaining time limit:

> This is nothing but the rankest of discrimination against a group of employees who find themselves isolated and vulnerable under a separate piece of legislation that is administered by the education minister and we cannot help but wonder whether the minister of labour would dare to make the same kind of proposal to amend the Labor Relations Act which sets out the collective bargaining procedures for other employees of school boards.[80]

As a former professor of political science NDP leader Ed Schreyer may have seen the deeper implications of the limitations. Defending the integrity of the existing system of unrestricted negotiation-arbitration-conciliation, Mr. Schreyer observed: "Those people who would suggest that teachers would be effective even though their working conditions were imposed upon them demonstrate a profound ignorance of the educational process."[81]

On the entire collective bargaining question the Education Minister denied any intention of interfering with the collective bargaining rights of teachers. "The machinery for collective bargaining is not in question," he said at the Winnipeg teachers' rally. "Our proposal would have the effect of enabling all concerned to plan their financial commitments in time for inclusion in the budget expenditures of school boards for the financial year." Mr. Craik, referring to a proposed commission on teacher-trustee relations, admitted alterations might be necessary "if after examination of the commissioner's report the government decides that wider-ranging changes are required."[82]

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[80] WFP, June 13, 1969, p.4.

[81] WFP, June 13, 1969, p.12.

On the question of regional bargaining the president of Manitoba's school trustees claimed his association had been assured by Mr. Craik as late as the day of dissolution that such a proposal was not being promoted. Liberal leader Robert Bend favored a non-compulsory plan of regional bargaining and would set up distinct regions for such purposes. Ed Schreyer believed the loose regional groupings the government seemed to have in mind would have no power to bind a number of school boards within it, and hence, he said, "A regional bargaining authority...is not a bargaining agency at all."[83]

The intensity of feeling on this cluster of three issues was evidenced by D. M. S. Robertson's description of Mr. Craik's proposals as "vicious and arbitrary." Teachers, the president of the Winnipeg Teachers' Association claimed, were "absolutely and irreversibly opposed to them." In reference to a series of four teacher-instigated arbitration board hearings, decided in favor of teachers' rights to negotiate working conditions, Mr. Robertson concluded:

> Teachers want to have a voice in shaping our education system--they want and deserve respect for their professional ability to carry out their responsibilities. We do not intend to allow those who have never forgiven us for fighting doggedly and determinedly for a cause we knew to be right, to obtain--through oppressive legislation--what they could not persuade a fair and impartial arbitration board to give them...We give fair warning.[84]

Local Issues.

It would appear that the "federal issues" discussed earlier were the most deep-rooted and wide-spread in this campaign. Throughout southern districts like Pembina, Rock Lake and Souris-Killarney, wheat sales and shortages of box-cars, the languages bill, railroad branch line abandonment, and high land taxes were the major issues.

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[82] WFP, June 13, 1969, pp. 1 and 12.

[83] WFP, June 13, 1969, pp. 1 and 9.

[84] WFP, June 13, 1969, p. 4.

As Earl McKellar(Conservative-Souris-Killarney) observed "I don't talk about federal issues...they just come up by themselves."[85]

In northern communities the major issue was the need for more and improved roads. All parties shared the concern but it was a matter of extensive debate nevertheless. The election had delayed release of a one-man commission report on northern transportation, and a government promise of twenty-five per cent of the highways budget for northern roads was still seen by some to be insufficient. The Free Press recorded a literal bombardment of letters and resolutions directed to the government by northern Chambers of Commerce, and commented editorially in a special supplement on the North:

> No matter what party forms the government after June 25th, it is hoped that they will listen closely to the cries from the north. It is time to put on a big push to open the North of Manitoba. If that is where our future lies, let's make it possible for us to see what it looks like.[86]

Party leaders announced alternative programs for road building as well as expanded government departments for the overall economic development of the north.

Suspicions reigned over the amount of public money invested in the Churchill Forest Industries project in The Pas. Ed Schreyer noted that the legislature had "never determined" what ratio of public to private capital had gone into the project. "We have strong suspicions," Mr. Schreyer noted, "that what money is in there is public development money and it has been there three years and nothing has happened.[87] The NDP leader called for an investigation into the use and abuse of Manitoba's development funds in a number of projects like CFI as he correctly prophesied that "Churchill Forest Industries will go down as the blackest moment in Manitoba's economic history."[88] The Manitoba Federation of Labor asked the government to test the validity of a CFI contract with The Pas by which the company was permitted to dump fifty thousand pounds of organic waste per day into the Saskatchewan River.[89] And it was projects like CFI and SIL which prompted reports from the annual conference of the Manitoba Wildlife Federation that their information "merely suggests that the north is a wasteland to be used solely as a dumping ground for giant industry."[90]

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[85] WFP, June 21, 1969, p. 34.

[86] Editorial: "Roads to Future," WFP, June 17, 1969. (Special Supplement, p. B2).

[87] WFP, June 11, 1969, p. 56.

While the "rape of the north" raged as an issue throughout the province Winnipeggers were exercised by questions of the high cost of housing and medicare, and by proposals for changes in the structure of municipal government. Differing proposals for both regional government and larger amalgamation were posited throughout the campaign as the Free Press complained that "a rurally-oriented legislature and a massively disinterested provincial government" were responsible for a forty-four per cent decline in population in twenty-five years as well as declines in sales and employment in greater Winnipeg.[91]

Minor Issues.

NDP leader Ed Schreyer talked extensively of plans for enlarged democratic participation including plans for a provincial ombudsman; an auditor-general's office to "report regularly to the legislature through a strengthened and properly staffed public accounts committee"; much broader use of MLA's and legislative committees instead of royal commissions; a consumer protection bureau to conduct price hearings and encourage consumer owned cooperatives; and a government information service that would move, he promised, beyond the "Hollywood promotion scheme" of one-way information flow used by existing cabinet ministers.[92]

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[88] The Pas Herald, June 4, 1969, as cited in Harold Chorney, "MDF: The NDP Meets Big Business," Canadian Dimension, p. 44; and Philip Mathias, Forced Growth: Five Studies of Government Involvement in the Development of Canada (Toronto: James, Lewis and Samuel, 1971), p. 143. The latter two sources cite the extent to which public funds were in fact abused up to the point of Mr. Schreyer's decision to place all CFI projects under government receivership.

[89] WFP, June 2, 1969, p. 3.

[90] WFP, June 21, 1969, pp. 1 and 10

[91] Editorial: "New Heart," WFP, June 6, 1969, p. 19.

The NDP leader also made political mileage out of his promise for a government-sponsored auto insurance program. He was able to point to the record-low premiums available in Saskatchewan's NDP-introduced program.[93]

Personality Issues.

The Liberal campaign proved to be something of an embarrassment to its mid-fifties leader. Miniskirted cheerleaders led their leader and his "Bendwagon"bus to celebrate "Liberal days" in various parts of the province. "Bobby" Bend faced continual charges that his leadership victory was costing the party the loss of its younger members. The Liberals "have deliberately steered rightward to arch conservatism...led by a man who describes himself as being right of center, and man that is right," Ed Schreyer observed.[94] The NDP leader called his opponent's "bent wagon" gimmicks an attempt to emulate the 1968 Trudeau campaign and there appears to be little doubt that the Manitoba Liberal Party suffered from all forms of association with its federal counterpart.

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[92] *WFP*, June 12, p. 1; and June 20, 1969, pp. 12 and 20.

[93] Editorial: "A Positive Victory," *The Globe and Mail*, June 27, 1969, p. 6. Compare Editorial: "Auto Insurance," *Canadian Labour*, February, 1969, p. 4.

[94] *WFP*, June 9, 1969, p. 1. Robert Bend had earlier given an indication of his political leanings when he said, "Yes, they label me a reactionary. I'll plead guilty to being right of center insofar as fiscal policies are concerned. But I want to see us getting value for our dollars. To do this I would establish a system of priorities to make certain that we spend public money wisely...As for being reactionary, would a reactionary introduce the measures I did when I was Minister of Health?" *The Globe and Mail*, June 23, 1969, p. 3

In return, both Messrs. Weir and Bend accused Russ Paulley and Ed Schreyer of "Marxist" and "socialistic" tendencies that would raise taxes, fail to initiate development, and "woo unwary voters" who failed to see that talk of a "social democratic" party was deceptive.[95] Speaking in Brandon in the last week of the campaign Ed Schreyer explained his position. "Let's forget this hangup about the word socialism. Rather than waste time defending a word that has been abused for years, let's talk about social democracy because we're all social democrats." He later told a reporter "why the hell should I defend a word? Sure there's a difference in approach now, but the basic philosophy of the party hasn't really changed."[96]

Meanwhile, Premier Walter Weir reportedly avoided television appearances and major speeches in favor of "speeding across the prairies in his black Buick, bantering with people in the dusty little towns where he has always been most comfortable."[97]

The Results

Two conservative parties seemed pitched against a truly liberal inheritor of whatever was progressive in the earlier Roblin reaction to Campbellite caution. Both Mr. Schreyer's progressivism and the elements of cautious rural conservatism of his two opponents were, it seems safe to say, deeprooted moods in Manitoban political history. The unexpected NDP victory can be explained, therefore, when one links these moods with the federally influenced collapse of the Liberal Party; the recent and seeming arrogance and failures of the Weir administration in such matters as medicare, Southern Indian Lake, Churchill Forest Industry and increased government costs and rising taxes; the aggrieved but newly confident minorities (Indians, northerners, interlakers and urban working class, ethnic groupings) willing to end traditional government support; the excellent coverage of the leadership convention and Mr. Schreyer thereafter; and the literal invasion of well-seasoned organizers who were successful at last in getting long-time "socialists" out of the back-rooms and out onto the young voter's doorstep.[98]

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[95] WFP, June 7, p.1; June 17, p.2; and June 24, 1969, p.1.

[96] The Globe and Mail, June 24, 1969, p.8.

[97] The Globe and Mail, June 24, 1969, p.8.

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[98] Ted Chudyk, one of the many organisers made available to the Manitoba NDP in both the 1966 and 1969 campaigns and now Director of Organisation has noted the traditional practice of party faithfuls resting on established support as in North Winnipeg. He portrays pipe-smoking party stalwarts engaged in armed-chair analyses of campaigns until the influx of professional organisers energized a successful membership campaign in 1969. Interview: November, 1973, Mount St. Vincent University, Halifax, N.S.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS - 1969.

TABLE I

PARTY	SEATS WON	POPULAR VOTE	% POPULAR VOTE	% SEATS WON
NDP	28	128,080	38.3	49.1
Progressive Conservative	22	119,021	35.6	38.6
Liberal	5	80,288	24.0	8.8
Social Credit	1	4,535	1.4	1.8
Communist	--	744	.2	--
Independent	1	2,020	.6	1.8

TABLE II

REGIONAL COMPARISONS OF POPULAR VOTE

PARTY	NORTH WPG	ALL URBAN	NORTH-CENTRAL RURAL	PROV-WIDE	ALL RURAL	S&W (INCLDG. BR.)	S&W (EXCLDG. BR.)
NDP	62.7	45.0	42.7	38.3	29.8	21.0	17.6
PC	22.7	32.2	32.1	35.6	39.8	45.4	47.0
LIB.	12.7	21.9	21.1	24.0	26.6	30.2	31.4
S.C.	--	--	2.2	1.4	3.6	3.3	3.8
COMM.	1.4	.4	--	.2	--	--	--
IND.	.5	.4	1.7	.6	.8	--	--

The results as tabulated in TABLES I and II indicate that the NDP win was the result of the redistribution rather than any significant change in regional voting patterns. The twenty southern and western seats which we have examined in each election were reduced in number to sixteen if we include the two Brandon seats. The NDP share of the popular vote in these sixteen seats was only 21 per cent, somewhat better than previous elections but still very low. If we exclude the two Brandon urban seats, rural south-west support for the NDP in the remaining fourteen seats plummets to 17.6 per cent of the total popular vote. Only 10.5 per cent of the party's total vote came from this quarter of the province's constituencies. The Conservatives took 47 per cent of the popular vote in the same fourteen ridings, well above their provincial average of 35.6 per cent. Liberals too, remained relatively high by taking 31.4 per cent of the popular vote, again well above their province-wide figure of 24 per cent. Needless to say, the NDP failed to win any of the fourteen seats.

Similarly, the pattern in North Winnipeg remained unchanged. Instead of 7 constituencies there were now 9, with the NDP winning all 9 of them and taking 62.7 per cent of the popular vote. Progressive Conservative support was 22.7 and 12.7 per cent respectively, well below their provincial averages, and in the case of the Liberals, barely half of their provincial figure. Over one-quarter of the New Democratic Party's total vote (33,027 or 25.7 per cent) came from these 9 constituencies alone. (TABLE II)

Similarly, the Liberal and Conservative Parties' support was greatly unbalanced, with 30 per cent of the total support for each party coming from the 14 rural south and west constituencies.

Some of the most telling differences in voting patterns, therefore, appeared no longer simply urban-rural or even north-south, although obvious differences existed at this level; rather they were the deeprooted historic and economic differences between the laboring classes of north Winnipeg, and the rural citizens south and west of Winnipeg, and the election issues peculiar to these regions.[99]

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[99] All percentages were worked out by the author, and based on results as recorded in CPC, (1971), pp.563-65. The fourteen rural constituencies in the region south and west of Winnipeg were now Arthur, Birtle-Russell, Emerson, Gladstone, Lakeside, LaVerendrye, Minnedosa, Morris, Pembina, Portage La Prairie, Rhineland, Rock Lake, Souris-Killarney, and Virden. The nine North Winnipeg constituencies included the original seven plus Point Douglas and Rossmere. The central and northern Manitoba (interlake and north) consisted of another fourteen ridings; Churchill, Flin Flon, Rupertsland, The Pas and Thompson in the North; and Dauphin, Gimli, Lac Du Bonnet, Roblin, St. George, Ste. Rose, Selkirk, Springfield and Swan River, central ridings.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES - 1969.

Major, Province-Wide, Clusters.

1. Southern Indian Lake.
    - (a) Resettlement of Indian villagers.
    - (b) Secrecy surrounding government reports.
    - (c) Economic and ecological consequences.
    - (d) Alternative schemes.
    - (e) Economic development versus quality of life. (concern).
2. Bilingualism and Constitutional Change. (Federal).
    - (a) Implementation in Manitoba versus language gradualism.
    - (b) Minority languages.
3. Agriculture. (Federal).
    - (a) Wheat sales and prices.
    - (b) Diversification of agriculture industry.
    - (c) Box-car shortage. (Local).
4. Medicare. (Federal).
    - (a) Costs and sources of premiums.
    - (b) Extra-billing.
        - (i) Concentration of opt-out doctors in Brandon and Thompson (Local).
    - (c) Wider coverage.
5. Taxes and Tax-Sharing.
    - (a) Federal-provincial tax-sharing agreements. (Federal).
    - (b) Increased taxes and sources. (Province-wide).
    - (c) Estate tax rebate. (Federal).
    - (d) Provincial expenditures and debt--government record.

6. Housing.

   (a) Rents and land costs.
   (b) Legal rights of tenants and landlords.
   (c) Public housing.

7. Education.

   (a) Tax burden.
   (b) Funding for schools and programs.
   (c) Research and student loans programs.
   (d) Powers of public schools finance board. (Sectional).
   (e) Time table for teachers' salary negotiations. (Sectional).

Minor, Province-wide.

Health and Welfare.

   (a) Social Service Audit Report. (Temporary).
      (i) Government versus private initiative.
      (ii) Decentralization of Services.
   (b) Treatment of alcoholics. (New, Concern).
   (c) Nursing Shortage. (Concern, Perennial).
   (d) Day care. (New, Concern).
   (e) Housing and Education For Indians and Metis. (Concern).

Election Call--Unapproved Legislation. (Temporary).

Democratic Participation in Government. (Concern).

   (a) Ombudsman
   (b) Consumer protection.

C F I Project at The Pas. (Speculative).

Auto Insurance. (Instrumental, Concern).

Local, Perennial.

Improved Roads--North

Railroad Branch-Line Abandonment.

Structure of Municipal Government--Winnipeg.

2

Rural Dominance in Legislature--Affect on Winnipeg.

Personality, Political.

Robert Bend--His Age and Conservatism.

Ed Schreyer and Russ Paulley--Marxism, Socialism and Social Democracy

Walter Weir--Conservatism, Arrogance and Absence From Campaign

5

MANITOBA GENERAL ELECTION, 1969

Dissolution: Twenty-Eighth Legislature May 22, 1969.

Nominations: June 11, 1969.

Voting: June 25, 1969.

LEGEND: P.C. — Progressive Conservative; Lib. — Liberal; N.D.P. — New Democratic Party; S.C. — Social Credit; Ind. — Independent; Comm. — Communist.

ARTHUR

J. Douglas Watt (PC)	3,133
John W. McRae (Lib)	1,375
Raymond E. Jones (NDP)	980

ASSINIBOIA

Steve Patrick (Lib)	2,355
Bill Docking (PC)	2,329
Curtis Nordman (NDP)	1,466

BIRTLE-RUSSELL

Harry E. Graham (PC)	2,574
Don Kostesky (NDP)	2,263
John Braendle (Lib)	1,360

BRANDON EAST

Leonard S. Evans (NDP)	3,035
Emily Lyons (PC)	1,962
Don Martin (Lib)	1,194

BRANDON WEST

Edward McGill (PC)	2,814
James M. Skinner (NDP)	2,310
Terry Penton (Lib)	1,796

BURROWS

Ben Hanuschak (NDP)	3,418
W. M. Swystun (PC)	1,317
Olga E. Lewicki (Lib)	751
Andrew Bileski (Comm)	323

CHARLESWOOD

Arthur Moug (PC)	3,401
Duncan Edmonds (Lib)	2,361
John C. Hilgenga (NDP)	1,325

CHURCHILL

Gordon Wilbert Beard (Ind)	1,18[illegible]
Walter Perepeluk (Lib)	971
André Champagne (PC)	913
Will Hudson (NDP)	822

CRESCENTWOOD

Cy Gonick (NDP)	2,680
Gurney Evans (PC)	2,416
Frank Muldoon (Lib)	1,422

DAUPHIN

Peter Burtniak (NDP)	2,833
Stewart E. McLean (PC)	2,692
Robert E. Sheldon (Lib)	620

ELMWOOD

Russell J. Doern (NDP)	3,803
Alan George Gardiner (PC)	1,526
John Michael Kozoriz (Lib)	1,053

EMERSON

Gabriel Girard (PC)	2,457
John Tanchak (Lib)	2,014
Stephen Zaretski (NDP)	695
Jacob Wall (SC)	237

FLIN FLON

Thomas Barrow (NDP)	2,045
C. H. Witney (PC)	1,675
Francis L. Jobin (Lib)	1,276

FORT GARRY

Bud Sherman (PC)	3,570
G. Grant Cosby (NDP)	2,083
Richard A. Wankling (Lib.)	1,836

FORT ROUGE

Inez Trueman (PC)	2,750
Una Decter (NDP)	2,446
Jane Heffelfinger (Lib)	1,341

GIMLI

John C. Gottfried (NDP)	2,159
Eric Stefanson (PC)	1,936
Walter John Griffin (Lib)	1,663

GLADSTONE

James R. Ferguson (PC)	3,080
Nelson Shoemaker (Lib)	2,583
Mary E. McIntosh (NDP)	1,084

INKSTER

Sidney Green (NDP)	4,001
Robert B. Armstrong (PC)	989
J. Gurson Harvey (Lib)	881

KILDONAN

Peter Fox (NDP)	4,589
Don Mills (PC)	1,876
John Gugulyn (Lib)	651

LAC DU BONNET

Samuel Uskiw (NDP)	4,080
Fred T. Klym (PC)	1,307
Al Tymko (Lib)	808

LAKESIDE

Harry J. Enns (PC)	2,532
R. W. Bend (Lib)	2,190
Charles Lucas (NDP)	673

LA VERENDRYE

Leonard A. Barkman (Lib)	1,933
John Blatz (PC)	1,051
Elmer Reimer (NDP)	721

LOGAN

William Jenkins (NDP)	3,029
Sam Minuk (PC)	871
Howard Ferguson (Lib)	679

MINNEDOSA

Walter Weir (PC)	3,525
Emile Roy (NDP)	1,713
Donald A. McNabb (Lib)	1,028

MORRIS

Warner H. Jorgenson (PC)	2,472
Joseph Legault (Lib)	1,183
William T. Loftus (NDP)	712
Henry W. Funk (SC)	231

OSBORNE

Ian Turnbull (NDP)	3,168
Obie Baizley (PC)	2,563
Wm Loewen (Lib)	965

PEMBINA

George Henderson (PC)	2,023
Kenneth John Draper (Lib)	1,015
David Harms (SC)	521
Edith Alsop (NDP)	336

POINT DOUGLAS

Donald Malinowski (NDP)	2,253
Slaw Rebchuk (PC)	1,088
Roger J. Garrity (Lib)	520
W. A. Kardash (Comm)	431

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

Gordon E. Johnston (Lib)	2,451
Harvey Carmichael (PC)	2,440
Sidney Coulthard (NDP)	1,048

RADISSON

Harry Shafransky (NDP)	3,707
Edward J. Kotowich (Lib)	2,284
Moreen Henderson (PC)	1,054

RHINELAND

Jacob M. Froese (SC)	1,981
Henry D. Hildebrand (PC)	1,853
W. S. Forrester (Lib)	782
Jacob W. Heinrichs (NDP)	181

RIEL

Donald W. Craik (PC)	3,152
James E. Buchanan (NDP)	3,096
Raymond Spence (Lib)	1,423

RIVER HEIGHTS

Sidney Spivak (PC)	4,623
Mark Danzker (Lib)	1,573
Jack Silverberg (NDP)	1,051

ROBLIN

J. Wally McKenzie (PC)	2,579
Mike Kawchuk (NDP)	2,448
J. R. Mitchell (Lib)	516

ROCK LAKE

Henry J. Einarson (PC)	3,064
Remi de Pape (Lib)	1,819
C. Timothy Leonard (NDP)	763

ROSSMERE

Edward Schreyer (NDP)	4,089
David Pekary (PC)	1,746
Vern Breckman (Lib)	631
Stanley Copp (Ind)	238

RUPERTSLAND

Jean Allard (NDP)	1,366
S. P. Berthelette (Lib)	1,142
Paul C. Burelle (PC)	1,026

ST. BONIFACE

Laurent L. Desjardins (Lib)	3,365
Kam Gajdosik (NDP)	2,040
Maurice J. Arpin (PC)	818

ST. GEORGE

Bill Uruski (NDP)	2,294
Elman Guttormson (Lib)	1,898
Joseph Schwartz (PC)	1,169

ST. JAMES

Al Mackling (NDP)	3,842
Douglas M. Stanes (PC)	2,676
Peter Moss (Lib)	1,404

ST. JOHNS

Saul Cherniack (NDP)	3,642
Joe Rozmus (PC)	1,014
George Strewchuk (Lib)	796

ST. MATTHEWS

Wally Johannson (NDP)	2,874
Robert A. Steen (PC)	2,217
Rudy Peters (Lib)	1,119

ST. VITAL

Jack Hardy (PC)	2,587
Jim Walding (NDP)	2,564
Joe Stangl (Lib)	2,034

STE. ROSE

Gildas Molgat (Lib)	2,247
Heinz Marohn (PC)	1,199
Leon Hoeier (NDP)	754
Norma Oswald (SC)	313

SELKIRK

Howard Pawley (NDP)	3,374
R. S. Oliver (PC)	2,054
George S. Sigurdson (Lib)	835
Thomas Norquay (Ind)	57

SEVEN OAKS

Saul A. Miller (NDP)	4,203
Daniel A. Yanofsky (PC)	1,505
Evelyne Rosborough (Lib)	813

SOURIS-KILLARNEY

Earl McKellar (PC)	3,053
Ed. Dow (Lib)	1,902
Wayne Williams (NDP)	892

SPRINGFIELD

René E. Toupin (NDP)	2,724
George Mulder (PC)	1,551
Hector Bahuaud (Lib)	807

STURGEON CREEK

Frank Johnston (PC)	2,781
Robert M. Chipman (Lib)	2,251
Stanley J. Carter (NDP)	1,251
William John Turner (Ind)	396
James Farrell (Ind)	238

SWAN RIVER

James H. Bilton (PC)	1,920
Alex Filuk (NDP)	1,757
Jerry Webb (SC)	1,252
Gordon H. Beaumont (Lib)	760

THE PAS

Ron McBryde (NDP)	1,556
John B. Carroll (PC)	1,261
Calvert D. Gibson (Lib)	963

THOMPSON

Joseph P. Borowski (NDP)	2,436
Thomas Farrell (PC)	1,500
Maurice Desjardins (Lib)	843

TRANSCONA

Russ Paulley (NDP)	4,614
Thelma Jean Call (Lib)	1,498
Ken Gunn-Walberg (PC)	1,052

VIRDEN

Morris McGregor (PC)	2,161
Earl Dawson (Lib)	1,571
Ralph Rowan (NDP)	1,531

WELLINGTON

Philip Petursson (NDP)	3,260
William McGarva (PC)	1,522
Thomas Barnes (Lib)	1,035

WINNIPEG CENTRE

J. R. Boyce (NDP)	2,398
Jim Cowan (PC)	1,451
Joseph Wapemoose (Lib)	822

WOLSELEY

Leonard H. Claydon (PC)	2,260
Hans. J. Wittich (NDP)	1,743
Paul N. DuVal (Lib)	1,291

CONCLUSIONS:

A COMMENTARY ON

PATTERNS AND APPLICATIONS

The foregoing descriptions of the issues in Manitoba general provincial elections have been, by design, quite lengthy. In the course of the extensive depictions of each campaign the attempt has been made to draw certain conclusions regarding the life and patterns of particular issues, for example, their repetitive qualities, their relative importance in urban as against rural locations, their employment to disguise other issues, and so on. From time to time we applied one of the fifteen classifications suggested in the introduction in order to illustrate something of the variety in nature and scope of the many issues.

It is indeed difficult to discover definite patterns in the wealth of issues presented in the foregoing chapters. The attempts here to discuss patterns and the usefulness of such research for future studies are admittedly modest. Yet, there are definite areas of interest which suggest themselves. The nature of long-lived or perennial issues is certainly deserving of comment and in this concluding commentary an attempt will be made to portray graphically some of the more obviously perennial issues in Manitoba. The graphical portrayals are designed to assist the reader in understanding the long-lived nature of certain issues and their relationship to the rise and fall of other issues. This interrelationship also suggests something of the "dodge-like" character of perennial issues. Some attention will also be directed towards the temporary or short-lived issues as well. Even the rise and fall of issues of the various classifications employed throughout this study may be suggestive of the movement or pattern of Manitoba campaign history.

The comments to follow will direct our attention to the way in which such matters as farm-labor and urban-rural differences, the left-right nature of political parties, party ideologies and the Red Tory phenomenon can be more fully understood by reference to election issues.

In the context of such considerations some suggestions will be offered as regards the general utility of a study of this kind for further studies of a more intensive and theoretical nature.

Short-Lived Issues in Manitoba.

One of the most interesting and useful classifications in determining patterns is the category of "time." We set off the "time" classification in isolation from classifications of either the "area, extent or scope" or of the "nature, kind or style." Naturally, many issues in the Manitoba campaigns were short-lived. The "personality" issues, for example, or the specific roorbacks, dodges and charges of corruption which we have examined are, by and large, limited to a single election campaign. The more specific, separate and evident the issue the more it tends towards ready resolution and a short life. Hence, matters like the destruction of crops by unfenced cattle (Herd Law--1879), the jurisdiction of Rat Portage (1883), the need for assessment laws (1892), or regulations for flying the Union Jack in public schools (1907) are heated questions but usually for the length of one campaign only. Certain historical events or economic, social and political developments seem to make other issues short-lived. Specific problem areas like Southern Indian Lake (1969) are usually limited to a single campaign. Accidents of nature--prairie fires (1886) or "cyclone" damage (1892) --are of course limited to a particular campaign. The very specific issues related to larger issue clusters of the costs of governing, mismanaged or unimaginative administration are also generally limited to one or two campaigns. Issues circulating around particular commissions and government reports also tend to be temporary (for example, Rowell-Sirois in 1941). Issues like the construction of a telephone system (1907 to 1914), the war effort (1941), veterans" aid (1945), rural electrification (1945 and 1949) and anti-Communism (1949) are all dependent on either particular historical events (for example, the war and cold war) or on technological advancements. These technological changes, when once instigated, generally speaking no longer remain at issue. The coming of new forms of technology may of course foster the return of the issue subject but in a very different form. Hence, the development of truck-piggy-back service and the abandonment of branch-rail lines (1962) is a return of the better roads and railway issues but in a completely new and relatively short-lived form. Similarly, the development of jet travel and its new technology resulted in the closing of the maintenance shops of propellor-type aircraft in Winnipeg (1962).

Many or most of the issues which we have classified as "political" are also short-lived. "Political" issues, it should be recalled, are those issues related to governmental performance (whether questions of direction, effectiveness or honesty in office), party activities or questions specifically related to the governmental system or political process. They are much more specific and evident, and thus more capable of implementation or resolution. Some electoral reforms, like proportional representation or the use of municipal clerks for voter registration, can be more readily resolved than the more diffuse social and sectional issues which may underlay school and language legislation, for example. The "invasions" of particular parties (Social Credit in 1936 and 1953 and CCF in 1945) along with particular reforms (Socred monetary reforms of 1936) tend also to be short-lived "political" issues. Such "political" issues simply follow the recent victory of the invading party in a neighboring province.

Perennial Issues in Manitoba.

But other issues in Manitoba had much longer lives. Educational issues, and in particular the cluster of issues fed by the sectional concerns of French versus English, Catholic versus Protestant, private versus public schooling have the deepest permanency of all the issues in Manitoba.

The demand for compulsory education, for example, was first argued in a campaign by Captain Thomas Scott of Winnipeg in 1874. It became a major issue in the campaigns of 1907, 1910, 1914 and 1915. Compulsory education was also colored by its potential effect on the education of minorities. Hence, the question continued to be at issue in 1920 and 1922 as sections of the electorate reacted to its implementation.

But the right to separate or private schooling and religious and minority language education is the most obvious perennial issue cluster in Manitoba. It emerges as a major issue cluster in 1874 immediately following the proclamation of the school legislation of 1871. The question continues as a major cluster in the election of 1878, is temporarily submerged by another cluster of perennial issues --railway policy-- from 1879 to 1886, and most particularly so in 1883 when disallowance seems to draw such strong attention. The schooling questions reemerge in 1888.

In the elections of 1892 and 1896 the public versus private schools question becomes the key election issue and even with the Laurier-Greenway compromise it continues as a very evident issue in every campaign from 1899 to 1922. In the 1920 and 1922 campaigns the sectional issue takes the form of the demand for bi-lingual and religious instruction in the schools. From 1922 to 1941 the issue is again submerged by other issues related to agriculture, the depression and the war effort. Urban-rural discrepancies, teacher and classroom shortages and low salaries--all seemingly caused or exacerbated by the depression and the war effort--are the dominant education issues until the end of the Second World War. But the reemergence of the question of rights to private schools and religious education comes about in 1945 in the context of the debate over larger school divisions. The issue grew in importance throughout all the remaining election campaigns (1949 through 1969) not only as the larger school divisions applied to more minority areas, but also as the financial base of education raised questions about public support for private schools and, vice versa, minority support for public schools. In fact the problem of the financing of education has itself been at issue almost continuously throughout the history of Manitoba elections as well.

The following graph (I) indicates the perennial strength of the Manitoba schools question as an issue and contains the changing elements of the cluster and the external issues which periodically cause the cluster's submergence.[1]

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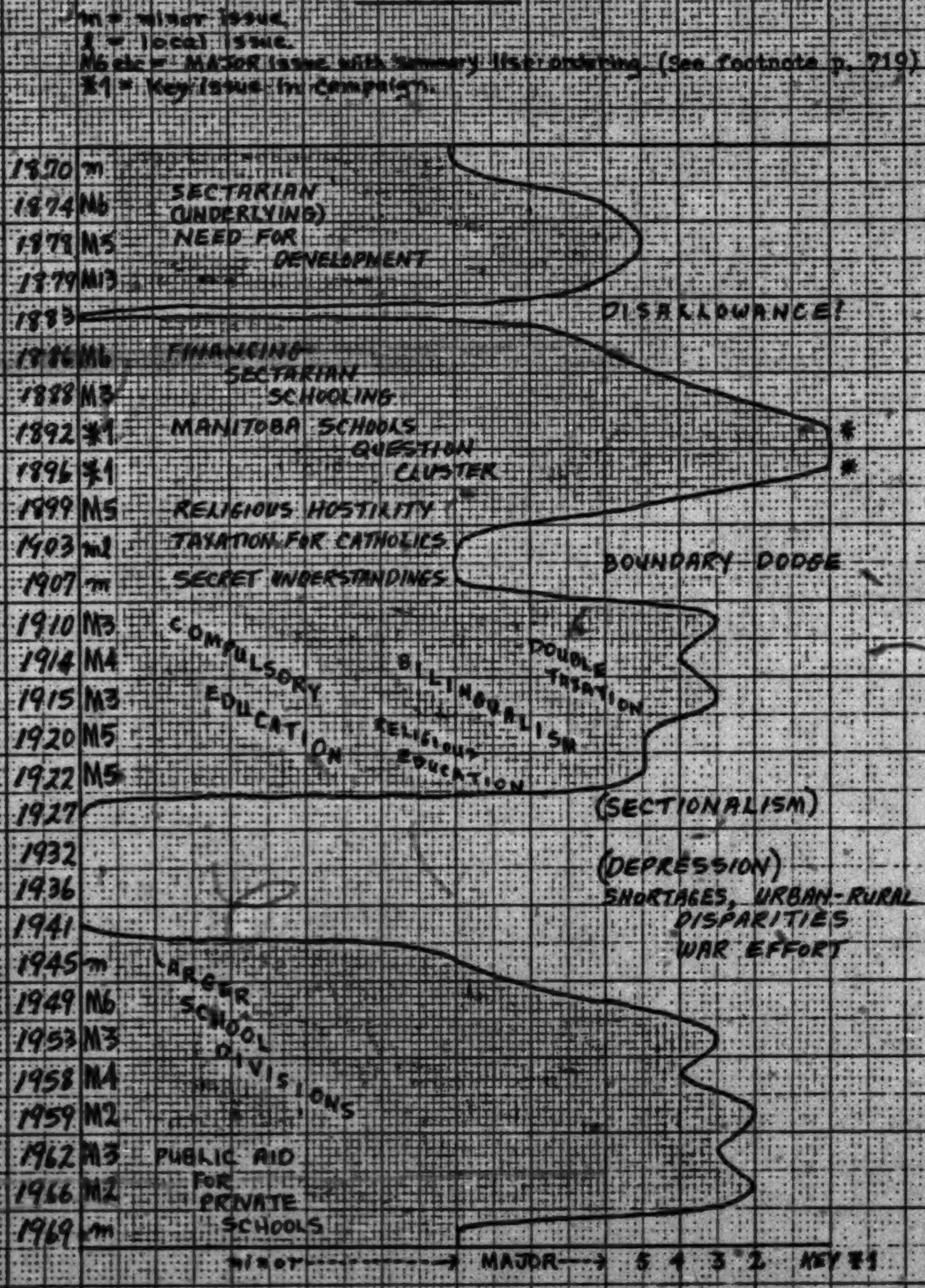
[1] The graphs are based on the summary lists of issues which are contained after each election campaign discussed in this study. In those summaries the attempt was made to list the issues (albeit tentatively) in

GRAPH I



PERENNIAL QUALITIES OF MANITOBA SCHOOLS QUESTION

Another cluster of issues with great perennial qualities are those issues which have to do with the nature of partisanship, coalition, party-versus-class politics, and their alleged connection with the issue of provincial-autonomy-versus-federal-power. These issues arise almost continuously throughout Manitoba's election campaigns.

The two major dimensions of this perennial political cluster are "party-versus-class politics" (which includes the growth and demand for sectional representation and group government) and "no-party" or non-partisanship versus partisanship.

All of the Manitoba campaigns in the 1870's contained heated discussions of the place of party politics in local (Manitoba) elections. In the 1880's the questioning of orthodox partisan politics due to the mixed heritage of "no-party" and "party" politics was exacerbated by "federal" issues or federal politics. In other words the perennial quality of one issue cluster--party-versus-class-politics and partisanship-versus-non-partisanship--was fostered by quite another set of "political" issues. Those issues included the view that partyism was promoted by Eastern-become-Manitoban newspaper editors and that partyism was responsible for the federal government's withholding natural resources and school lands, failing to extend boundaries, supporting the CPR monopoly, and disallowing provincial rail legislation, legislating high tariffs and freight rates, and failing to promote the building of the Hudson's Bay Railway.

The position of Provincial Rights supporters in Manitoba in 1882-83 describes the issues which made no-party or anti-party stances popular at that time. These positions bear repeating:

> All the questions at issue may be resolved into the single one of local self-government in opposition to Ottawa rule. Shall Manitoba be a province of the Dominion in reality or only in name? Shall she enjoy the same right to use her own lands, to develop her own

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order of their importance--widespread and heated discussion, etc--in the campaign. The letters "m" (minor) and "M" (Major) followed by a number indicate the positions of importance in those summaries, M1 meaning the key or most important issue, M2 the second most widely and heatedly discussed, M3 the third, etc.

> resources, to manage her own local affairs, which is exercised by every other province in the Dominion, or shall her Legislature be but a name, her autonomy a sham and a by-word? 2.
>
> By its humiliating subserviency to the Dominion authorities as well under the regime of Mr. Mackenzie as Sir John Macdonald, this noble province finds itself unable to construct public works of the most essential character, unable to develop its grand natural resources, unable to establish a proper system of education, unable in every respect to take a material and intellectual position worthy of its natural advantage, and of the progressive and spirited character of its people. 3.

As we have already noted, the fact that such statements should come from western Manitoba at a time in the campaign when the disallowance fever had waned somewhat from itsinitial heat and from a community much beholden to CPR development indicates something of the depth of this non-partisan issue and attitude.

Both the T. C. Norris Liberal Government and the Bracken farmer administration had obtained and, in the latter case, clung to power on the basis of the non-partisan issues and spirit from 1915 onward. In the 1930's and 1940's the partisan-versus-non-partisan issue took the form of arguments for and against coalition where this question was almost always a major or key campaign issue. The following graph (II) illustrates the three major stages in the issue cluster's life--(1) non-partisanship-versus-partisanship and the role of local party politics (1870 to 1888), (2) sectional representation or party-versus-class politics (1915 to 1927) and (3) partisanship and non-partisanship as debated in the context of coalition (1932 to 1949).

A third problem area of considerable longevity is the matter of temperance and the control of liquor licensing and sales. Appeals for temperance or outright prohibition and government controls of the sale and distribution of liquor recur in the campaigns of 1874, 1879 and 1886. The demand for plebiscites on questions like total prohibition and licensing outlets for sale of liquor is an important question in all

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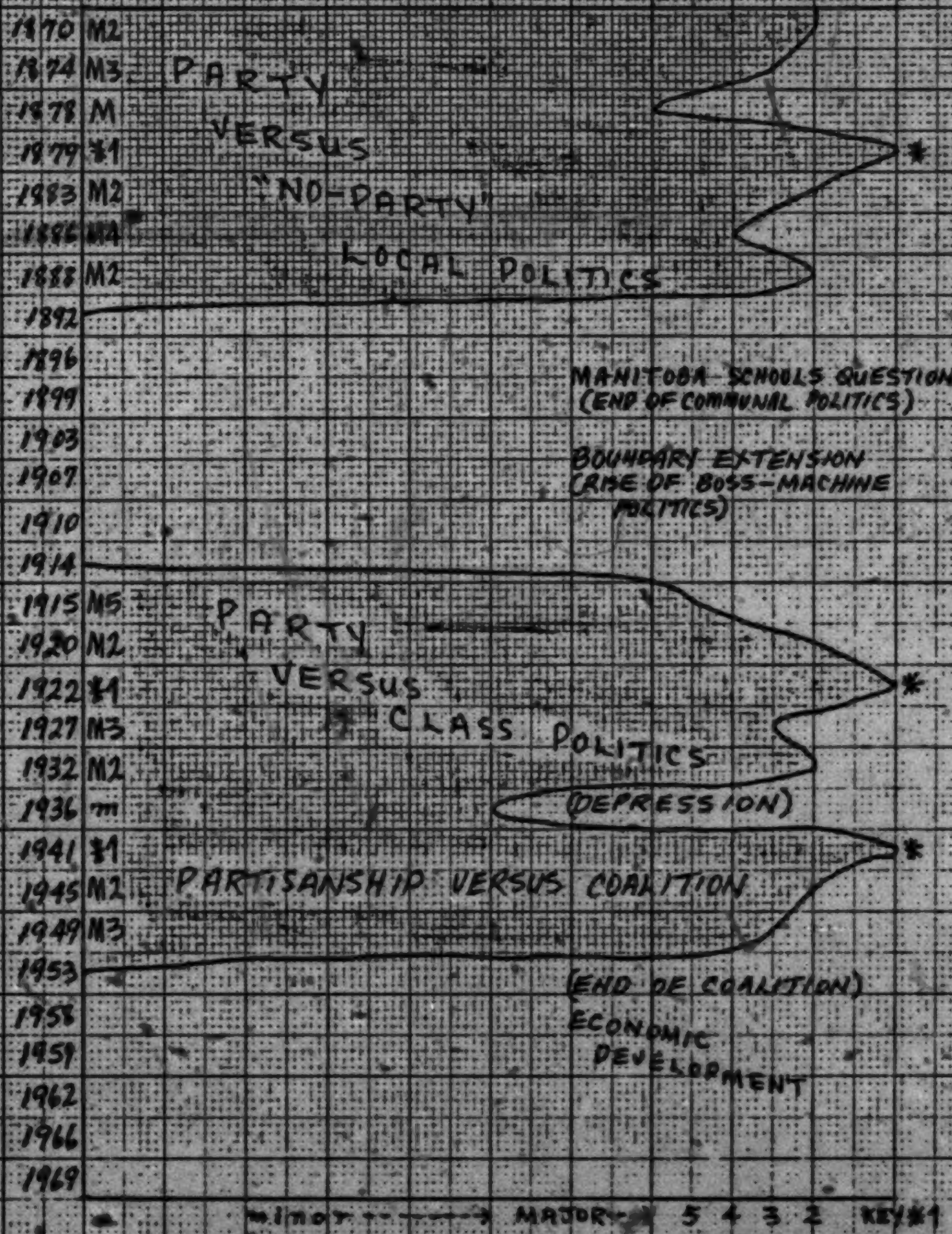
2 Rapid City Standard as reprinted in MFP, January 22, 1883, p. 2.

3 Brandon Daily Mail, December 23, 1882, p. 2.

GRAPH II



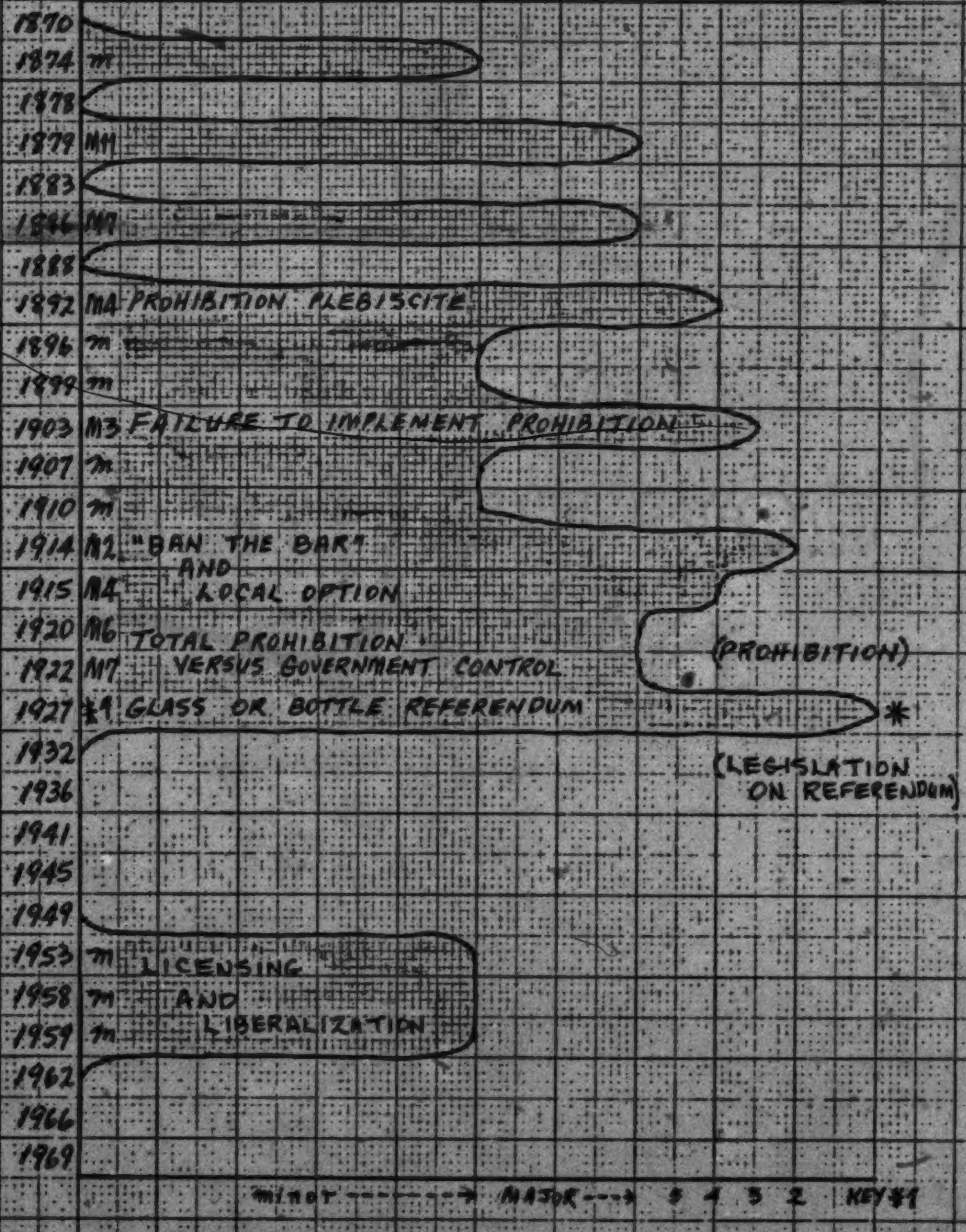
PERENNIAL QUALITIES OF PARTISANSHIP CLUSTER campaigns from 1892 through 1927. After the latter campaign a referendum and consequent legislation finally quieted the controversy for a period of years. However, the question reasserts itself in later campaigns (especially 1953 and 1958) as discussions over local option votes and mixed beer parlors arise. Again the perennial nature can be portrayed graphically (graph III), with its decline following the 1927 referendum and its later reemergence out of new dimensions.

Railway policy is the fourth obvious subject of on-going attention in campaigns. In every election from 1870 to 1879 railway issues are limited to discussions of the need for their development or quarrels over the placement of railway bridges. From 1882-83 through every campaign until 1910 the issue cluster is compounded by concerns over disallowance, the CPR monopoly, and branch-line service. The issue cluster was always among the major two or three issues most heatedly debated from 1882 to 1910 but following 1910 the whole cluster disappears. This disappearance is in part due to the completion of most rail service (save for certain northern areas). Moreover the issue was submerged by the charges of corruption and by the rise of new sectional and political issues which we have associated with the 1914 to 1927 era. While rail construction was completed around 1910, rail service, freight rates and competition could conceivably have continued as major issues.

The issue does return in the 1950's and 1960's as concern for branch-line abandonment grows. But its sudden departure on two occasions makes it appear to be a somewhat more instrumental or material issue capable of resolution than those already discussed above. The following graphical portrayal (graph IV) shows clearly the early longevity of the railway cluster and its sudden departure and indicates those issues which superseded the railway cluster as major controversies.

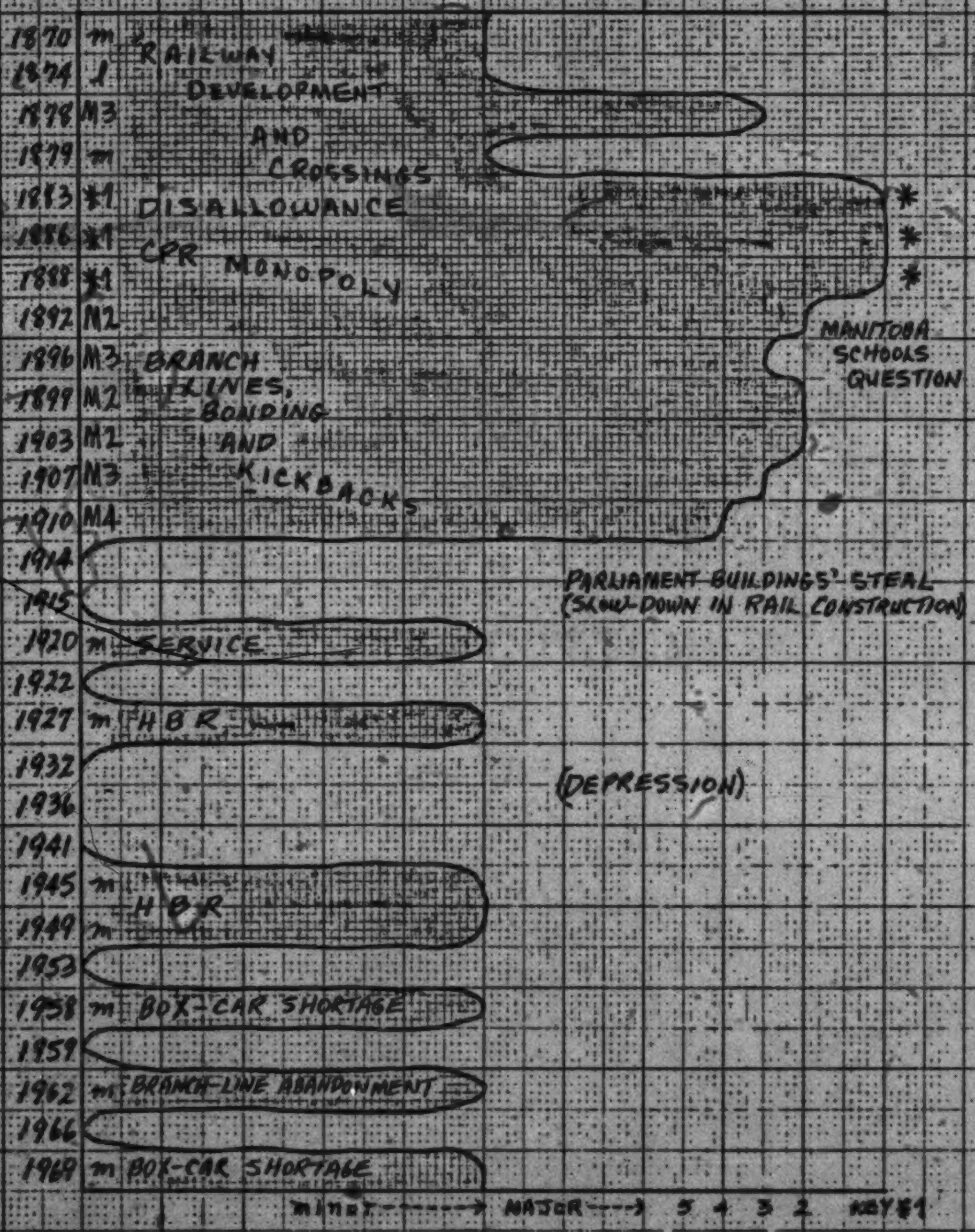
Two other clusters of issues were long term--those concerning farmers and those concerning labor. Complaints by farmers in such groups as the Patrons of Industry made evident issues in 1892, 1896 and 1899. The demands of farmers for a "new deal" reached major proportions again in campaigns in the 1920's and 1930's. Rural poverty and vertical

GRAPH III



PERENNIAL QUALITIES OF TEMPERANCE CLUSTER

GRAPH IV



PERENNIAL QUALITIES OF RAILWAYS CLUSTER

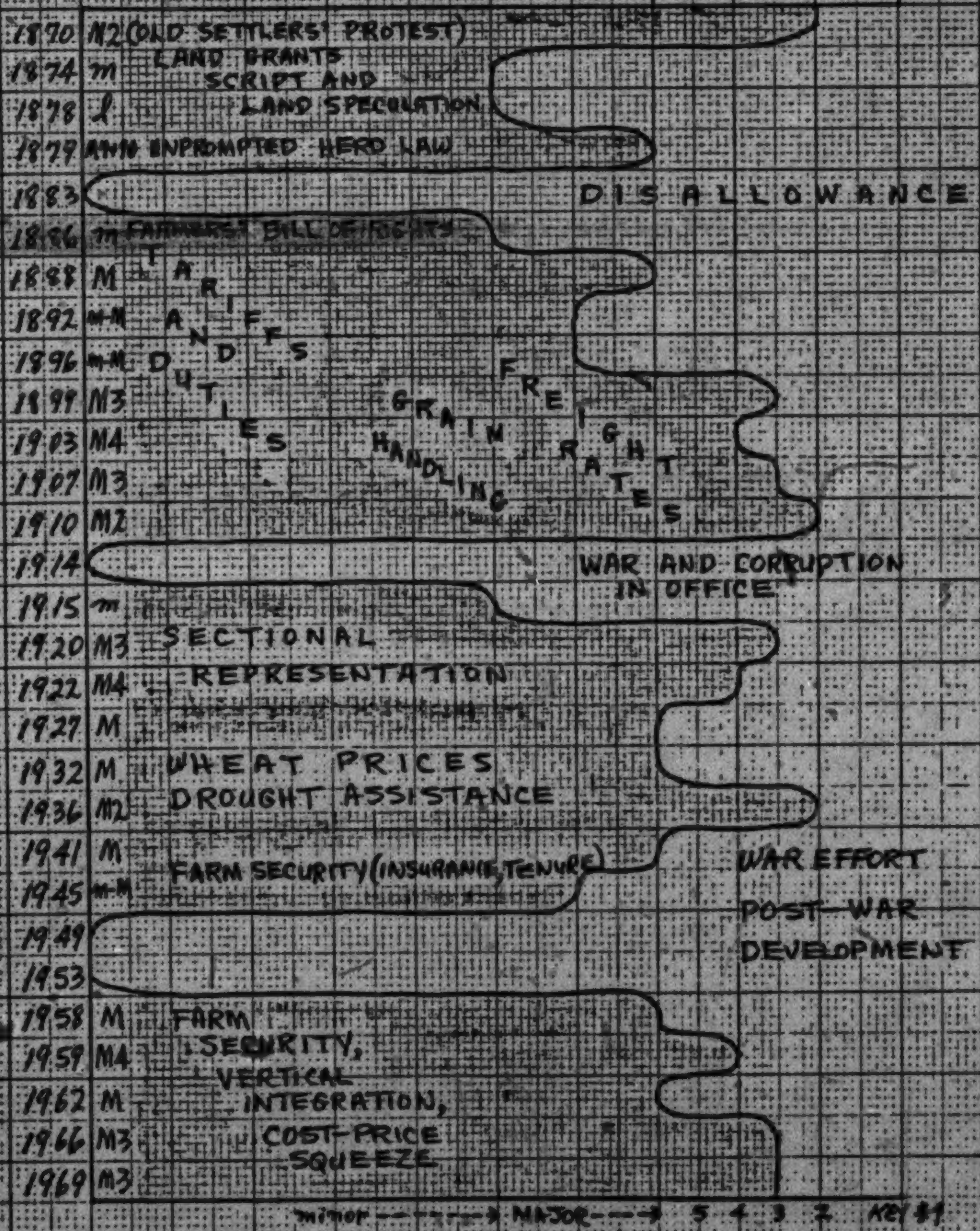
integration made the farmers' relationship to the economy a major issue in all elections from 1958 to 1969.

For our present consideration what is important about this sectional protest is that a large cluster of issues, rather than any one or two separate agricultural issues, continued as a major controversy. Major clusters of interrelated farmer and agricultural concerns were apparent from 1899 to 1910 and again in 1920, 1922, 1936, 1959, 1966 and 1969. The following graphical portrayal (graph V) of this sectional farm protest cluster indicates its gradual rise in importance at the turn of the century coinciding with the completion of the railroads. New peaks of its import as an issue cluster were reached in the 1920's and 1930's when questions like falling wheat prices, rising freight rates and tariffs and depression and drought seem to have prompted a serious questioning of these matters and of the economic system generally. The peak in the campaigns of the late 50's and 60's is related, as already suggested, to the new threat of vertical integration and the cost-price squeeze.

The diffuse issue of worker frustration was muted in early campaigns save for isolated spokesmen and then emerged as an evident issue in 1892. In all campaigns from 1910 through 1949 unemployment, fair wages, collective bargaining rights and a host of left-labor issues arose in a cluster of sectional protest. As the depression closed in on Manitoba workers, unemployment relief, a labor bill of rights, and sectional representation of labor arose as major, province-wide issues.

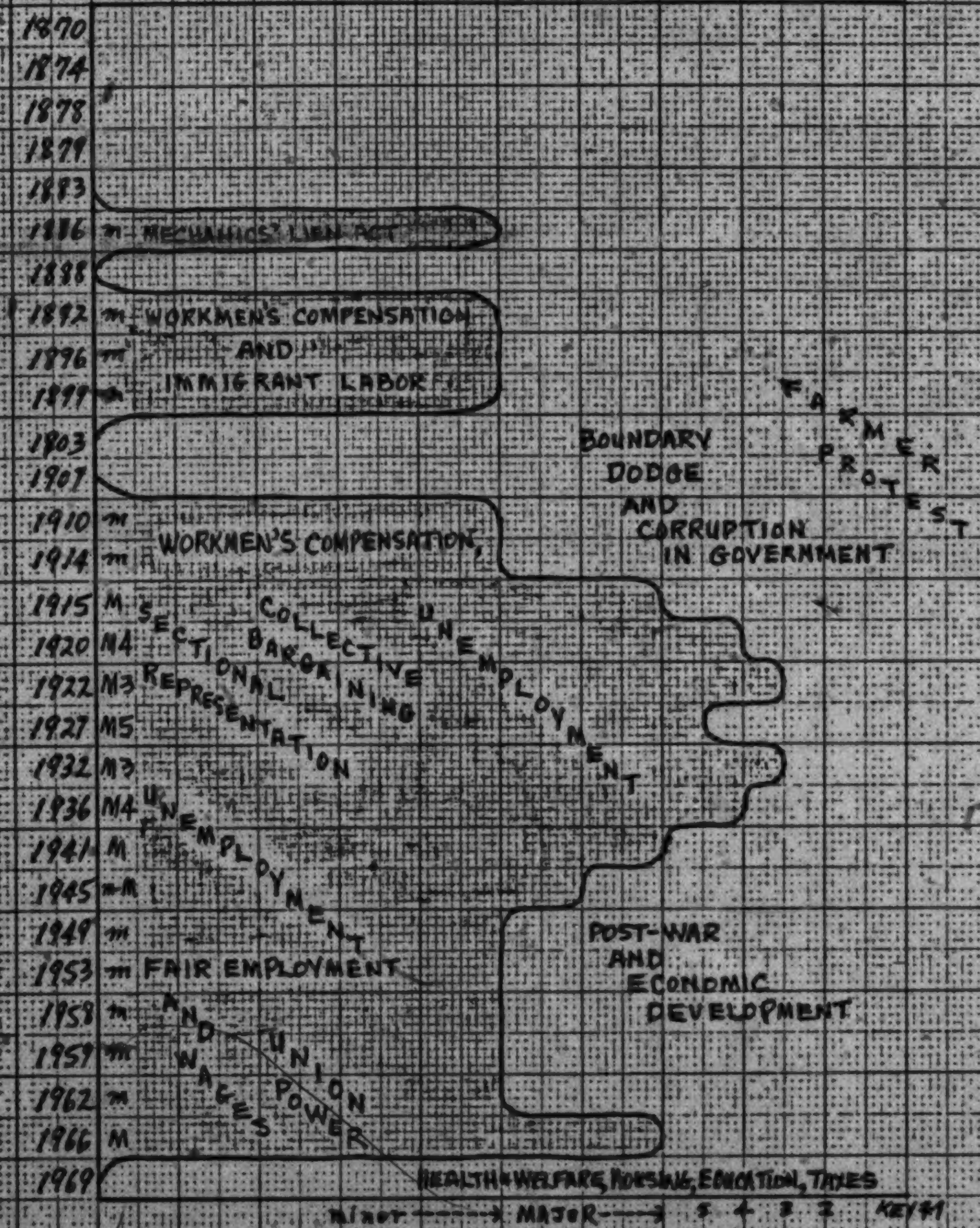
As in the case of the farm protest large clusters of labor or left issues are apparent. Such clusters continue from 1915 through 1945. The issues of post-war development, including health services, education, road-building and municipal debt, seem to replace the labor protest cluster as a major controversy in campaigns after 1945. But the concern for union power seems to embody the sectional protest in the 60's. (See graph VI).

GRAPH V



PERENNIAL QUALITIES OF FARMER PROTEST CLUSTER

GRAPH VI



PERENNIAL QUALITIES OF LABOR PROTEST CLUSTER

There are, of course, many other issues in Manitoba's general election campaigns which we have classified as perennial in the foregoing chapters. Issues of direct legislation, women's suffrage, daylight saving time, the coloring of margarine, workmen's compensation, electoral corruption, health insurance and even good roads are examples. The difference between the issues of education, partisanship, temperance, and farmer and labor and these other issues is that the other issues are eventually resolved in a more lasting sense.

We might also argue that the latter issues tend to fall into the classifications of "political" and "bargaining (material)" and are often more "specific" and "evident" in nature. They are not as often diffuse, underlying or sectional. They therefore lend themselves more readily to eventual resolution. The longer-standing subject areas of issues, on the other hand, like education and farmer and labor protest are rooted in constituencies which are sectional in scope substantive or moral, more speculative or "underlying," and diffuse in nature.

Perennial Issues and the Left-Right Nature of Political Parties.

The farmer-labor issue clusters coincide with and perhaps help to explain the growth of farmer and labor parties. Generally speaking the formation of party ideologies might be understood in the light of their development around the articulation of certain issues rather than others. The existence of a mixed nature of left and right elements in party ideologies seems also understandable given the combinations of sectional or general, political or broad social issues around which a given party is organized.

Farmer and labor parties seem very much linked to particular sectional issues and protests. But other political parties may display a broader spectrum of left-right characteristics. Such an ideological spectrum may be formulated around a wide variety of issues, some of which are sectional--farmer, labor, ethnic minority--and others of which may be in the general or political categories we have employed throughout this study--economic development, reduction of expenditures, direct legislation and redistribution, etc.

Thus, the formal nomenclature of a party may be somewhat misleading. The Liberal Party of Manitoba, for example, was for much of its life much more conservative on a host of economic issues than its more liberal Conservative Party opponents. At certain points in its history, especially under Gildas Molgat, the Liberal Party of Manitoba was more liberal on a variety of social issues: health care, housing, and the local determination of school affairs. Such positions may have been due to the party's long-standing support from ethnic minorities although an even greater factor may have been the issues which arose out of the party's strong rural base of support.

However, there is no denying that the Liberal Party was very conservative when it came to financial issues: a priority given to debt-retirement, avoidance of borrowing and a lack of expenditures on roads and northern development. The reaction of the Roblin Conservative Party to this financial retrenchment made it take up the opposite side of such issues: increased borrowing, higher taxes, increased expenditures for economic development and roads. The Conservative Party became increasingly less liberal on many social issues: larger school divisions, centralization of schools, increased opposition to bilingualism under Walter Weir, and, in general, the precedence of economic development over social development.

The Issues and Urban-Rural Differences.

Another important distinction amongst issues is their appeal to either urban or rural publics. It is just this appeal to both urban and rural supporters with very different interests and consequent issues which best accounts for the Liberal Party of Manitoba's mixed ideological positions as outlined in the prior section.[4]

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[4] A case can be made that the Liberal Party of Manitoba was for the most part less liberal than its Conservative Party opponents even in social legislation given its role in abolishing state-supported denominational schools (1890), the promotion of compulsory schooling (1897), and their removal of the bilingual schools compromise (1916). The check

The history of election issues in Manitoba portrays rather clearly the organisation of political parties around both sectional and general issues. In the former case the farmer and labor parties and their rather narrowly defined rural and urban bases of support coalesced around these precise sectional issues. These issues consisted of the obvious differences in subject areas that constitute farmer-labor protest clusters. The differences included subject areas like agriculture issues--freight rates, wheat prices, marketing roads, farm security, weed control, and box-car and elevator shortages--as against labor issues--minimum wages, workmen's compensation, collective bargaining rights.

These different issues reflect their rural and urban origins. But rural-urban differences are also apparent in the sense that general and political issues like economic development, social security, legislative representation, and urban-rural inequalities in tax payments or standards of education may greatly divide country and city. Such divisions continued as important issues throughout Manitoba's history with perennial-like qualities.

The issues related to what Lewis St. George Stubbs called a "rural-dominated legislature" also help to explain the more confined base and ideology of the ILP, CCF and NDP in Manitoba. Both Labor-oriented and Independent candidates in Manitoba campaigns seem to have reacted to the alleged rural-dominance of the legislature.

The urban, and particularly the labor and left issues are almost exclusively proferred, at least in their earliest stages, either by Winnipeg Independents or by Labor, CCF and NDP parties. The success of independents and labor candidates and the relative lack of success of "farmer movement" candidates in urban areas would seem to bear out the

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against the conservatism of the Liberal Party was its divergent rural and urban support. This is evident in 1969 when Liberal leader Bend refused to commit his party openly to support the Official Languages Act. Yet urban Liberal candidates like Larry Desjardins of St. Boniface were threatening to bolt the party unless a firm position in support of bilingualism and the Official Languages Act was given.

difference in urban and rural issues. 5

The overwhelming support of independent candidates and so-called "left-wing" parties in north Winnipeg constituencies (as we have shown in election result summaries throughout) also indicates the concentrated association of urban labor issues with these parties and spokesmen.

The second case consists of those parties which organize around general issues or attempt to combine urban and rural bases of support and issues rooted in them and turn out to be a peculiar amalgam of left-right interests. We have already noted this phenomenon in the previous section. The Conservative Party of Manitoba attempted to weld together the conservative business interests of South Winnipeg (economic development and concentration of industries in Winnipeg) with Anglo-Saxon conservative farmer interests (marketing, tariffs and railway service concerns).

The Liberal Party was equally split. In rural south-west Manitoba the Liberal Party received support of a conservative nature including attitudes against school consolidation, and higher spending for economic development which was seen to aid only Winnipeg. Inside Winnipeg "Ginger Groups" and later "Trudeau Liberals" were much more progressive on issues like language rights, economic development and progressive education.

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5 We have indicated the regional sectional support for labor-oriented parties like the ILP, CCF and NDP by citing figures of support in the Winnipeg area, or more particularly Winnipeg North as compared to other regions of the province. Figures have also been cited to indicate the degree of rural support and also ethnic support for the Liberal Party in Manitoba. That support for the farmers' movements was sectional, and other issues important to urban electors, is also supported by the fact that farmer parties simply failed of election in urban areas. The UFM won only as follows in the greater Winnipeg area:

1920 - 0 of 15 urban seats.
1922 - 1 of 15 urban seats.
1927 - 2 of 15 urban seats.
1932 - 3 of 15 urban seats even with coalition with the Liberals.
1936 - 2 of 15 urban seats, (now Liberal-Progressive).

Source: CPG (1920-1941).

The cautious positions on economic issues which reflect the concern of rural residents most recently in the case of the Liberal Party, and an equal conservatism on social issues from south Winnipeg businessmen and city residents in the recent history of the Conservative Party go a long way in explaining the direction and ideologies of the Liberal and Progressive Conservative Parties of Manitoba.

Little wonder then, that the demise of the rurally based Liberal Party of Manitoba corresponded with a redistribution in favor of urban seats in 1969.[6]

The Utility of the Study for Future Theoretical Research.

The lengthy examination of provincial election issues and emerging patterns suggests a number of areas for more intensive or theoretical research.

Firstly, the issues which often divide rural and urban constituencies--alleged disproportionate representation, farm versus labor legislation, retrenchment versus increased government services, urban payment for rural services--in addition to providing content for political ideologies may also help to explain the phenomenon of the "Red Tory" in Canadian and Manitoban history.

The earliest supporters of Winnipeg's workingmen were Conservative Party members like A. Monkman (Conservative--Winnipeg North, 1882-83) the first candidate to speak in defence of workingmen by advocating a Mechanics' Lien Act. J. J. Golden (Conservative--Winnipeg North, 1888) called for the development of railways in such a manner as to ensure full employment for Winnipeg workingmen. John Winram (Conservative--Winnipeg Center, 1892) was solemnly criticized for his own poverty as he spoke of the condition of workers while advocating a "Workingman's compensation act." T. W. Taylor (Conservative--Winnipeg North, 1896) also pioneered concerns for the way in which high taxes affected the poorer workingmen. A. J. Andrews (Conservative--Winnipeg Center, 1899) called for public control of the railways, direct legislation, and proportional representation--all much ahead of their time. In part, it may be argued, the radicalism of Conservative candidates like A. J. Andrews was a reaction to the rural dominance which had for so long overlooked urban labor needs. It is interesting to note the close relationship between Conservative candidates and a largely ignored labor constituency. P. C. McIntyre (Liberal--Winnipeg North, 1896) was the only Liberal candidate in this period to argue strenuously that he was a spokesman for "the workingman."

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[6] A pundit like Tom Peterson argues that the decline of Liberal support in urban areas has largely been and will continue to be in support of the Conservative Party. A very fine discussion of the urban-rural differences in Manitoba and particularly how they currently divide the Liberal Party of Manitoba is contained in an article by Peterson: WFP, July 14, 1973, p. 20.

Therefore, when students of politics speak of the brokerage nature of political parties or their ability to accommodate Red Tories or both left and right elements of political ideologies it may be the election issue which supplies the content for that ideological mixture and enables us to understand that mixed nature. The issues seem to serve as the very sources of Conservative and Liberal-left ideologies.

Secondly, it is interesting to speculate as to whether the perennial quality of some issues is aided by the fact that they seem to have been employed as "dodges" to avoid attention given to new and troublesome issues. Most of the truly major, if not perennial issues in Manitoba provincial campaigns seem to have exhibited this quality. Quarrels over French and English representation tended to enable John Norquay to continue in power as he attempted to fight down such issues as representation by population, mismanagement in government, improper use of railway bonds, and inappropriate railway policies (1882-83 and 1886). The corruption associated with Mr. Norquay's mismanaged rail policies finally vaulted Thomas Greenway into office. Mr. Greenway, in turn, made use of the Manitoba schools question (1892 and 1896) to dodge the failures of his government in temperance legislation, railway policy, and low-level expenditures on a variety of social services.

R. P. Roblin used the extended boundary issue to becloud other questions including the rise of his partisan boss-machine politics (1907 and 1910). These arguments are not intended to deny substance to the issues in question. Only in retrospect can it be clearly shown that those who also saw an "election dodge" dimension to certain major issues have been vindicated. The disclosure of additional facts or the later rise in significance of once submerged issues is evidence of the dodge-like qualities of once key issues.

A consideration of major issues in various time periods combined with the rise and fall of various classifications of issues may help us even better to understand the "dodge-like" nature of perennial issues. An examination of the summary lists of issues and their classifications tends to indicate that perennial issues seem to do battle with "new, concern" issues in the following campaigns: 1888, 1903 to 1915, 1922, 1958 and 1969, or at times preceding a change in government. The perennial issues may in part reflect, therefore, the struggle of old against new issues. As the latter rise in importance the spokesmen for them are perhaps more likely to achieve office. Simply stated new issues bring new governments, but not quite as quickly as students of politics might expect because of the significant "dodge-like" qualities of the "old issues."

Our study does seem to indicate that the overall importance of election issues may sometimes be lessened because much of the heat generated by some issues has been drawn from them in events which precede a given provincial campaign. Thus, we do have those cases in Manitoba history where the corruption of governments has resulted in their replacement in office even before the time of another election. We have, for example, Thomas Greenway's replacement of Messrs. Norquay and Harrison in 1888 and the T. C. Norris replacement of R. P. Roblin in 1914-15.

But where there are unanticipated changes in government the issues may have played a much more significant role. There are two such unexpected changes of government in Manitoba, the Hugh John Macdonald Conservative victory over Greenway Liberals in 1899 and the Ed Schreyer NDP victory over Walter Weir's Progressive Conservative administration in 1969. The interesting development in 1899 was that the apparent resolution of the Manitoba schools question meant that for the first time in almost a decade other issues, like the failure of the government's railway policy, the costs of elevator service, government extravagance, and the effects of the immigration policy, could no longer escape the full attention they deserved. Their evident nature seemed either to shape or reflect the different mood of the electorate and the results of the election.

In 1969 it was the alleged complacency of Walter Weir and his surprise election call; the plethora of issues associated with a government long in office and now enveloped by suspicion, mistrust, and secret reports: the new uncertainty even about the value of its once enviable economic program; combined with a new, better organized, articulate, and well-led alternative, which spelled a surprise NDP victory.

Hence, some further research might begin to test whether or not electoral upsets are related to the inability of a governing party to perceive or respond to the fact that perennial issues which have kept them safely in office are no longer capable of doing so--they have lost their saliency or have been successfully challenged or replaced by new concerns.[7]

A third area which calls for further investigation is the question of the social, economic and political conditions which surround the issues discussed in this study. It could be argued that both the perennial quality of issues on the one hand, and the short-lived qualities on the other hand, may well be due to various forms or stages of economic, social and political development. It was not the purpose of this study, as already pointed out, to explain the causes of issue formation. The purpose of the thesis was simply to lay out what appeared to be the salient issues in each campaign. Nevertheless, there would appear to be a relationship between the presence of certain issues, particularly over time, and the presence of particular economic, social and political events and conditions.

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[7] The persistence of some issues and their "election dodge" qualities may also help to account for the fact that some issues never do become as central to a given campaign as the contemporary observor of Manitoba campaign history might have expected. The most obvious example of such a case is the apparent absence as a major issue of the Riel Rebellion of 1885 and its aftermath in the election of 1886. Some reasons why the hanging of Riel was not a major issue in the Manitoba provincial election of 1886 are suggested in an explanatory note supra., page 741.

Future studies might consider that the election issues which arose at the time of the depression and drought of the 1930's appear to be the clearest example of economic conditions influencing the issue subjects. Municipal debt, falling wheat prices, rising unemployment, payment of bonded debt were all, not unexpectedly, major controversies in the 1927, 1932 and 1936 campaigns. In the 1936 campaign the so-called "sound" financial policies of the Bracken Government and Alberta's Social Credit Government and its repudiation of fixed interest rates on bonded debt were very much at issue. The Rowell-Sirois report was later to claim that two broad alternatives existed for national economic policies at the time of the depression. One of these alternatives tried to "counteract the factors which were responsible for the slump" and the other "to avoid risky and unorthodox monetary measures...by following 'sound' financial policies which would maintain confidence..." [8] The Bracken Government seemed much more to encourage the latter approach. The issues of the 1936 and other Manitoba campaigns in the depression years reflected this approach to the depression issues.

In the 1930's the city of Winnipeg contained 40 per cent of Manitoba's population and served as the major prairie commercial center for the shipment of grain and other commodities. Drought and depression brought rail traffic to a snail's pace and unemployed laborers flocked to Winnipeg seeking work and government assistance and joining the city's mushroomed ranks of unemployed. It is not too surprising, then, to discover that relief assistance, unemployment and all the related labor issues of compensation, minimum wages, pensions and health services became issues of major proportion at this time.

Also during this period the fact that more than one party propagated issues like the critique of eastern commercial and banking interests, concern for taxation adjustments and federal government assistance could help to explain the common roots or objective conditions which parties like the CCF and Social Credit shared as they were spurred to organization in this period.

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[8] Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations ("Rowell-Sirois Report") (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), I, 151.

A fourth area of potential research arises out of the question of socio-economic conditions. That area involves the conclusions that one might reach by making comparisons of issues in various provinces over similar time periods.

If it could be shown (as this student believes it might) that similar issues arose in all three prairie provinces in similar time periods, that would strengthen the contention that particular social and economic conditions and political "developments" account for the existence of those issues.

Finally, future studies might wish to consider the very thorny questions which always touched this study of Manitoba issues, namely, how does one properly delineate what constitutes an issue and how does one determine the sources of a given issue? The difficulties encountered in this particular study, not just in classifying issues, but more in weighing the relative centrality of an issue to a given campaign, or in determining how issues arose, who spoke on the matter, or conversely what issues continued as underlying concerns without articulate spokesmen--these theoretical questions remain largely unanswered.

How, for example, would one attempt to develop a study which was designed to describe the issues as the less powerful segments of the community--farmers or unemployed laborers, Indians, Métis, the incarcerated and ethnic and racial minorities--perceived them? This thesis alludes to such difficulties throughout. The problem remains a highly significant one for both political scientists and historians whose studies, like this one, are not able to do proper justice to the mass or less powerful segments of the society.

The larger theoretical issues which might be raised by our study should, however, be appreciated as a bonus to the enlarged understanding of political history already offered by the study. With or without the additional hypotheses for further research which arise from the study of provincial election issues one might logically have expected more research in such an area on the part of Canadian scholars. It is nothing short of astonishing and reflects sadly on contemporary political science that so little attention has been directed to such an obvious and fundamental area of political phenomena.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Why the Riel Rebellion of 1885 was not an Issue in1886.

It may be puzzling to many readers why the Riel Rebellion and the hanging of Louis Riel on November 16, 1885 did not become a major issue in the 1886 election campaign in Manitoba.

Certainly one of the reasons why the rebellion did not become a major issue was simply the presence of a large number of other perennial issues. To some extent, at least, these issues were being used as election dodges. Partisanship and the role of parties and independents was perhaps the most important example of the perennial issues in 1886. The failures of the Norquay railway policies and the CPR monopoly clause were also prone to attract maximum attention.

The election campaign of 1886 had been preceded by nine months of charges of wrong-doing levelled against the Norquay Government. Heavy taxes, irregular expenditures and personal nepotism certainly drowned out the consideration of other issues, apparently including the repercussions of the Riel Rebellion. The much closer presence of prairie fires and the first election to include political parties and a secret ballot also ensured that more social, sectional and underlying questions raised by the humble Métis might not be heard. The existence of the above-mentioned issues and Premier Norquay's strange admission of guilt plus the new redistribution leads one [illegible] believe that neither political party could any longer attempt to win election by appeal to the "old settlers." And this stance was taken by the first and only "old settler" to ever become Premier of Manitoba--John Norquay.

It is possible that both English and Métis wanted to put the matter to rest. It would have been a thorny issue for any Manitoban politician since it was largely Winnipeg which organized the men to put down the rebellion. Historian F. H. Schofield claims that "no battalion suffered more heavily in killed and wounded than did the 90th" (90th

Battalion, Winnipeg Regiment). Schofield also claims that the quiet pathos of the relatives surrounding the simple funeral march of Louis Riel's body and his burial in St. Vital may have ended much ill feeling as Metis observed sympathetic Englishmen in St. Boniface and St. Vital. That most ill feeling in Manitoba died with Riel's grave in St. Vital is a very moot point but one proferred by Mr. Schofield. [F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, I (3 vols: Winnipeg: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1913) p. 322-323.]

The Laurier-Greenway Compromise.

The Laurier-Greenway agreement or compromise which brought an end to the bitterest period of national debate on the Manitoba schools question took the form of an amendment to the Public Schools Act. The amendment, which was adopted in March 1897 and which came into force on August 1, 1897 permitted religious instruction in the schools after 3:30 p. m. wherever parents desired it. School trustees could grant approval for such "sectarian teaching" upon request of at least ten parents or guardians in rural districts or twenty-five parents or guardians in villages, towns, or cities.

The amendment also required that a Roman Catholic teacher be hired in any town with forty or more Roman Catholic children or in any village or rural area with twenty-five Roman Catholic children. The reverse was true for non-Catholic children in an area of Catholic majority. Minority language instruction was to take place in addition to English wherever ten students in any school spoke that minority language.

The Role of Lieutenant-Governor D. C. Cameron in the Parliament Buildings Scandal 1914-15.

Lieutenant-Governor D. C. Cameron maintained that he had had growing suspicions of wrong-doing as regards the parliament buildings well in advance of the public outcry. Following the Liberal Party memorial to him he met with Premier Roblin who finally announced the establishment of a Royal Commission after talking with the Lieutenant-Governor. As Mr. Roblin delayed and tried to have his own appointees placed on the commission the Lieutenant-Governor insisted on his own suggestions of members less sympathetic to the government. The Lieutenant-Governor also refused to accept the narrow terms of reference designed by Mr. Roblin. Mr. Cameron said of the commission investigation, "Its terms should be wide enough to authorize the fullest enquiry as to whether there has or has not been a misuse of public moneys, and if there has been to clearly fix the responsibility." [Roblin Papers, April 19, 1915 as contained in John T. Saywell, The Office of the Lieutenant-Governor: A Study in Canadian Government and Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 49-53.]

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The major sources consulted for this study are listed under five separate sections: newspapers, popular periodicals, published books and articles in scholarly journals, unpublished works and interviews.

The newspapers are listed in alphabetic order with the place of publication in parentheses whereever it is not obvious from the title of the newspaper. The designations: (D), (W), and (Bi-W) indicate daily, weekly or bi-weekly publication. The dates provided indicate the year of the election campaign and for the most part cover the period from the date of dissolution until final results are announced after election day. More precise dates (for example, November 28, 1874) indicate either a cessation of publication or the limits of use by the author. Hyphenated dates include campaigns of all years betwen the given dates (for example, 1959-1969 includes the 1959, 1962, 1966 and 1969 campaigns).

Magazine articles are arranged in alphabetic order by surnames of authors but are subdivided by campaign dates in order to relate material to specific elections, hence aiding any future studies.

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V Interview

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Publications:	"Church Life - Some Sketches for the Future", Association Forum Vol. 45, No. 9. (October, 1964), pp. 23-26.